mention the chief's name. Particularly articles of food are tabooed as in the case of pork among the Jews or sometimes they are tabooed for certain seasons as in the case of oysters among us in months without "r". Sometimes the taboo ks very strick as in the case of Melanesia. If the shadow of a passer by falls on a burial ground he is supposed to lose his soul. In some cases a general taboo may be imposed by proclamation or a chief might taboo certain objects for his own use by naming them after a part of his body. Usually intricate and solemn ceremonies accompany the infliction of taboo or the removal thereof. Objects tabooed were marked in various ways by a piece of white cloth, a bunch of leaves, a bundle of branches painted red and white, in Samoa the image of a shark denoted the taboo while in New Zealand to chop a tree with an ax made it tabooed. Then there were royal taboos which hedged the primitive king. Some African kings may not look at the sea, others are not allowed to lie down to sleep. In some islands the chief will die who eats at the same time as the common people or people are forbidden to see the king eat.

38-12-220

Now all these things may seem curious and even silly to us and we may look down upon them as the foolishness of folk who do not know as much as we do. But we must remember that they all have meanings and go back into the early history of mankind. Here, for instance, are parents who want to keep their children from eating certain poison food. They not only tell them not to, but they warn them with ceremony, they put taboo upon the bright and pretty berries and by bringing the whole religious force of the tribe to bear they save many innocent lives. In the same way by making the body of the king sacred they save the most valuable man of the tribe from careless injury and attack. In the same way they may preserve supplies during scarce seasons by protecting the berries they may safe the tribe from pestilance or impress upon the young the hope of future life. All these things which are reasonable must in primitive times have been

learning to reason but enforced by ceremony and signs that appealed to the emotions and the feelings. In modern days with educated folk we accomplis the same thing that taboo used to accomplish by reason, by meetins and newspapers, by lectures, by conversation. In the south sea islands tobacco for persons who are not grown would be tabooed. In New York we simply say to the young "It is dangerous for growing youth to smoke". We do not put a taboo on bad air but we write books and deliver lectures on the necessity of fresh air night and day.

Now all this works and is effective in modern life only in so far as we listen to reason. Unfortunately there are large numbers of human beings yoday who either cannot or will not reason. The result is that we suffer great injuries and often we find among us people who would substitute taboo for reason on the ground that folks will not reason. They would say for instance dancing is taboo, or private property is taboo or theatres are taboo. They simply mean by this that dancing in bad air with bad companions, stealing and injustice and the serious representations are injurious, but it is doubtful if we can secure the correction of these things by stopping human reason and going back to ancient taboo because after all one may dance in good air and private property is sometimes itself stolen by its reputed owners and who would not see a play of Shakespeare.

38-12-221

Knights of Columbus

MEMORANDUM ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICAN LIFE

(Set down approximately in the order of their importance.)

1. Labor

The American Negro through his labor has been the chief cause of the commercial importance of four great modern crops, sugar, rice, tobacco and cotton. These crops have revolutionized modern commerce and modern life. In addition to this the Negro has been the back bone of farming industry in the south and still forms one fifth of the farm operators in a country where he is only one tenth of the population and nearly one third of the farmers and farm laborers in the whole land. His employment as common laborer and servant throughout the history of the land has released for other employment millions of white persons and thus enabled America to develop economically and spiritually at a rate unparelleled elsewhere in modern history. In addition to common labor the American Negro has through invention added to American industry some of the basic inventions ~~of~~ on the telephone by Granville Woods; practically the whole system of locomotive lubrication by Elijah McCoy; the machine for making a complete shoe by mechanical contrivance by Matzeliger, and in all some five thousand other patented inventions.

419-29-15

Particularly in the case of women, American Negroes have been pioneers voluntary and involuntary in the appearance of the economically independent woman. More than any other group in the United States colored women are self supporting. Nearly 39% of colored women being gainfully employed as compared with 18½% of white women. The colored woman as a nurse both for children and in sickness has an inforgetable record.

During the World War Negroes carried off the rivoting and pile driving records and the late Booker T. Washington did more than any single man to popularize industrial training for all children in the United States.

2. Art

Perhaps even greater than his contribution to America as a laborer has been the Negro's contribution to American art. The only real American music is Negro music. The Negro folk song which arose in the days of slavery has been developed into modern syncopated music and in other lines by colored composers like Harry Burleigh, Coleridge-Taylor, Rosamond Johnson, R. Nathaniel Dett, Will Marion Cook and others. Negro music has also more or less directly influenced white composers like Stephen Foster and other modern writers. The peculiarly African gift of rhythm has been developed by American Negroes and other both in song and markedly in dancing throughout the modern world.

Other forms of art where the American Negro has made a notable contribution are in painting in the case of Bannister, Tanner and Scott, and in soulpture in the case of Edmonia Lewis, Warrick and Jackson. On the stage we have had Ira Aldridge who was decorated by nearly every crowned head in Europe, Bert Williams, George Walker and Charles Gilpin. We have given the world a peculiar and characteristic kind of stage humor and comedy.

Many wonderful voices have been possessed by colored singers as that of the Black Swan in 1851, the Fisk Singers in 1870, Flora Batson in 1887, and Roland W. Hayes in our day.

3. Literature.

The gift of the Negro to American literature may be divided into two parts; first, his tragic history has been the inspiration of perhaps a larger part of American literature than any other single series of facts in American life. In this connection we have only to think of Sewall, Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe, Walt Whitman, Thomas Nelson Page and George W. Cable. Several of the great masterpieces of American literature like "Uncle Tom's Cabin" are based on the Negro. On the other hand there has arisen an important

American literature by Negroes, in which we may notice Phillis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Charles W. Chestnutt and George W. Williams. The Uncle Remus tales are pure Negro folk lore written down by a white man. Especially notable are biographies like those of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington and the work of William Stanley Braithwaite as a critic of poetry.

4. Social Uplift

Directly and indirectly the Negro has contributed to the social advancement in the United States. He was not merely the passive beneficiary of emancipation but his work as fugitive slave, orator, agitator and organizer was decisive by making the abolition of slavery possible in the United States. Notable in this leadership was Paul Cuffee, Elijah Johnson, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and Frederick Douglass.

In religion the Negro has not simply been a devotee of the more emotional type but has furnished the country real religious leaders like George Lisle, one of the first American missionaries, Lott Carey, Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Lemael Haynes, pastor of a white New England church, John Chavis and Lunsford Land of Virginia and Carolina.

It was the Negro as a legislator that established the free public school system in the south and from the beginning of American history down to the present time the Negro has in a peculiar way and by his own action and aspiration been the test and measure of American democracy. If democracy finally triumphs in the world it will be because in America the Negro was found capable of participating in democratic government and has been accepted by the nation as a fellow citizen.

5. Exploration and Defense

It is of interest to remember that the only living human being who has stood at the north pole is an American Negro and that a Negro, Es-

49-29-17

tevanico, who was the first person of the eastern hemisphere to discover Arizona, New Mexico and the southwest and with all the early explorers there were Negro helpers and laborers. Negroes were with Balboa, Cortez and Pizarro. If it had not been for Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolt there is every reason to believe that the Mississippi could never have been acquired by America and certainly not for the nominal sum which Jerrerson paid for it. It was the Haitian revolt that drove France out of the Mississippi valley. On the other hand the Negro not only helped to find the land but to defend it and colored soldiers have been decided factors in the Revolutionary War, when Crispus Attucks was the first to fall; the War of 1812, on Lake Erie and at New Orleans; in the Civil War, where the 200,000 Negro soldiers were according to Lincoln indispensable to victory; the Spanish American War, where they saved Roosevelt at El Caney and the World War. In the World War 77 6/10% of the Negroes were fit for service as against 67 7/10% of the whites. The Negro's record in exploration and defense as well as in labor has been dependent upon his physical fitness. While poverty and crime have made inroads upon the physique of the children of slaves, nevertheless their record in athletics has been notable. In pugilism we have had as world champions Jack Johnson, Joe Walcott, Joe Gans and George Dixon. In football we have had three men named on the all American teams and in track and field athletics we have had Sol Butler, the army champion, Desmond, Drew, Jackson and others.

~~A Payment of Mudis~~

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34-7-30

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34-7-32

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34-7-33

W. E. B. DuBois
70 Fifth Avenue
New York City

38-3-87

# A SECOND JOURNEY TO PAN-AFRICA

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

In 1919 Pan-Africa was a phase of war - an attempt to call the attention of a world in travail to the plight of a race. The cry was heard but hardly understood for other and greater cries drowned it. But in 1921 there seemed to come a chance to test the depth and meaning of Pan-African consciousness.

Three sets of audiences gathered in London, Brussells and Paris for the Second Pan-African Congress. In the English gatherings were Negroes and mulattoes from West and South Africa, British Guiana, Grenada, Jamaica, Nigeria and the Gold Coast; Indians from India and East Africa; colored men from London and twenty-five American Negroes. The voices were outspoken after a rather timid and apologetic opening. A young black West African student was warned by a London colored man before he spoke, but his fire and feeling was unquenched. An Indian was proud to belong "with us", to the colored races. It was the story of slavery in East Africa, of land exploitation in South Africa, and the unemotional matter of fact story of hard work from America that moved us most. The resolutions - strong and clear, with their plain leaning toward industrial democracy, went through without a dissenting voice, though some older representatives of white British philanthropy were evidently not content.

This British attitude showed itself best in a conference arranged by the Aborigines' Protection Society with Sir Sidney Oliver, former Governor of Jamaica, in the chair. Their secretary promptly put the burden of position on us by offering three resolutions for our adoption, on Land, Labor, and Conscription in Africa. Our committee replied that a demand for "sufficient lands" "to provide for the economic in-

of the family units" in Africa did not go far enough; that we agreed with their opposition to the new slavery and did not agree that France had no right to conscript her black as well as her white citizens so long as conscription was her policy and so long as she recognized racial equality; and that France did come nearer this recognition than any other modern land. Then we in turn changed the subject and spoke freely of the future relations of philanthropy and the Negro problem, laying down the principle that Negro effort aided by white cooperation must be the rule rather than white effort carried on without reference to the opinion and wishes of black folk or with only casual consultation with picked representation.

In contrast to this attitude was our conference with the foreign relations committee of the Labor Party. There we sought to let men like Clynes, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Lowes, Dickinson, Mrs. Philip Snowden, know the real oneness of black and white labor problems. They were not convinced, but they were deeply sympathetic and were plainly seeking information rather than seeking to give advice.

In Belgium the scene changed. We had here audiences predominantly white and local, but the Belgian Congo was stronger, the American group was increased, and the French colonies and Abyssinia appeared. Not only was this a change of personnel but the language difficulty was to the fore, leaving the thirty Americans for the most part linguistically stranded; and, too, a new spirit was in the air. We sensed the Fear about is in war land with nerves still taut. It had taken swift work with Colonial Minister Frank and others, and probably some diplomatic inter-changes, to keep us from being denied admission to Belgium and particularly to the use of the State building, the Palais Mondial. The opening session was palpitating with curiosity and the press tables were crowded. Two Generals graced the platform where the black Senegalese,

President of the Congress and
Blaise Diagne, French Deputy and High Commissioner of African troops, presided. A white French deputy was also there, an Abyssinian, and an American colored woman; the Colonial Office, who pointedly declined platform seats; there also were present, a group of international students, several hundred white Belgians, and many Congolese.

38-3-89

For two days the speeches went on smoothly - too smoothly, I felt, because nothing was being said but platitudes - not a word about the past in the Congo; not a word about the Present; only a hint of a future with some education, some recognition of the chiefs, some industrial betterments. To this was added every effort to show what Belgium had done for the Negro. And here was much to be said: we ~~He~~ stood astounded before the crowning wonder of that museum at Tervullian. It was marvelous - the visible, riotous wealth of the Congo, the startling size of the vast African empire destined to make Belgium but a fraction of her ~~h~~ own black colonial self; the beauty - the infinite, intriguing, exquisite beauty of Negro art. And yet in its midst and center, at the end of the long, straight, beach-lined avenue of ten miles, sat Leopold II in ivory; while in the Congress he had not been mentioned!

It was in no spirit of trouble-making but as a simple duty that I rose the last afternoon and had read in French and in English the resolutions of London. I did not dream of the consternation which I would cause; but even if I had, it was my evident and bounded duty to read our adopted charter of complaint and hope, even in Belgium. I had previously made it plain in corrpspondence that we came not for "revolution" but certainly for calm and reasoned complaint, and I was unprepared to hear the word that London received without protest, called "Bolshevist" and "absolutely inadmissible" in Brussells.

Diagne, the Senegalese Frenchman who presided, was beside himself with excitement after the resolutions were read; as an under secretary of the French Government, as ranking Negro of greater France, and perhaps

as a successful investor in French colonial enterprises, he was undoubtedly in a difficult position. Possibly he was bound by actual promises to France and Belgium. His French was almost too swift for my ears, but his meaning was clear: he felt that the cause of the Black man in Belgium and France had been compromised by Black American radicals; he especially denounced our demand for "the restoration of the ancient common ownership of the land in Africa" as rank communism. Panda, the young black leader of Negro Congo in Belgium, was curiously perplexed, and my heart went out to him. White friends - his foster mother, a Belgian General, several members of philanthropic bodies - eddied about him and Diagne with advice and warning, while several Belgian officials made speeches and reporters hunted wherywhere for "copy."

Meantime, the colored Americans were pressing rather preemptorily for appointment of a committee on the question of our London resolutions - forgetting the almost unlimited power of a French presiding officer. I was both alarmed and cheered. At least the question had been laid before Belgium and the world. We would not leave a Negro world Congress without really mentioning the truth of our problems. On the other hand, if it could be said that our Congress ended in an uproar - or if our French and Belgian colleagues could be induced to withdraw, the Pan-African movement would receive a severe, perhaps fatal, check. Paul Otlet, a white Belgian, "father of the League of Nations" and co-secretary with Senator La Fontaine of the Palais Mondial, sought to calm the waters by a harmless proposal which Diagne rushed to a vote, even allowing guests and visitors a voice, and swamping Pan-Africa momentarily under the opinion of white Belgians. Mr. Otlet's proposition declared Negroes "susceptible" of advancement from their present backward condition and that their development would rid humanity of a weight of 200 millions of ignorant incompetents, and that collaboration

38-3-91

between races on a basis of equality was an urgent duty today. He proposed, therefore, a federation of all uplift agencies of Negroes and their friends centering in the Palais Mondial, Belgium.

Diagne's precipitate acceptance of this program pleased neither its promoters, like the aged General Sorelas, former pupil of the great Cardinal ~~L'Avigerie~~ Lavigerie - nor yet the American Negroes who envisaged a bigger, stronger movement and who saw little to encourage them to hope that Belgium was ready to lead in the restoration of Negro Civilization. Their strong but calm stand finally brought order out of threatened chaos: the Other resolutions were declared adopted, but the London manifesto was held for further consideration, to be debated on and finally voted on in Paris. After adjournment, groups of whites and blacks stood about until dark, discussing in French, Flemish, Spanish, Portuguese and English, the meaning of that whirl of deep feeling which flared before adjournment.

We came to Paris with a sense of strain and apprehension, only partially allayed by a long, frank conference with Diagne who acknowledged that his methods in Brussells were high-handed but contended that he had only sought to prevent the "assassination of a race!" The Paris meeting was different from both London and Brussells. It was not "official" - it had clear and determined elements of revolt. It was outspoken and it was bitter with complaint. The variety of groups represented was larger than in London or Brussells, and included besides the United States, the former German colonies, the Portuguese colonies, French Senegal, Congo, and the West Indies, British West Indies, Madagascar, with fraternal visitors from India, the Phillipines, and Annam. There was no attempt to control the Congress in the interests of any one point of view. ~~Neither Diagne nor Candace, vice-president and deputy~~ None of the colored deputies of the French Parliament ~~from Guadaloupe,~~ attempted to have their way exclusively. Every attempt at smooth platitude was thwarted,

"We are a little France," cried the Haitian Minister diplomatically; "Yes, but France did not give freedom to Haiti - Haiti took it," answered the Americans amid the wild applause of young Haiti; and they added that when America seized Haiti, it was not France but Black America which made the only effective protest.

"We are getting on all right in the French Congo," ~~and want no black Americans there,~~" cried a black Congolese in halting phrase, but he was followed by a white Frenchman, Challaye, with circumstantial denunciation of French methods in her Congo. Challaye showed how France had imitated Belgium in seizing native land, in prohibiting certain native industries, in paying the lowest prices for materials, in the capture of chiefs and women and children as hostages, and in public murder by cannibals.

Madagascar sent a written protest, Portugal showed the difference between laws on paper and laws in practice, and America stated her grievances. But the West Indies, British and French, especially had their day in court.

French and English officials, two ex-Governors from Africa, and many prominent whites watched the proceedings and reporters questioned us; above all one thought was uppermost: What did this Congress mean? What was back of it? What were our objects? Especially we were asked repeatedly if we represented the American "Africa for the Africans" movement which apparently proposed the forcible expulsion of the whites. It was not easy to explain at first that this Congress was a meeting for conference and acquaintanceship; for organization and study; that it did not as yet represent any complete, settled and adopted policy, but that ~~and especially~~ its members almost unanimously repudiated any policy of war, conquest, or race hatred. On the other hand, we did agree on an unalterable belief in racial equality and the general proposition that the government and policy of Africa must be designed primarily for the good of the Africans and not primarily for

profit of colonial powers.

Here it was that we encountered the central Fear of France: the main reaction of that organized thrift of central Europe which is today governing and leading economic reorganization after the war. Was this Congress an attack upon French investments in Africa? France recognizes Negro equality not only in theory but in practice; she has for the most part enfranchised her civilized Negro citizens. But she recognizes the equal right of her citizens, black and white, to exploit by modern industrial methods ~~Her~~ laboring classes, black and white. Her white laboring classes can resist this exploitation by the ballot as they learn to use it, but her black enslaved laborers are at the mercy of her exploiting classes both black and white, and the crying danger to black France is that its educated and voting leaders will join in the industrial robbery of Africa rather than ~~leading~~ its masses to education and culture. This is not yet true, but men like Diagne and Candace, while unwavering defenders of racial opportunity, education for blacks, and the franchise for the civilized, are curiously timid when the industrial problems of Africa are approached.

For instance, ~~the French~~ they asked us to omit from the French version of our English manifesto, seven paragraphs which emphasized and particularized our arraignment of predatory capital in Africa. The gist of these paragraphs lay in these words:

"The great industrial problem which has hitherto been regarded as the domestic problem of culture lands, must be viewed far more broadly if it is ever to reach just settlement. Labor and Capital in England, France and America can never solve their problem as long as a similar and vastly greater problem of poverty and injustice marks the relations of the whiter and darker peoples. It is shameful, unreligious, unscientific and undemocratic that the estimate, that half the peoples of earth put on the other half, depends mainly upon their ability to squeeze profit

out of them."

"If we are coming to recognize that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustment in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustment is in the outrageously unjust distribution of world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples; in the rape of land and raw material; the monopoly of technique and culture. And in this crime white labor is particeps criminis with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white labor vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown and yellow labor, until with fatal retribution, they are themselves today bound and gagged and rendered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few."

The Americans insisted upon including these paragraphs but consented to have them especially marked as being the opinion of Black America but reserved by Black France for consideration at the next Congress. It was noticeable that the leaders of black France did not dare reject these dicta, outright, because too many black Frenchmen recognized their truth, but they wished to postpone their agitation and discussion and in this they followed the dominant thought of white France ~~today dictated~~.

Back of this serious internal difference of opinion and policy, which future Congresses must thresh out, lay a subtler and more fundamental problem: Europe asked, What do these 100 more or less persons of near and far Negroid ancestry really represent? Is this a real Pan-Negro movement or the work of individuals or of small groups enthusiastic with an idea but representing little?

And we ourselves could not answer: Of the hundred and fifty millions of African Negroes, few were conscious of our meeting. But a few were: in South Africa - even in far Swaziland - in Kenya, East Africa - in the

in the Egyptian Sudan, ~~in South Africa~~, in Angola, in Liberia and British West Africa, in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, in the French and Belgian Congo and throughout the Americas, many black men knew definitely of our meeting and some attended. But how far did we really represent and voice them and how far were we merely floating in the air of our dreams and ambitions?

28-3-95

It is very doubtful if the colored French deputies represented black France. Rather they represented the French Government - spoke for it, used their strength and influence to minimize and restrain any untoward movement. Boisneuf of Guadaloupe, who forced the French Parliament to declare for racial equality in 1919, and Le Grosilliere, who seemed outspoken and independent, were neither of them in Europe at the time of the Congress. But whatever Diagne and Candace represented, a definite movement against their attempt to speak for blacks was heard again and again more or less articulately on the floor. Black Belgium had but one voice, but it was truly representative. Portugal was well represented by a former member of the Portuguese Legislature and head of the African League in Angola. We Americans felt ourselves on solid representative ground with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People back of us, the black Masons, Odd Follows and Pythians, the A. M. E., C. M. E., and Negro Baptist churches, the schools and the Y.M.C.A.

Yet withal this we were avowedly an intelligensia - a small group of intellectuals interpreting to some extent but more certainly seeking to guide the public opinion of our group. Was our interpretation honest and clear, and would our guidance be followed? Who shall say until Time itself shall? But certainly there is today no gainsaying the ground swell in the Negro race - the great, unresting, mighty surge; it is reported by every colored official, it is feared by every colonial power, it is sensed by every intelligent Negro in every part of the world. What is it? Sometimes it is revolt against slavery; sometimes revolt against land theft; sometimes complaint against low wage, always a chafing

at the color-bar.

What part did the Pan-African Congress play in this worldwide feeling? It did not cause it, as many accuse; it but partially and fitfully voiced it. But it did do three things:

1. It brought face to face and in personal contact a group of educated Negroes of the calibre that ~~could~~ might lead black men to emancipation in the modern world.

2. It discovered among these men more points of agreement than of difference.

3. It expressed the need of further meetings and strengthened the permanent organization.

On the other hand, the Pan-African Congress brought out differences and oppositions. We did not discuss the French mulattoes' solution of race problems by intermarriage; nor the British West Indian cult of racial segregation and race worship; nor the American Negro solution by the free grouping of free citizens of all races in a free land; but we sensed here a conflict of ideals and arguments. We faced the question of black citizens of a white State or a great black African State, but we did not attempt even to discuss it. We did not mention Force and War.

~~On the other hand,~~ We met a curious and fierce opposition, both open and concealed. The Belgian press began a campaign long before we came and openly asserted that we were "financed from Russia." The British Government hesitated over our passports and undoubtedly watched us narrowly. The French press declared we were the advanced guard of the West Indian "Africa for the Africans" movement. But above and behind all this was the deep-seated belief that a meeting of Africans and their friends to help the Negro must have a sinister motive, and that American Negroes by their very rise and expansion were a menace to Africa and Europe.

38-3-97

We were both astonished and gratified at this attitude. Gratified that our American advance was so patent and openly acknowledged. We took our places quite naturally beside the European whites and talked their thoughts. We found ourselves pressing on with a confidence unknown in our own land where our strides are so discounted and unrecognized that we ourselves doubt our own accomplishments.

But the emergence among us - slowly and haltingly - of a great thought of Help and Sacrifice, of stretching hands back to the Ancient Mother ~~Ethiopia~~, for the sake of our fathers and her sons and not for ourselves; for Europe and Africa and not for America; this seemed so fine a thought to us that its misinterpretation was astonishing. "We do not want you in Africa," said some black men; "We have no intention of coming," we answered in surprise. "You cannot teach our Negroes," cried South Africa. "Why not?" we asked puzzled. "You are trying to stir up revolt," cried Belgium. "We are not," we retorted; "we seek on the contrary to put down with reason the revolt which you have stirred with robbery." "You are Bolsheviks," cried a section of France; to which we answered by a platform which tallied in every plank with what every French government has demanded for white French labor in the last fifty years, and we said if this is not "Bolshevism" for white men, how does it get to be "Bolshevism" for black men? Moreover, the real question is not whether it is ~~Russian~~ Bolshevik or ~~English or Japanese~~ Imperialist, but whether it is right.

And so we adjourned and came home, satisfied and dissatisfied and with this insistent thought: The world sees today the making of a people, its land and labor hovering between common ownership and monopoly, freedom and slavery; the world sees its social classes forming, its governments coalesing and dissolving, its ideals of race and language and country lying amorphous or shifting to strange forms. The world race sees contacts of every sort, of man and man, of country and country, of group and group - it sees this dimly and uncomprehendingly; it has neither the power to

36-3-98

measure it, the wit to understand it or the will to human ize it; and because the world is so full of a number of other things, it smiles at the effort of a small hundred or more men to bring some little beginnings of order and reason out of all this menacing chaos.

Dr. Du Bois

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# SOCIAL EQUALITY and the INTERMARRAIGE of RACES

W.E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

There is no doubt but that at the bottom of the race problem in the United States is the question of "Social Equality"; and the kernel of the "Social Equality" question is the question of intermarriage.

These questions moreover are made almost impossible of rational discussion because of the intense bitterness and hatred which their mere mention gives rise to: one party hotly begins the discussion by intimating in plain terms that blacks are degenerates and prostitutes, commerce with whom on any plane is monstrous. The other party retorts with a record of millions of mulattoes and mixed bloods, the deliberate degradation of black womanhood and the criminal lust of the white race the world over. With such beginnings there is no rational end of discussion, no reasonable enlightment.

Let us here, however, seek to forget a moment the hateful and hurtful and set down in cold phrase, the main elements of the problem.

1. The sexual intermingling of race groups and more particularly of the lightest and darkest races is regarded by many folk as physically monstrous.

As a scientific dictum this is false. From earliest records racial mixture has been the rule and not the exception and there are today no pure races and no scientific line can be drawn between races. There is no scientific proof that the intermingling of any and all of the branches of the present

human

human family does not produce normal human beings.

2. It is, however, believed by many that while race mixture is not physically monstrous, that nevertheless certain strains of blood are superior to others; that the darker races have a larger number of inferior strains and that the preservation of the best human culture calls for the survival of the white race in as pure a state as possible.

There is undoubtedly vast difference in heredity strains of blood leading to the rise of individuals of great ability here and others of criminal and degenerative tendencies there. It is also undoubtedly a great human duty to improve the human stock by rational breeding and by eliminating the unfit and dangerous. But our knowledge of human heredity is at present extremely vague and inexact and it is a monstrous perversion of our proven scientific knowledge to assume that the white race is the physical, mental and moral superior of other races, and that it has a right to secure its own survival and the death of the majority of men by any and all methods. It is quite possible that science will eventually show just as many superior strains in black and yellow as in white peoples, and just as much innate degeneracy in Europe as in Asia and Africa.

38-13-143

3. Racial intermingling, while neither monstrous nor necessarily deleterious ~~deteriority~~ is regarded by many as at present inadvisable:

(a) because of widespread and deep seated racial antagonisms and hatreds.

(b) because of the necessity of group solidarity as a means of transmitting human culture.

(c) because of the value of the group in initiating human culture.

(d) because of differences of tastes as to human types of efficiency and beauty.

Here we come to a much more reasonable basis of argument. Humanity always has worked in groups and while these groups have gradually increased in size from the patriarchal family to the Nation and even to "Empire" and the Race, there is little liklihood that in the next millennium race lines will wholly disappear and we shall emerge as one undifferentiated Humanity. Undoubtedly groups and races can and will do much to initiate culture and to transmit tradition. Moreover racial repulsions and antagonisms, within bounds, have their uses and incentives. No one can envisage a deal level of sameness in human types. There is the blue and blonde beauty of the Nordic race; the golden glory of the yellow world; the soft and sensuous allure of the brown people and the starry midnight beauty of the blacks; outside of the mere physical appeal there is every shade of method and conception and thought in differing groups of human hearts and minds, and the preservation and development of this interesting and stimulating variety in mankind is a great human duty.

But how is racial variety and human differentiation to be encouraged?

1. Some think that races can be kept from mingling only by force; that force takes the form of law, the prostitution of women of the darker races, and enforced poverty.

This cost is too great. If the only method of keep-

ing races from intermingling is to force them into degradation and inferiority then it is far better to let them intermingle indiscriminately.

2. Some folk would depend on slander and gossip to discourage intermarriage. They would spread the rumor that dark races are deseased and abnormal, make impossible mates and so should be avoided.

This is simply a campaign of lies and again is socially too costly to maintain.

3. Most people depend on social exclusion - the denial of Social Equality to those with whom intermarriage is for any reason undesirable.

38-13-145

But can Democracy and wholesale exclusion co-exist? Our present perverted sexology leads us to regard our every social equal as a prospective husband or wife; and, vice versa, we want to insult and kick anyone whom we may not wish to marry. How singular an attitude this is and how it explains much of our modern marital muddle inside the white race as well as without. Every proposal of increased democratic control in the world has been met by the objection that the excluded classes will seek intermarriage with the privileged classes if they are allowed to rise. The answer has always been: marriage, within certain wide limits, is an individual contract which calls for the consent of the two contracting parties; without that consent, it cannot be consummated. With the consent, its legal prevention leads to sexual immorality as the millions of mulattoes and Eurasians attest.

Moreover, Democracy and human culture, demand social

contact. The white race has been chiefly instrumental in breaking down racial barriers and territorial segregation. Unless human beings meet and meet on a plane of understanding, friendship and courtesy, modern culture is impossible. Social Equality, therefore, is a necessity of modern human intercourse. Does it involve intermarraige? Not necessarily. If growing contact of men and women of different races in government, education and art lead to marriages, then this is proof of mutual attraction and mutual consent. Doubtless the social contact of strange groups and races will lead to some such marriages. But it is certain that these marriages will be far fewer in number, and far less deleterious in effect than the illicit sexual relations that have long been the rule.

38-13-146

On the other hand so long as racial and group separation has any adequate reason, in scientific fact, in cultural efficiency, in human taste and beauty, the great mass of individuals of the races will not intermarry, and their attitude will be maintained not by crime, lying, prostitution and personal insult, but by knowledge, courtesy and mutual respect.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF A THIRD PARTY IN 1924

There is a widespread feeling that the two leading political parties no longer correspond to the main divisions of public opinion and it is therefore being predicted that a third party must soon appear; and that this party will necessarily represent radical and progressive policies as opposed to the conservative and reactionary tendencies present in both the Republican and Democratic parties. Moreover it is well said that unless some such orderly and natural re-arrangement of party lines takes place in the United States and takes place fairly soon, the tendency to ultra-radical and even revolutionary methods of reform must greatly be feared. On the other hand, let the inhabitants of "God's Country" frankly confess to themselves that there has been no successful third party movement in the United States since the Civil War, and that of all civilized countries, this is one of the few nations of which this fact is true.

Why have we had in our political life and in a Republic which we boast to be "free", so little sustained and organized difference of opinion from the two old parties which everyone admits represent today no tangible body of faith, conviction or promise?

Disfranchisement makes and has long made a third party movement in the United States impossible. Let us take an extreme case. Suppose in a "republic"there are two parties. Suppose one of these parties is represented in the legislature by appointed representatives - members who hold their office by "divine right" or hereditary privilege. The other party gets its representatives by election at the polls. In such a land there can be no Third Party. There can be simply Privilege and Opposition. Privilege will seldom if ever divied. If Opposition divides politically it is lost. This situation was the case of England a generation ago. It

is the case of the British Crown Colonies like Jamaica, today.

Suppose now that the situation advances: Party A depends on the public opinion of 10,000 persons expressed at the polls. Party B depends on the opinion of 100,000 persons similarly expressed. Manifestly the first party has a tremendous political advantage. Each one of its constituents has 10 votes as compared with the constituents of the second party. A successful third party movement under such conditions would be most unprobable.

It is only where organized political parties can appeal to a constituency on approximately equal terms, and when neither party depends on political privilege for all or part of its power that Democracy begins to become efficient as an expression of the popular will. In such case we will have not only Third but often Fourth and Fifth party groups arising, falling, and coalescing as opinion develops. For public opinion does not usually range itself on two sides of certain clearly defined issues; on the contrary as government becomes more complex and deals with larger and larger fields and more and more intricate details, parties tend to group themselves about certain nuclei and the governing body depends on the support of a temporary alliance of groups who belong not to two but to many different parties. This situation which is visible everywhere and cannot and ought not be stopped (because it is a natural development toward, and simplification of the process of ascertaining and building public opinion,) is only possible when the democratic basis of appeal is so wide that the primary and fundamental opposition between oligarchy and democracy disappears and allows thought and difference of opinion on other matters.

In the United States we are still so far in the grip of political Privilege that a Third Party movement has been impossible. We may have "wilful" half dozen, farm "blocs", and "progressive" individuals, but they are driven eventually back into the old party lines, or at least

32-1-15

they have been for half a century.

The reason for this is clear. It is because both of the older parties get part of their power without having to appeal as widely to the popular vote as a Third Party must. The process then of righting political wrong in the United States by influencing public opinion and appealing to it, is repeatedly a tremendous failure and the only thing we are at present able to do, is to give overwhelming and sweeping majorities, now on this side and now on that, tearing down in our impotent rage both the good and the bad, in order in some blind way to rebuke the bad.

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Not only is this true but in addition it is a situation which true Americans must not discuss. The South is today the seal of Political Privilege to a degree that would stagger an Englishman but we must not discuss it. It is bad form. Our wildest and most earnest radicals may propose reform on every subject but this. On this they must become reactionary on pain of public disfavor.

Whatever our judgment can we not at least face the plain facts?

Before the Civil War, the Southern part of the United States had a white population whose political power was, man for man, larger than the political power of the North. The reason for this was that the white South in 1860, for instance, not only cast votes for a population of 5,931,483 whites, but also voted three-fifths "of all other persons" that is, of 3,953760 slaves, amounting politically to 2,372,256 persons. This, however, did not upset democracy in the United States as much as it might have because the white votes of the South, even with their added power, were distributed on the whole, fairly evenly among the dominant parties, so that the Whig appealed to voters North and South with almost as fair a chance of success as the Democrat. It maade however a Third Party only possible at the cost of Civil War!

The result of the Civil War, and the result which most people have forgotten, was to increase the political power of the white South. This has been partly neutralized in the North by the political power built upon the basis of the unnaturalized foreign born; but on the whole, the net result of these facts has been to increase the political power of the South very largely and of the East considerably as against the political power of the Center and West. This can be proven by the following facts:

First, we may make a table giving the total population of each state in 1920 and the possible voting population (that is the native born persons 21 years of age and over plus the naturalized foreigners). Then we may take the presidential vote of each state case in 1920 and the number of representatives which each state elected by that vote; by subtracting those who voted from the possible voting population, we get the number of voters disfranchised. From this we learn that 92% of the possible voters of South Carolina did not go to the polls, while in Indiana this percentage polls to 26%. In Mississippi 91% are disfranchised and in North Dakota 30%.

Part of this disfranchisement is voluntary - the result of people not having enough interest to go to the polls, or being kept away by weather conditions. However, it may be said that in an exciting presidential year like 1920, the percent of voluntary disfranchisement, though large, was at a minimum. To this we must add that comparatively small number disfranchised for crime, disability, etc.

The amount of disfranchisement too in the South, is to some extent exaggerated, because there is included not only the actually disfranchised Negroes but also many whites who vote in party primaries but take no interest in the regular election. Making, however, all of these allowances, the contrast between South Carolina and Indiana is sufficient to make us realize that democracy by popular vote, is impossible under present arrangements.

We may also sense difficulties in the Eastern states although not so clearly. For instance in California, Iowa, Ohio and Kansas the possible voting population is between 55 and 60% of the total population, while in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania half or less of the population are voters showing probably the political power accruing to the East over the West by the presence of foreign born who are not encouraged to become naturalized citizens.

If we group the states we get even more striking results. The South (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia) case 2,175,007 votes in the presidential election of 1920, electing 94 representatives to Congress or 23,138 voters per representative. New England and the Middle Atlantic States cast 7,616,927 votes for 126 representatives or per representative. The South West (Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico,and Utah) cast 636,893 votes for 9 representatives or 70,766 per representative. The Border States (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia) cast 4,194,509 votes for 58 representatives or 72,319 per pepresentative. While the great Middle West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin) cast 10,088,606 votes for 127 representatives or 79,439 per representative. Finally the Northwest (California, Idaho, Montana, Ohio, Washington and Wyoming) cast 1,945,604 votes for 24 representatives or 81,067 per representative. If we take the votes cast per representative in Congress in the Presidential election of 1920 we have these results by states:

## VOTES CAST PER REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS

| | |
|---|---|
| South Carolina | 9,449 |
| Mississippi | 10,312 |
| Georgia | 12,394 |
| Louisiana | 15,733 |
| Texas | 22,973 |
| Virginia | 23,100 |
| Alabama | 24,107 |
| Arkansas | 25,801 |
| Nevada | 27,194 |
| Florida | 36,706 |
| Tennessee | 42,863 |
| Vermont | 44,965 |
| Maine | 49,383 |
| Pennsylvania | 51,380 |
| North Carolina | 53,874 |
| Rhode Island | 55,795 |
| Wyoming | 56,199 |
| South Dakota | 60,373 |
| Oklahoma | 60,572 |
| Massachusetts | 62,507 |
| Wisconsin | 63,753 |
| Nebraska | 63,776 |
| Arizona | 66,687 |
| New York | 67,338 |
| Idaho | 67,471 |
| North Dakota | 68,592 |
| Maryland | 71,211 |
| Kansas | 71,278 |
| Connecticut | 72,802 |
| Utah | 72,914 |
| Colorado | 73,013 |
| Minnesota | 73,584 |
| New Jersey | 75,333 |
| Oregon | 76,174 |
| Illinois | 77,425 |
| Washington | 78,720 |
| New Hampshire | 79,372 |
| Michigan | 80,406 |
| Iowa | 81,281 |
| Missouri | 83,165 |
| Kentucky | 83,519 |
| West Virginia | 84,990 |
| California | 85,759 |
| Montana | 89,502 |
| Ohio | 91,795 |
| Delaware | 94,756 |
| Indiana | 97,108 |
| New Mexico | 105,131 |

32-1-19

This shows not only the political advantage which the East has over the Middle West, North West and the South West, but also the tremendous and unbelievable power of the South. If we arrange this as a map, we will find the United States looking somewhat like this, when it is distorted according to the political power of the various divisions. (See Map)

I care not whether an American lives north, east, west or south, whether he loves or hates Negroes, whether he believes in the 15th or even the 12th amendment or not, he must agree that this condition and free republican government in the United States cannot co-exist.

Why did it come to be tolerated at first? It must be remembered now that the acquiescence of the North in a policy of wholesale disfranchisement in the South, was based on the following argument: The white voter of the South is faced by an overwhelming amount of black ignorance, which, because of prejudice, votes solidly against the white man - against Property, against Civilization. If now, the Negro is removed from politics, this will leave the white voter free; first, to divide on national issues according to his intelligence and conscience; secondly, to take up the problems of social development and uplift in his own locality in accordance to the best interest of all, white and black. It was a plausible argument and it gained and still holds the majority of thinking people and it will hold them until they ask, "how far has the result justified the means?"

There has been in the South practically no division of the white vote, except as a matter of political patronage. Third parties like the Populists, the Socialists and the Progressives had made futile appeal now and then, but they have gained no real standing. The Southern states not only have failed to consider great national issues on their merits, but have lamentably failed in their local legislation. There remains in them a state of lawlessness which shames the Nation; this is the only part of the civilized world where men are still publicly burned at the stake and

where mob law is so prevalent, that state after state has acknowledged itself as being practically helpless. Murder in the South outruns the record of all civilization; education, while making noticeable and commendable progress, still lags so far behind the Nation, that the South is still the seat of greatest ignorance even among white Americans, and in the face of this the Southern Congressmen almost to a man oppose any Federal aid either to stop lynching or scotch the Ku Klux Klan.

But worse than all this, when the United States seeks, by a third party movement, to rearrange its political power in such a way that it can bring to bear political pressure and carry out political ideas, what does it find? It finds that in the South the policy of disfranchisement, has made democratic popular government impossible, even among the whites. It has put into the hands of the Southern whites such astonishing political power that a premium is given secret political manipulation holds, not simply the Negro, but a large number of whites themselves who are also thus disfranchised, and it allows the remaining rump electorate to threaten political life throughout the country.

No sooner are Progressives or Farmer Labor voters able to split the reactionary Republican party than they find themselves able to do nothing but to put the Democratic party just as reactionary, into power; and the result is that in sheer desperation they have to turn and throw the Democrats out by giving up the third party movement and acting with the Republicans. This has been our political program for fifty years and it is going to be our political program for fifty years longer unless we openly and frankly face the problem.

There is, of course, a bare possibility that sometime a tidal wave will utterly upset the Republicans and substitute the third party as the chief opposition party. But this third party will find itself between the devil and the deep sea. If it keeps itself progressive and ever so slightly radical it will have to fight not only the conservatism

of many former republicans but also the entrenched oligarchy of the Southern Democrats. If on the other hand, in order to avoid this contingency it makes overtures to the conservatives, it has two paths open to it: To gain the Northern Conservatives, it must give up its Progressive thought; to gain the Southern oligarchy, it must agree to sustain the present political power of the south. This is precisely the rock upon which the Progressives split.

32-1-22

The Farmer-Labor party and the Farm "Bloc" are facing the same thing. Imagine the Progressive Western Farmers' group joining hands with Pat Harrison of Mississippi! Pat Harrison represents a constituency where 10,000 people wield as much power as 90,000 people in Ohio. And Mr. Harrison will work with a Progressive party only on condition that this balance of political power be not touched.

The present call for Progressive elements to meet and form a third party in Washington has among its prominent signers, Campbell of Alabama, where 24,000 people have as much voice in government as 75,000 people in New Jersey. Here then is a problem. It has a sheer and fundamental problem of democracy and either the United States must quit its hypocracy of attempting to ignore these facts or fail in its attempt at self-government.

If we compare the possible voters (persons 21 years of age plus naturalized foreigners) with the votes cast in the Presidential elections of 1920 we have these percentages

The result of the Civil War, and the result which most people have forgotten, was to increase the political power of the white South. This has been partly neutralized in the North by the political power built upon the basis of the unnaturalized foreign born; but on the whole, the net result of these facts has been to increase the political power of the South very largely and of the East considerably as against the political power of the Center and West. This can be proven by the following facts:

30-18-7

Before the Civil War, the Southern part of the United States had a white population whose political power was, man for man, larger than the political power of the North. The reason for this was that the white South in 1860, for instance, not only cast votes for a population of 5,931,483 whites, but also voted three-fifths "of all other persons" that is, of 3,953760 slaves, amounting politically to 2,372,255 persons. This, however, did not upset democracy in the United States as much as it might have because the white votes of the South, even with their added power, were distributed on the whole, fairly evenly among the dominant parties, so that the Whig appealed to voters North and South with almost as fair a chance of success as the Democrat. It made however a Third Party only possible at the cost of Civil War!

30-18-6

~~Table B Table A~~
Possible

# PER CENT OF VOTERS DISFRANCHISED

| STATE | PER CENT | STATE | PER CENT |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 92% | Massachusetts | 47% |
| Mississippi | 91 | Wyoming | 46 |
| Georgia | 89 | Michigan | 45 |
| Louisiana | 86 | Nebraska | 45 |
| Texas | 82 | South Dakota | 44 |
| Virginia | 81 | New York | 44 |
| Arkansas | 79 | Colorado | 44 |
| Alabama | 79 | Kansas | 43 |
| Florida | 72 | Connecticut | 43 |
| Tennesee | 65 | Rhode Island | 42 |
| ~~Delaware~~ | ~~60~~ | New Jersey | 41 |
| Pennsylvania | 58 | West Virginia | 39 |
| North Carolina | 56 | Idaho | 39 |
| Vermont | 55 | Montana | 39 |
| Maine | 53 | New Mexico | 38 |
| Arizona | 53 | Nevada | 38 |
| California | 52 | Ohio | 38 |
| Oklahoma | 52 | Iowa | 35 |
| Illinois | 50 | New Hampshire | 33 |
| Minnesota | 49 | Missouri | 33 |
| Maryland | 48 | Utah | 30 |
| Washington | 48 | North Dakota | 30 |
| Wisconsin | 48 | Kentucky | 29 |
| Oregon | 48 | Indiana | 26 |
| | | Delaware | 25% |

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12

It may fairly be said with regard to these figures based on the South the vote at the Democratic "white" primary is often larger than the vote at the regular election. The discrepancy may however be least in a presidential year. Secondly, partly women in 1920 voted in smaller numbers in the South ~~in 1920~~ than in other sections. ~~Further are both negro voters termed ignorant and ordinarily there is not much interest in election. There is~~ ~~much absentee~~ Thirdly large numbers of Negroes in the South and among persons elsewhere are disfranchised by educational and property tests. Finally, a

35-18-9

Part of this disfranchisement is voluntary - the result of people not having enough interest to go to the polls, or being kept away by weather conditions. However, it may be said that in an exciting presidential year like 1920, the percent of voluntary disfranchisement, though large, was at a minimum. To this we must add that comparatively small number disfranchised for crime, disability, etc.

When all is said the result is still astounding. Today all it is clear that disfranchisement in the South is not merely disfranchisement of Black Folk. There are 390,039 white folk 21 years of age and over in South Carolina. Yet South Carolina cast but 66,140 votes in 1920 and some of these were Negroes. In that State voluntarily & involuntarily over 300,000 white voters were disfranchised. Whereas of the 376,930 Negroes 21 years age & more, not all were ~~doctors~~ debarred by ignorance. Only 205819 of these were eliminated in 1920 leaving 171,111 who can read & write. Allowing for inaccurate census reports there must be 100,000 Negroes in S.C. who are quite intelligent enough to vote with mere disfranchisement, by considerable along

30,000 whites Moreover 54,339 by census report and we
ack probably 75000 of the 30,000 whites owned and used and
wrote

30-18-1

We may also sense difficulties in the Eastern states although not so clearly. For instance in California, Iowa, Ohio and Kansas the possible voting population is between 55 and 60% of the total population, while in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania half or less of the population are voters showing probably the political power accruing to the East over the West by the presence of foreign born who are not encouraged to become naturalized citizens.

30-18-11

If we group the states we get even more striking results. The South (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia) cast 2,175,007 votes in the presidential election of 1920, electing 94 representatives to Congress or 23,138 voters per representative. New England and the Middle Atlantic States cast 7,616,927 votes for 128 representatives or per representative. The South West (Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah) cast 636,893 votes for 9 representatives or 70,766 per representative. The Border States (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia) cast 4,194,509 votes for 58 representatives or 72,319 per representative. While the great Middle West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin) cast 10,088,606 votes for 127 representatives or 79,439 per representative. Finally the Northwest (California, Idaho, Montana, Ohio, Washington and Wyoming) cast 1,945,604 votes for 24 representatives or 81,067 per representative. If we take the votes cast per representative in Congress in the Presidential election of 1920 we have these results by states:

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| South Dakota | 60,373 |
| Oklahoma | 60,572 |
| Massachusetts | 62,507 |
| Wisconsin | 63,753 |
| Nebraska | 63,776 |
| Arizona | 66,687 |
| New York | 67,338 |
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| North Dakota | 68,592 |
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| Oregon | 76,174 |
| Illinois | 77,425 |
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30-18-13

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Why did it come to be tolerated at first? It must be remembered now that the acquiescence of the North in a policy of wholesale disfranchisement in the South, was based on the following argument: The white voter of the South is faced by an overwhelming amount of black ignorance, which, because of prejudice, votes solidly against the white man - against Property, against Civilization. If now, the Negro is removed from politics, this will leave the white voter free; first, to divide on national issues according to his intelligence and conscience; secondly, to take up the problems of social development and uplift in his own locality in accordance to the best interest of all, white and black. It was a plausible argument and it gained and still holds the majority of thinking people and it will hold them until they ask, "How far has the result justified the means?"

There has been in the South practically no division of the white vote, except as a matter of political patronage. Third parties like the Populists, the Socialists and the Progressives have made futile appeal now and then, but they have gained no real standing. The Southern states not only have failed to consider great national issues on their merits, but have lamentably failed in their local legislation. There remains in them a state of lawlessness which shames the Nation; this is the only part of the civilized world where men are still publicly burned at the stake and

we have ~~We respect to~~ and only put a premium ~~encourage~~ disfranchisement, ~~we~~ actually penalize democracy: Today in the Senate Mr. Pat Harrison of Mississippi is a notable leader. He equals in voting power & far out-talks Senator Borah. Mississippi cast 82,492 votes in the election of 1920 and received 2 votes in the Senate & 8 votes in the House; while Kansas cast 570,220 votes received exactly the same representation. Underwood of Alabama represents a state whose 241070 voters equal in power the 735,834 voters of Minnesota.

30-18-14



where mob law is so prevalent, that state after state has acknowledged itself as being practically helpless. Murder in the South outruns the record of all civilization; education, while making noticeable and commendable progress, still lags so far behind the Nation, that the South is still the seat of greatest ignorance even among white Americans, and in the face of this the Southern Congressmen almost to a man oppose any Federal aid either to stop lynching or scotch the Ku Klux Klan.

Moreover the subject is sacred. ~~We must not~~

The South is today the seat of Political Privilege to a degree that would stagger an Englishman but we must not discuss it. It is bad form. Our wildest and most earnest radicals may propose reform on every subject but this. On this they must become reactionary on pain of public disfavor.

~~Whatever our judgment, can we not at least face the plain facts?~~

30-18-15

But worse than all this, when the United States seeks, by a third party movement, to rearrange its political power in such a way that it can bring to bear political pressure and carry out political ideas, what does it find? It finds that in the South the policy of disfranchisement, has made democratic popular government impossible, even among the whites. It has put into the hands of the Southern whites such astonishing political power that a premium is given secret political manipulation which holds, not simply the Negro, but a large number of whites themselves who are also thus disfranchised, and it allows the remaining rump electorate to threaten political life throughout the country.

30-18-22

The process ~~then~~ of righting political wrong in the United States by influencing public opinion and appealing to it, is repeatedly a tremendous failure and the only thing we are at present able to do, is to give overwhelming and sweeping majorities, now on this side and now on that, tearing down in our impotent rage both the good and the bad, in order in some blind way to rebuke the bad.

~~Not only is this true but in addition it is a situation which true Americans must not discuss.~~

30-18-23

No sooner are Progressives or Farmer Labor voters able to split the reactionary Republican party than they find themselves able to do nothing but to put the Democratic party just as reactionary, into power; and the result is that in sheer desperation they have to turn and throw the Democrats out by giving up the third party movement and acting with the Republicans. This has been our political program for fifty years and it is going to be our political program for fifty years longer unless we openly and frankly face the problem.

There is, of course, a bare possibility that sometime a tidal wave will utterly upset the Republicans and substitute the third party as the chief opposition party. But this third party will find itself between the devil and the deep sea. If it keeps itself progressive and ever so slightly radical it will have to fight not only the conservatism

of many former republicans but also the entrenched oligarchy of the Southern Democrats. If on the other hand, in order to avoid this contingency it makes overtures to the conservatives, it has two paths open to it: To gain the Northern Conservatives, it must give up its Progressive thought; to gain the Southern oligarchy, it must agree to sustain the present political power of the south. This is precisely the rock upon which the Progressives split.

30-18-24

The Farmer-Labor party and the Farm "Bloc" are facing the same thing. Imagine the Progressive Western Farmers' group joining hands with Pat Harrison of Mississippi! Pat Harrison represents a constituency where 10,000 people wield as much power as 90,000 people in Ohio. And Mr. Harrison will work with a Progressive party only on condition that this balance of political power be not touched.

The present call for Progressive elements to meet and form a third party in Washington has among its prominent signers, Campbell of Alabama, where 24,000 people have as much voice in government as 75,000 people in New Jersey. Here then is a problem. It has a sheer and fundamental problem of democracy and either the United States must quit its hypocrisy of attempting to ignore these facts or fail in its attempt at self-government.

the electoral college. On the other hand, the Republicans must leave out of account 124 electoral votes at the start and of the other 407 electoral votes they can afford to lose only 141.

But if this is the plight of the Republicans, what can be said of any Third Party? It simply has no chance at all. All the fine political theory of the restoring and reforming effect of the Third Party has gone glimmering at the present United States, because any Third Party movement must first absolutely concede the 124 electoral votes of the South and then must dislodge the Republicans and Democrats from 142 of their 307 votes in the North.

36-2-157

Now a Third Party can make no appeal to the South. The dominant single party there has disfranchised all three party movements. It crushed Populists, Socialists, Progressives and Farmer Laborites. It is not a matter of outvoting these parties. No man, black or white, can come to the polls unless he promises not to vote for any party but the party in power.

The party in power in these states may make gestures toward liberalism and reform but they remain gestures. No matter whom the Democratic Party nominates the South must vote for him or threaten their own political monopoly. Thus, the South disfranchises itself in natural politics. On the other hand, if the North revolts from the Republican domination, the utmost it can accomplish is to put the South in power and that spells not reform but reaction. In other words, a Third Party movement in the United States to be successful must have such an overwhelming majority in the rock-ribbed centers of organized industry and conservative capitalism as to outvote North and South. The utter impossibility of a Third Party accomplishing this at present pleases conservative public opinion but it is the old method of sitting on the safety valve and rendering inactive the orderly processes of social growth and reform.

All this is true, and the United States knows it. But it does not discuss it. Discussions are taboo in Congress, on the public platform, in magazines and newspapers; so that the various facts which make democracy impossible of accomplishment in the United States are not generally apprehended.

We all know that if the most of the people in the United States could vote with freedom and on terms of equality, that even then the problem of effectual democratic control and the triumph of right ideas led by proper public officials would just begin. As it is now, we have no democratic control and we only realize this in a crisis.

36-2-158

As sure as fate some day there is coming in the United States a political controversy with social and economic roots which is going to open suddenly the question as to why the South has 3 times the political power of the West and why New England, with its disfranchised foreign workers, has more political voice than the West. The protest is not coming simply from Northerners or "friends" of the Negro. It is even coming from the South itself.

So far as the Negro is concerned, his attitude is changing. He is gradually ceasing to plead and prove. He is simply pointing to the known facts: out of a hundred thousand black folk and a hundred thousand whites there will be more blacks who are poor, ignorant, sick and silly than whites. Why this is true he will have his opinion and others theirs. The Negro only insists that in his group there will be thirty, twenty or ten thousand just as intelligent, thrifty and healthy as the majority of whites. He maintains that to treat these men as idiots and criminals is an attack on civilization.

I have no right, of course, to speak for the whole Negro race in America, but speaking for myself and many others, I am tired of the hypocrisy and double-dealing in this country. If race hatred is still so strong in this country that large numbers of Americans would rather

over-throw democratic government than to let me vote, then I am willing to acquiesce in disfranchisement and not be counted as a basis of representation rather than to see this great experiment in democracy fail.

36-2-159

While most of this study deals with the South because there the effect of disfranchisement is most striking and far-reaching, there are other parts of the United States, like New England and certain large cities, where the question of Democratic control by popular vote is acute. Surely it is time for open discussions and careful collection of facts. Americans, let us look the situation squarely in the face. This is no mere question of parish or section or race. It is a vast and pressing problem of Democracy and civilization. Today, and in the United States, Justic is for sale. Laws are bought and paid for. The highest offices are put up at public barter. News and facts are suppressed and twisted by monopoly. Education is controlled by the same forces that monopolize water power. Great aggregations of wealth invested in capital and controlled, not by their owners but my men who have secured the power of control by every know device, legal and illegal, honest and dishonest, efficient and inefficient, are ruling an increasingly complicated industrial machine in such a way that only intelligent public opinion can secure the best interests of the nation. Today we cannot even consult this public opinion.

We must, therefore, decide and decide soon: first, the public opinion of what persons in the United States shall rule? Shall it be the public opinion of a small select group of persons of Nordic descent? Shall it be the public opinion of the rich controllers of capital? Shall it be the public opinion of college graduates? Shall it be the public opinion of all adult Americans except Negroes, Asiatics and Latins? Or shall we try to make it the public opinion of all intelligant adults? Whatever public opinion rules in the United States it must rule

freely and clearly without a system of rotten boroughs and without discrimination and cheating. The clearing up and settling of this great question is the vastest problem that faces America today and we must begin its solution now. If we do not, we fact sooner or later, chaos and revolution.

36-2-160

81 BACK TO AFRICA

~~W. E. Burghardt Du Bois~~

It is the tenth of August in High Harlem of Manhattan island, where a hundred thousand negroes live. There is a long low unfinished church basement, roofed over. A little, fat black man, ugly, but with intelligent eyes and big head is seated on a plank platform beside a "throne"; dressed in a military uniform of the gayest mid-Victorian type, heavy with gold lace, epaulets, plume and sword. Beside him are "Potentates" and before him kneel a succession of several colored gentlemen. These in the presence of a thousand or more applauding dark spectators are duly "knighted" and raised to the "peerage" as Knight Commanders and Dukes of Uganda and the Niger. Among the lucky recipients of titles was the former private Secretary of Booker T. Washington!

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What did it all mean? A casual observer might have mistaken it for the dress rehearsal of a new comic opera and looked instinctively for Bert Williams and Miller and Lyles. But it was not, it was a serious occasion done on the whole soberly and solemnly. Another might have found it simply silly. All ceremonies are more or less silly. The coronation of King George the Fifth, which I viewed some years since from a cramped seat in High Holborn had its ludicrous side. It was a sort of supernal playing, or grown-up game of make-believe. Most modern kings must feel rather ridiculous in a crown, and so too Mr. Garvey's "Duke of Uganda", - a kindly, old gentleman, once clerk in the New York Customs House, - must have laughed in his sleeve, for he has humor. But he and others would have said that this cermony had some-

37-10-1

thing symbolic like the coronation because it was part of a great "Back to Africa" movement and represented self determination for the Negro race and a relieving of America of her most difficult race problem by a voluntary operation.

On the other hand, many American Negroes and some others were scandalized by something which they could but regard as simply child's play. It seemed to them sinister, this enthroning of a King and Misleading of people and taking their hard earned dollars; and in High Harlem there arose an insistent cry, "Garvey must go!"

Knowledge of all this seeped through to the greater world because it was sensational and made good copy for the reporters. The Great World becomes now and then aware of certain currents within itself, tragedies and comedies, movements of mind, gossip, personalities, - in some inner whirl pool of which it had been scarcely aware before. Usually these things are of little interest or influence for the main current of events; and yet is not this same main current made up of the impingeing of these smaller swirlings of little groups? No matter how segregated and silent the smaller whirl pool is, if it is American, at some time it strikes and influences the American world. What then is the latest news from this area of Negrodom spiritually so foreign to most of white America?

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37-10-2

There is little or nothing really new in the proposal of this Jamaican Negro, that the Negro race, spiritually and physically, should give up its attempt to become full American citizens and turn its face toward Africa with the idea of building there an independent center of Negro life.

Less than a generation ago, one of the leading American Negroes, Bishop Henry Turner, came to the conclusion that the only answer to

disfranchisement and "Jim-Crow" laws was the systematic migration of Negroes to Africa. Forty years previous to his day a great convention of American Negroes in Cleveland sent personal representatives to Haiti, Nigeria and Central America with the idea of arranging for wholesale migration of free Negroes out of the land of slavery.

Naturally enough, from the very first, the stolen slave wanted to go back to Africa; but the methods of the slave trade and of the slave-holders together with the width of the vast ocean, made the return of slaves to the land of their birth, or even their ancestors, practically impossible.

It was this that from the first made slave insurrections so hopeless, for even though they seized a plantat on, or maintained themselves like the Maroons for a hundred years in the pathless maountains of Jamaica or established palmares, that Brazilian Numantia with its 10,000 warriors, nevertheless the ends was inevitable for there was no secure home - no refuge, no sure retreat.

Thoughtful free Negroes early broached the project of a carefully calculated migration to Africa under intelligent leadership. As early as 1788, the Negro Union of Newport, R. I., proposed to the Free African Soceity of Philadelphia "A general exodus to Africa"; but this society, which afterward became the powerful African M. E. Church, with its 750,000 members, replied with fine cosmopolicy: "With regard to the emigration to Africa you mention, we have at present but little to communicate on that head, apprehending every pious man is a good citizen of the whole world."

Thus one sees the beginning of strong division of opinion among Negroes: the larger and more intelligent section of the Negroes regarding themselves as Americans and determined to fight out their destiny in the land of their labor and birth; and a smaller body, more in-

transigeant and emotional, and yet not without intelligence, who looked upon Africa as the natural home for repatriated Negro Americans.

37-10-4

Thoughtful and energetic Negroes like Paul Cuffee started the repatriation movement as early as 1815 and were helped by the first Negro College graduate, John Russworm of Dartmouth and the great religious leader, Lott Carey. Then came the colonization movement and its patent insincerity and pro-slavery leanings killed the interest of intelligent free Negroes. Nevertheless their churches maintained their interest and even today are spending $200,000 a year in African missionary work and maintaining 50 to 75 workers in the field.

Out of this thought and effort as early as 1900, and later in the smoke of the World War arose the Pan African movement, meeting in ~~two~~ four world congresses, where widely separated Negro leaders met for common acquaintance and understanding, in the hope of evolving eventually a program of cooperation among Negroes of all lands for the development and uplift of Africa.

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This then was the historic setting upon which Marcus Garvey burst during the World War. The sensation that he created was not so much in the announcement of his program as in his processes of reasoning, his proposed methods of work and the width of the stage upon which he essayed to play his part.

His reasoning was at first new and inexplicable to Americans because he brought to the United States a new Negro problem. We think of our problem here as <u>the</u> Negro problem, but we know more or less clearly that the problem of the American Negro is very different from the problem of the South African Negro, or the problem of the Nigerian Negro or the problem of the South American Negro. We have not hitherto been so clear as to the way in which the problem of the Negro in the United States differs from the problem of the Negro in the West Indies. For a long

time we have been told, and we have believed, that the race problem in the West Indies, and particularly in Jamaica, has practically been settled. One sees in Kingston colored men everywhere, driving engines, running stores, sitting in council, and even present at the Governor's receptions. Crime is rare, lynchings unknown, - here indeed is what seems to be inter-racial paradise. And yet Marcus Garvey is a denial and an emphatic denial of all this theory.

Let us note the facts. He was born on the northern coast of Jamaica in 1887. He was a poor black boy, his father dying later in the alms house. He got a little training in the Church of England Grammar School and then learned the trade of printing and worked for years as foreman of a printing plant. Then he went to Europe and wandered about England and France working and observing until he finally returned to Jamaica. He found himself facing a stone wall. He was poor, he was black, he had no chance for a university education, he had no likely chance for preferment in any line, but could work as an artisan at small wages for the rest of his life. Moreover he knew that the so-called settlement of the race problem in Jamaica was not complete. That as a matter of fact throughout the West Indies the development has been like this; most white masters had cohabited with Negro women and some had actually married them. Their children were free by law in most cases but were not the recognized equals of the whites, either socially, politically or economically. Because of the numbers of the free Negroes as compared with the masters and because of their continued growth in wealth and intelligence, they began to get political power and they finally either expelled the whites by uniting with the blacks, as in Haiti, or forced the whites to receive the mulattoes, or at least the lighter hued ones, as equals. This is the West Indian solution of the Negro problem. The mulattoes are practically regarded and treated as whites; with the assumpton that they will, by continued white inter-

marriage, bleach out their color as soon as possible. There survive therefore few white colonials, save new comers, who are not of Negro descent in some more or less remote ancestor. They inter-marry then largely with the whites, and the so-called disappearance of the color line is the disappearance of the line between the whites and mulattoes and not between the whites and the blacks or even between the mulattoes and the blacks.

37-10-6

Thus the privileged and exploiting group in the West Indies is composed of whites and mulattoes while the poorly paid and ignorant proletariat are the blacks, forming a peasantry vastly in the majority but socially politically and economically helpless and nearly voiceless. This peasantry moreover has been systematically deprived of its natural leadership because the black boy who showed initiative or who accidentally gained wealth and education soon gained the recognition of the white-mulatto group and might as an individual be incorporated with them particularly if he married one of them. Thus his interests and efforts were identified with the mulatto-white group.

There must naturally arise a more or less insistent demand among the black peasants for self expression and for an exposition of their grievances by one of their own group. Such leaders have indeed arisen from time to time and Marcus Garvey was one. His notoriety comes not from his ability and accomplishment but from the Great War. Not that he was without ability - he was a facile speaker able to express himself in grammatical and forceful English; he had spent enough time in world cities like London to get an idea of world movements, and he honestly believed that the backwardness of the blacks was simply the result of oppression and lack of opportunity.

On the other hand Garvey had no thorough education, and a very hazy idea of the technique of civilization. He fell easily into the

common error of assuming that because oppression has retarded a group that the mere removal of the injustice will at a bound restore the group to full power; then too personally he had his drawbacks; he was inordinately vain, and egotistic, jealous of his power, impatient of details, a poor judge of human nature and with the common weakness of and untrained devotees that no dependence could be put upon his statements of fact; not that he was a conscious liar, but dream, fact, fancy, wish, were all so blurred in thinking that neither he himself nor his hearers could clearly or easily extricate them.

37-10-7

To this personality was added the new economic demand for Negro peasant labor on the Panama canal and finally the Great War. Black West Indians began to make something like decent wages, they began to travel and they began to talk and think. Garvey talked and thought with them. He planned in conjunction with white and colored sympathizers a small Jamaican Tuskegee. This failed, and he conceived the idea of a purely Negro organization to establish independent Negro states and link them with commerce and industry. His "Universal Negro Improvement Association", launched August 1, 1914, in Jamaica, soon was in financial difficulties. The war was beginning to change the world and as white American laborers began to be drawn into war work there was an opening in many lines not only for southern American Negroes as laborers and mechanics but for West Indians as servants and laborers. They began to migrate in larger numbers. With this new migration came Marcus Garvey.

He established a little group of his own Jamaica countrymen in Harlem and launched his program. He took no account of the American Negro problem. He knew nothing about it. What he was trying to do was to settle the Jamaica problem in the United States. On the other ha American Negroes knew nothing about the jamaica problem. And they were excited and indignant at being brought face to face with a man

was full of wild talk about Africa and the West Indies and steamship

lines and "race pride", but who said nothing and apparently knew nothing about the right to vote, the horrors of lynching and mob law, and the problem of racial equality.

Moreover they were especially incensed at the new West Indian conception of the color line. Color lines had naturally often appeared in Colored America. But the development had early taken a far different line than in the West Indies. Migration by whites had numerically quite overwhelmed both masters andmulattoes and compelled most American masters to sell their own children into slavery. Freedom therefore rather than color became the first line of social distinction in the American Negro world. Despite the near-white aristocracies of cities like Charleston and New Orleans, and despite the fact that the proportion of mulattoes who were free and who gained some wealth and education was greater than that of blacks because of the favor of their white parents.

After emancipation color caste tended to arise again but the darker group was quickly welded into one despite color by case legislation which applied to a white man with one Negro great grandfather as well as to a full blooded Bantu. There were still obvious advantages to the Negro American of lighter hue in"passing" for white or posing as Spanish or Portuguese, but the pressing demand for ability and efficienty and honesty within this fighting, advancing group continually drove the color line back before reason and necessity and it came to be universally regarded as the poorest possible taste for a "Negro" even to refer to differences of color. Colored folk as white as the whitest came to describe themselves as "Negroes". Beneath this and in more subtle ways spiritual insight on racial difference and color schemes followed this blunter necessity. These colored folk could not be misled by dogmas of color and race for they were all colors and all races. They gained a

more Catholic appreciation of human beauty and particularly the beauty of dark skins and curly hair, and they learned to question the Nordic ideal in physics charm as well as in political dogma. They talk still of their "race" and "blood" but they conceived race as a social and historical fact rather than a physical law and they grew gradually to conceive that a man might easily have reason to be as proud of his African as of his English ancestry. Generations of breeding for comeliness had of course eliminated much physical ugliness from the white folk (for what will not the washing of wealth and leisure do for the dirst of guliness?) but just as truly the black folk had preserved certain spiritual beauties which the whites had lost.

37-10-9

Naturally enough in a world which legally and physically compels worship of a white skin as such, the dark world must to some extent echo this judgment and regard a black skin as "unfortunate". But it tends also strongly in America to place the root of this misfortune in prejudice and not in physical inferiority. Thus delicately but with increasing wisdom, colored America was handling its inner color problems. Imagine then the surprise and disgust of these millions when Garvey launched his Jamaican color scheme.

He did this of course ignorantly and with no idea of his mistake and no wit to read the signs. He meant well. He saw what seemed to him the same color lines which he hated in Jamaica and he sought here as there to oppose white supremacy and the white ideal by a crude and equally brutal black supremacy and black ideal. His mistake did not lay in the impossibility of this program - greater upheaval in ideal have shaken the world before - but rather in its spiritual bankruptcy and futility, for what shall this poor world gain if it exchange one race supremacy for another.

Even when Garvey sensed that somewhere he was making a mistake and

began to protest that he was not excluding mulattoes from his organization. Indeed he has men of all colors and bloods in his organization, but his propaganda still remains "All-black" because this brings cash from the Jamaica peasants; once he was actually haled to court and made to apologize for calling a disgruntled former colleague "white!" His tirades and twistings thus land him in strange contradictions: thus with one voice he denounced Booker Washington and Frederick Douglass as bastards and with the next named his boarding house and first steamship after these same men!

Aside from his color lines Garvey soon developed in America a definite and in many respects original and alluring program. He proposed to establish the "Black Star Line" of steamships under Negro ownership and with Negro money, to trade between the United States, the West Indies and Africa. He proposed to establish a Factories Corporation which was going to build factories and manufacture goods both for local consumption of Negroes and for export. He was going eventually to take possession of Africa and establish independent Negro governments there.

37-10-10

The statement of this program with tremendous headlines, wild eloquence and great insistence and repetition caught the attention of all America, white and black. When Mr. Garvey brought his cohorts to Madison Square Garden, clad in fancy costumes and with new songs and ceremonies, and when ducking his dark head at the audience he yelled, "We are going to Africa to tell England, France and Belgium to get out of there", America sat up, listened, laughed and said here at least is something new.

Negroes, especially West Indians, flocked to his movement and poured money into it. He had at one time, about 1919, some 80,000 members in his organization and perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 were paying regularly thirty-five cents a month into his chest. These numbers grew in his

wish and imagination until he was claiming 4,500,000 followers, and speaking for "Four hundred million Negroes"! He did not, however, stop with dreams and promises. If he had been simply a calculating scoundrel he would carefully have skirted the narrow line between promise and performance and avoided as long as possible the inevitable catastrophe. But he believed in his program and he had a childish ignorance of the stern facts of the world into whose face he was flying. Being an islander, and born in a little realm where a half day's journey takes you from ocean to ocean, the world always seemed small to him and it was perhaps excusable for this black peasant of Jamaica to think of Africa as a similar but slightly larger island which could be easily taken possession of. Certainly into Garvey's mind there never entered any adequate idea of the immense size of Africa, of the diversity of its tribes and racial affinities, of its political history and present complications, and the stake which Europe and civilization has there, - a stake of immense wealth, of endless raw material, of millions of lives. All these were bagatelles to Garvey. He was out to "take" Africa.

37-10-11

His first practical step toward this was to establish the Black Star Line and here he literally left his critics and opponents breathless by suddenly announcing in 1919 that the FREDERICK DOUGLASS, a steamship, had been bought by his line, was on exhibition at a dock in New York harbor, and was about to sail to the West Indies with freight and passengers. The announcement was electrical even for those who did not believe in Garvey. With a splendid, audacisou faith, this poor, black leader with his storming tongue, compelled a word of admiration from all. But the seeds of failure were in his very first efforts. This first boat, the "Yarmouth", (never re-named the "Frederick Douglass" probably because of financial difficulties) was built in the year Garvey was born, and was an old sea-scarred hulk. He was cheated in buying it

and paid at least twice as much as the boat possibly could be worth. A certain white woman was drawn into deep sympathy with the Garvey movement because she was present at a banquet where white shipbrokers were hilarious over the way in which they had cheated Garvey in selling this old hulk; and she expressed her indignation aloud. Garvey paid at least
10
$140,000 for this

boat, and after he had used her for exhibition and advertising projects he started his first real business venture by accepting a cargo of whisky for transportation to Cuba just before the 18th amendment went into effect. He afterward swore in a court of law that he lost on that trip from $250,000 to $300,000 and that on another trip of the same boat he lost $75,000. These losses were due to damage to the boat and disappearance of part of the whiskey and lack of insurance on the cargo. The Yarmouth made three trips to the West Indies in three years and then was docked for repairs, attached for debt and finally in December 1921 sold at auction for $1625!

37-10-12

A second boat which Garvey bought was a steam yacht originally built for a Standard oil magnate. It too was old and of doubtful value but Garvey paid $60,000 for it and sent it down to do a small carrying trade between the West Indies Islands. The boat broke down and it cost $70,000 or $80,000 more to repair it than Garvey paid for it. Finally it was wrecked or seized in Cuba and the crew was transported to the United States at government expense.

The third boat was a Hudson river ferry boat which Garvey bought for $35,000. With this he carried excursionists up and down the Hudson during one summer and used it as a vivid advertisement to collect more money. The boat, however, ran only that summer and then had to be abandoned as beyond repair.

Finally Garvey tried to buy of the United States Shipping Board the steamship Orion for $250,000, this boat was to be renamed the Phyllis Wheatley and its sailings were advertised in Garvey's weekly

paper for several months and some passages sold; but the boat never was delivered because sufficient payments were not made. Mr. Garvey charges that this money was not paid because part of it was stolen by his co-workers - a charge that reacted on himself, for all his subordinates were men of his own personal choice, and all the power and fund of his organization were under his control.

Thus the Black Star Line arose and disappeared and with it went some $800,000 of the savings of West Indians and a few American Negroes. With this enterprise the initial step and greatest test of Mr. Garvey's movement failed utterly. His factories corporation never really got started. In its place he has established a number of local grocery stores in Harlem and one or two shops, including a printing press which may or may not survive. His African program was made impossible by his own pigheadedness. He proposed to start in Liberia, with industrial enterprises. From this center he would penetrate all Africa and gradually subdue it. Instead of keeping this plan hidden and working cautiously and intelligently toward it, he yelled and shouted and telegraphed it all over the world. Without consulting the Liberians he apparently was ready to assum charge of their state. He appointed officials with high sounding titles and announced that the headquarters of his organization was to be removed to Liberia in January 1922. Such announcements together with his talk about conquest and "driving Europe out", aroused European governments to inquire about Mr. Garvey and his backing. Diplomatic representations were made to Liberia asking it how far it intended to cooperate in this program. Liberia was naturally compelled to repudiate Garveyism, root and branch. They officials told Mr. Garvey that he and any one else was welcome to migrate to Liberia and develop industry within legal lines but that they could recognize only one authority in Liberia and that was the authority of the Liberian government, and that Liberia could not be the seat of any intrigue against her peaceful neighbors. They made it impossible for Garvey to establish any headquarters in Africa unless it was done by the consent

37-10-13

of the very nations whom he was threatening to drive out of Africa!

This ended his African program and reduced him to the curious alternative of sending a delegate to the League of Nations to ask them to hand over as a gift to his organization a German colony in order that he might begin his work.

Thus the bubble of Garveyism burst, but its signifigance - its meaning remains. After all one has to get within Garvey to know him, to understand him. He is not simply a liar and blatant fool. Something of both, to be sure is there, but that is not all. He is the type of a man whom the white world is making daily, molding, marring, tossing to the air. All his life, whites have laughed and sneered at him and torn his soul. All his life he has hated the half whites who rejecting their darker blood have gloried in their pale shame. He has stormed and fought within and then at last it all burst out. He had to guard himself before the Powers and be careful of law and libel and hunger, but where he could be free he snarled and cursed at the whites, insulted the mulattoes with unpardonable epithets and bitterly reviled the blacks for their cowardice. Wildly he repudiated the inferiority charge, fastened, battened down on him. He was not inferior. He was superior. What man had done he could do. Napoleon, Lloyd George, DeValera - collegues all, less than he might be - would be. Soaring on his dreams he built empires, fleets, armies. Then desperately he strove to dream true.

37-10-14

Suppose now for a moment that Garvey had been a man of first rate ability - canny, shrewd, patient, dogged? He might have brought a world war of races a generation nearer - he might have deprived civilization of that precious generation of respite where we have yet time to sit and consider if difference of human color must necessarily mean blows and blood. As a matter of fact Garvey did not know how to approach his self-appointed task; the technique of modern civilization was foreign to him; he had not the genius to wait and laboriously learn, yet he pompously

~~He made a valet appeal~~ *

He was formally indicted by the Federal Courts for fraudulent use of the mails and send to the penitentiary for a short term. He made valid appeals for pardon and finally was released, but im- mediately deported to Jamaica. There he continued his agitations, being elected to the

37-10-16

2

Conspiracies of city of Kingston and send to jail for libelling Judges

37-10-17

seized the pose; he kept terribly busy, he rushed hither and thither. He collected and squandered thousands almost millions. He would- he must succeed. He appeared in the uniforms of his dream triumphs - in 1921 with an academic cap and gown, wierd in colors; in 1922 with cocked hat, gold lace and sword - the Commander-in-Chief of the African Legion! He did not quite dare call himself King Marcus the First, but he sunned himself awhile in the address "Your Majesty". He held court and made knights, lords and dukes; and yet as he feverishly worked, he knew he had failed; he knew he had missed the key to some dark arcana. He grew suspicious, morose, complaining, furious ad the"fools" and "scoundrels" who were "plotting" his ruin and the overthrow of his cause. With all the provincial backwoods love of courts and judges, he rushed and revelled in litigation, figuring in at least fifty suits - suing for libel, breach of ~~p~~ontract, slander, divorce, assault - everything and anything; while in turn his personal enemies sued him, rioted against him and one shot him so that today he dares not stir without a sturdy body-guard.

37-10-15

Beaten and overwhelmed with loss and disappointment he ~~will~~ did not ~~yet~~ surrender and ~~seeks~~ sought by surrounding himself with new officials and by announcing new enterprises - a daily paper, a new line of steamships, and the like - to reform his lines. So he sits today. He is a world figure in minute microcosm. On a larger field with fairer opportunity he might have been great, certainly notorious. He is today a little puppet, serio-comic, funny yet swept with a great veil of tragedy; meaning in himself little more than a passing agitation, moving darkly and uncertainly from a little island of the sea to the panting, half submerged millions of the first World State. And yet he means something. He is type of a mighty coming Thing. He voices a vague formless but growing integrating human mind which some day will arrest the world.

Just what it has cost the Negro race in money to support Garvey it is hard to say but certainly not less than a million dollars. And yet

with all this there are certain peculiar satisfactions. Here haw come a test to the American Negro which he has not had before. A demagogue has appeared; not the worst kind of demagogue, on the contrary, a man who had much which was attractive and understandable in his personality and his program but nevertheless a man whose program anybody with common sense knew was impossible. With all the arts of the demagogue Garvey appealed to crowds of people, with paper and persuasive eloquence, with the ringing of all possible charges of race loyalty and the bastardy of the mulatto and the persons ashamed of their race and the implacable enmity of the whites. It was the sort of appeal that easily throws ignorant and inexperienced people into orgies of response and generosity. And yet with all this coming at a critical time, when the Negro was hurt at his war experience and his post-war treatment, when lynching was still a national institution and mobllaw a ready resort, when the rank and file of ignorant West Indian Negroes were going wild over Garvey, the American Negroes sat cool and calm and were neither betrayed into wild and unjust attacks upon Garvey nor into uncritical acceptance.

37-10-18

His following has ebbed and flowed. Its main and moving nucleus has been a knot of black Jamaica peasants resident in America as laborers and servants; mostly unlettered, poor and ignorant, who worship Garvey as their ideal incarnate. Garvey is bold. Garvey lashes the white folk. Garvey downs the mulattoes. Garvey forever, no matter what he does. Does he steal? Better let him steal than let white folk. Does he squander? It's our money, let him waste. Does he fail? Others have failed. So through thick and thin they support him - thrusting their hard earned money on him in basketfuls yelling down and mobbing his critics, threatening to kill his enemies and loading him with adulation.

It is this blind and dangerous nucleus that explains Garvey's success in holding his power. Around these are a mass of West Indians,

resident in the islands and in the United States, who have honestly supported Garvey in the hope that this new leader would direct them out ot the West Indian impasse of low wages, little educational opportunity, no industrial openings and caste. Especially they seized upon the Black Star Line, as isolated islanders would, as a plan of real practical hope. This group reached sixty or seventy thousand in number during Garvey's heydey, but with the failure of his enterprises, it is rapidly falling away.

With these groups have always been a number of American Negroes - the ignorant, drawn by eloquence and sound, the grafters who saw a chance of sharing spoils; but beyond these some honest thinking folks who paused and inquired: who is Garvey and what is his program. It is always a sore temptation when a burdened climber, slowly and painfully mounting a hard and at times seemingly impossible path and realizing that he himself will never see the end but at best can hand only his burden to his children a few steps higher up - when such a climber hears a stentorian positive, impassioned voice: "You're on the wrong path, Here's and easier and shorter way. Follow me and arrive next week!" Reason and common sense may tell the climber that such a message is buncombe and yet - and yet - every strained muscle, every tired tendon, every deep remembered hurt cries "Wait! Listen! It may be there is some little truth hidden in this chaff!"

37-10-19

So Garvey's American Negro following, though always small, grew here and there, and in centers like Norfolk, Chicago and Pittsburg reached for a time into the thousands. But on the whole American Negroes stood the test well. The specious appeal of the demagogue is the bounden experience of every group and is particularly dangerous to a disappointed, struggling, bitter people. Is the path of the Negro in America the rock and thorn-strewn one of increasing and using their political power, in-

creasing the opportunities of employment, educating their children, encouraging and developing their sense of beauty in art and music and literature, and insisting more and more on civic and social recognition - or does their only chance for survival and self respect lay in complete separation from the white world and the building of a new autonomous and hostile Black World in league with the brown and yellow peoples?

Garvey's proposal of such a black world brought from American Negroes a simple Missouri "Show us". What are you doing and how? What are your concrete and practical proposals. They did not follow the more impatient counsels of "Garvey must go". They did not slander or silence or ignore him. The two hundred Negro weeklies treated him fairly and audiences listened to his words and read his literature. And right here lay his undoing; for the more his flamboyant promises were carefully compared with his results the sooner the utter futility of his program was revealed.

37-10-20

Here is a world that for a thousand years from the First Crusade to the Great War had been breaking the barriers between nations and races so as to build a world wide economic unity and cultural solidarity. The process has involved slavery, peonage, rape, theft and extermination, but it is slowly uniting Humanity. It is now proposed to turn back and cut out of this world its Black Eighth or its Colored Two-thirds. Not only is this practically impossible but its attempt today would certainly involve the white and colored worlds in a death struggle, whose event none can surely fortell. The power of the yellow, black and brown worlds today is the economic dependence of the white world on them and the power of the white world is its economic technique and organization. The super-diplomacy of race politics tomorrow is to transmute this inter-dependence into cultural sympathy, spiritual tolerance and human freedom. Not in segregation but in closer, larger unity lies inter-racial peace.

Not with entire clearness and yet with a certain fundamental and

tremendously significant clarity the American Negro realizes this, and as yet no demagoguery or pipe dreams have been able to divorce him from the facts. The present generation of Negroes has survived two grave temptations - the greater one fathered by Booker T. Washington which said: Let politics alone, keep in your place, work hard and do not complain; and which meant perpetual color caste for colored folk by their own cooperation and consent and the consequent inevitable debauchery of the white world; and the lesser fathered by Marcus Garvey which said Give up! Surrender! the struggle is useless; back to Africa and fight the white world.

It is not ordinary tribute to American Negro poise and common sense, and ability to choose and reject leadership, that neither of these programs have been able to hold them. One of the most singular proofs of this is that the latest support of Garveyism is from the notorious Ku Klux Klan. When Garvey saw his Black Star Line disappear, his West Indian membership fall off and his American listeners grow increasingly critical, he flew South to consult the "Grand Cyclops" of the "Invisible Empire". Whether the initiative came from him or the Klan is not known but probably the Klan invited him. They were indeed birds of a feather believing in titles, flummery and mumbo-jumbo, and handling much gullible money.

37-10-21

Garvey's motives were clear: the triumph of the Klan would drive Negroes to his program in despair, while the Klan's sympathy would enable him to enter the South where he has not dared to work and exploit the ignorant black millions. The Klan's object was to encourage anything that would induce Negroes to believe that their fight for freedom in America was vain. Garvey's secretary said that the Klan would probably finance the Black Star Line and Garvey invited the Grand Cyclops to speak at his convention. But Garvey reckoned without his host. A storm of

criticism rose among Negroes and kept Garvey explaining, contradicting and repudiating the unholy alliance and finally drove it under cover, although Garvey openly advertised the Klan's program as showing the impossibility of the Negro's remaining in America and the Klan sent out secret circulars defending Garvey and declaring that the opposition to him was from the Catholic church!

Again it is High Harlem, with its music and laughter, its conversations shouted aloft, its teaming, bantering, pushing crowds, its brown and black and cream-like faces, its crisp and curling hair. As the great red sun sends its last crimson song from the heights that hold the Hudson from the Harlem, its floods 138th Street and lights three blocks; one is a block of homes, built once for the "Yellow dog" funds of the great Equitable Life Insurance Company but now sold to Negroes - some crowded, some carelessly kept, but most of them quite beautiful even luxurious - perhaps as handsome a block as middle class America, white or black affords; Next the sun softens the newness of a brick block on Seventh Avenue - stretching low and beautiful from the Y. W. C. A., to a moving picture house of the better class and a ~~five and ten cent store~~ built and owned by black folk. Down beyond on 138th Street the sun burns the raising spire of Abyssinian Church - a vast and striking structure, built by Negroes who for a hundred years have supported one organization and are now occupying their newest and most luxurious home with soft carpets, stained windows and swelling organ. Finally the dying rays hit a low rambling basement of brick and rough stone. It was designed as the beginning of a church long ago but abandoned. Marcus Garvey roofed it over and out of this old square and dirty "Liberty Hall" he screams his propaganda. As compared with the Homes, the Business, the Church, Garvey's basement represents nothing in accomplishment and only waste in attempt. Today the basement is gone & on its site another Colored West Indian has built elevator tenements

And yet Liberty Hall had a right to it represents something spiritual however poor and futile, ~~today~~. Deep in the black man's heart he knows that he needs more than homes and stores and churches - he needs Manhood - Liberty, Brotherhood, Equality. The call of the Spirit urges him restless to and fro.with all men of the Despised and Forgotten, seeking, seeking. Misled they, as Negroes often are and again and again they play in microcosm the same tragic drama that other worlds and other groups have played. Here is Garvey yelling to life from the black side a race consciousness which leaps to meet Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard and others worshippers of the Great White Calf. It is symptomatic and portentous. If with a greater and more gifted and efficient Garvey it sometime blazes to real flame, it means World War and eternal hate and blood. It means the setting of the world clock back a thousand years; and yet the worlds Garveys are not solely to blame, but rather every worshipper of race superiority and human inequality. On the other hand back of all this lurks the quieter, more successful, more insistent and hopeful fact. Races are living together. They are buying and selling, marrying and rearing children, laughing and crying. They are fighting mobs and lynchers and them that enslave and despise and they have not yet failed in that fight. Their faith in their ultimate and complete triumph are these homes, three tenements, every this business block this church, duplicated a hundred thousand times in a nation of 12 million. Here then are the two future paths, outlined with a certain sullen dimness in the world's blood-crimson twilight and yet to be descried easily by those with the seeing hearts. Which path will America choose?

37-10-23

(1)

Wood T. Moore

# ECONOMIC SEGREGATION OF BLACK FOLK

There is a singularly wide-spread feeling of complacency in the United States, among both white and colored people, at the development of the American Negro in business and industry. This is looked upon partly as the natural result of the economic propaganda of the late Booker T. Washington and partly as a result of the philanthropic attitude of those white employers who are willing "to give the Negro work". In truth there are two quite different tendencies manifest in this economic development of Negroes. On one hand, there is the spread of Negroes in national industry conducted by the whites.

From the earliest times, the Negro has been a decisive factor in American economic life. He was the industrial foundation of the four great crops which made modern international trade - rice, sugar, tobacco and cotton - especially in the sugar and cotton kingdoms, he was and is indispensable. His status here, however, was for three and a half centuries chiefly that of a slave laborer. Before emancipation, however, he began to expand both as slave and freeman into general labor and skilled industry. Since emancipation, this tendency has continued, although it has met opposition and has been a halting and uncertain development. From the earliest times, white labor has opposed Negro labor in America. But the opposition before emancipation usually took the form of opposition to slavery, although in the West and in the fifties, this began to be transmuted into opposition of Negro labor, slave or free, because of the naturally low economic social status of the free Negro. To-day, a half century since emancipation, the Negro worker still has his difficulties.

In the first place, he usually enters the lowest and worst paid positions with the most difficult working conditions and with little or

no chance of advancement. One has but to view the housing offered Negroes in the employ of the companies in the newest steel merger: well-bred pigs ought not to be housed as colored workers are housed in and around Coatesville, Pa., by the Midvale, Bethlehem and other steel companies. Then too, there is the modern attitude of white labor

In the South carrying over into emancipation the economic rivalry between whites and blacks in slavery days the newer enfranchised white laborers have disfranchised colored laborers and united by law, mob rule and secret organization to reduce black labor to as low an economic status as is possible. In the country districts this has resulted in the convict lease system and in widespread peonage. In the cities it has been less successful but still keeps the wages of black laborers down and restricts their economic opportunities. In the North the labor unions have direct enactments as in the case of railway unions or by national policy or the votes of local bodies have kept the number of Negroes admitted down to a minimum so that the fight for the union shop has meant practically a fight against Negro labor as well as for better wages and better conditions of work. The war has changed this partially and by restricting immigration has made the southern black labor the resevoir for common labor toward which the great basic industries are more and more turning. Laborers therefore from the South are coming North in large numbers and finding employment in the steel and iron industries, in coal mining, in brick making and as general laborers in dozens of industries. Continuously there has been a demand for colored women as servants and this now is being gradually enlarged by openings for them in certain sorts of industries and some factroies. There are them in general American industry to-day some three million farm laborers and farmers in agriculture; one million and a quarter general laborers and washerwomen; seven hundred thousand servants and five hundred thousand artisans. The economic advance of the Negro here indicated is clear, but it has been a most difficult and heart-rending battle, and it still leaves the black folk dissatisfied, protesting and eager for change.

On the other hand, and contrasted with this, there is another kind of economic development into which the Negro is entering in small numbers but with breathless eagerness. This is an attempt to form in the

United States, a closed economic circle for and by colored people. According to this plan, colored people employ and are employed by colored people, so as to form reciprocal service, covering as completely as possible, all economic a tivities. I have described this tendency elsewhere as " the Group Economy"-- it consists of such a co-operatice arrangement of industries and services within the Negro group so that the group tends to become a closed economic circle largely independent of the surrounding white world. The recognition of this fact explains many of the anomalies which puzzle the student of the Negro American.

You used to see numbers of colored barbers; you are tempted to think they are all gone - yet to-day there are more Negro barbers in the United States than ever before, but also at the same time a larger number than ever before cater solely to colored trade where they have a monopoly. Because the Negro lawyer, physician, and teacher se ve almost exclusively a colored clientage, their very existence is half forgotten. The new are not successors of the old; there used to be Negro business men Negro business men/in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore catering to white trade. The new Negro business man caters to colored trade. So far has this gone that to-day in every city of the United States with a considerable Negro population, the colored group is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice, an education of children: to a growing degree with food, houses, books, and newspapers. So extraordinary has been this development that it forms a large and growing part in the economy in the case of fully one-half of the Negroes of the United States and in the case of something between 50,000 and 100,000 town and city Negroes, representing at least 300,000 persons the group economy approaches a complete system."

This was in 1907. To-day, sixteen years later

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* Atlanta University Studies No. 12, 1907

The movement has been tremendous accelerated so that among the colored people of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, Chicago, Indianapolis and St. Louis and a hundred or more other cities, the colored man employs a Negro physician and a Negro dentist; he buys some part of his goods at Negro stores, especially drugstores and small groceries; he educates his children wholly or in part in his own schools; he gets his amusement in halls owned or rented by Negroes, in moving picture houses conducted by them, and now and then, in theatres owned by them. Almost invariably, he goes to a Negro church, served by a Negro minister; and usually to a colored Y. M. C. A. with a colored secretary; often too, to a colored Y. W. C. A. He reads carefully a colored weekly newspaper and usually a colored monthly magazine. He hires, for repairs, colored carpenters, plasterers and painters and automobile mechanics. He lives in a colored neighborhood, either owning his own house or, in a considerable number of cases, renting from a colored landlord. He carries life insurance in a colored organization. If he eats outside of his home, it is usually in a colored restaurant. In the annual election, he votes for one or two colored candidates or for white candidates who categorically promise to make appointments of colored policemen, street-sweepers, and, now and then, appointments of higher grade. All the organizations, fraternal, social, philanthropic, to which he belongs are, with very few exceptions, composed of colored people. He has almost no social contact of any sort, even casual, with white folk. All of the above activities are quite usual, but others are coming to the fore - larger groceries and some dry-goods stores are demanding his patronage. To a rapidly increasing extent, he is being employed by colored corporations or organizations as executives, clerks, stenographers, laborers and janitors. This is still a very small percentage of the total Negro employment, but it is an appreciable percentage and a growing one, one

with a significance far beyond its facts and with peculiar psychological results.

For instance, I received this morning in the mail, two circulars - one is from "The Afro-American Food and Drug Company" located at Columbus, Ohio, with an "authorized capital of $1,000,000". It says among other things: "It is one of the policies of this company, outside of its purely commercial features, with its great money-making possibilities for the share holders, to give employment to colored men of ability as officials, employ all factory help from colored men and women, and do all in its power to allow the Negro producers of the United States to control their own products and better their financial condition. One of the By-laws, suggested by Dr. Berry and approved by the board of trustees is that the colored citizens be given first chance to purchase these shares and therefore keep the profits within the race".

The other circular is from "The Progressive Realty Company, Inc." owners of the "Shady Rest Club and Golf Grounds", Westfield, N. J. This says: "The Progressive Realty Company owners of Shady Rest Club House, Golf Grounds and Amusement Park, is distinctively a Race Organization and is incorporated under the laws of the Statesof New Jersey. It is officered and directed by some of the most prominent and sagacious business men of New Jersey and New York City. The Company is striving in every possible way to make Shady Rest the "Playground" of the Race in the East, and you are assured that it will be conducted on the highest plane of decorum and a certain degree of exclusiveness will be maintained at all times in order that members of the Club may be enabled to enjoy to the fullest extent, the privileges for which they pay."

In all this development, (and I have simply sketched its main outlines and sought no complete picture), Negroes are evincing tremendous energy and <u>esprit du corps</u>. Pictures of new organizations and buildings appear in their pictorials, groups of officers and employees, figures of income.

White people, too, express on seeing and hearing of such enterprises great gratification, and upon the slightest pretext, make glowing speeches to prove that this is the way to the millenium.

In truth, the development is not nearly as satisfactory and inspiring as such persons say or think. It is not a direct advance, it is a great flanking movement entailing hard work, long effort and possible failure. What we have shown in these two industrial developments of the black man the same thing we see in Negro life throughout the United States: the attempt of the Negro to develop as an American citizen, and the attempt, on the part of his white fellow citizens, to stem that development and hold it within definite and unyielding limits of low wage and semi-peonage; the consequent escape of the ambitious and talented and venturesome, together with a large and larger following of the black masses into a segregated economy.

The segregation is developing, and its future development is going to be tremendous. There is no reason in the world why under a regime of law and order, American Negroes should not raise raw material, fashion and manufacture it, sell it to themselves and to others and at the same time, furnish each other all sorts and varieties or personal service. But all this is going to be very costly; it is going to mean duplication, ruinous competition, and new race enmities and rivalries, but the compensation offered is escape from prejudice and slavery and with it a chance to develop industry, talent, artistic sense and executive ability.

The point which white America needs to consider is this: When this group has once built itself into a great self-sufficing and self-protecting organism, a mighty economic fist, impenetrable and sternly closed, to be aggressive and immune to punishment, and to build up an economic power and patrotism beside which philanthropy and national patriotism fades into nothing. Just as race prejudice and religious fanaticism drove the medieval Jew into an economic organization which still remains one of

the most complete and invulnerable on earth, in the same way, the present economic attitude of America toward the working Negro may develop an economic monster.

Of course, much depends upon the Negro himself. Most white folk have a simple faith that he is always going to be too idiotic and too ignorant, too torn by internal jealousies to affect any organization which they need respect or fear. I would not advise such white Americans to be too sure of their assumption. I have always had a good deal of faith in black folk. But in twenty-five years of active work among them, they are astonishing even me, at the ability, tenacity and dogged determination with which they are organizing themselves in economic and social lines. And I have a feeling that the results in these matters in the next twenty-five years, are going to jar the complacency of those who are counting on the eternal exploitation of cheap Negro labor, and of those who think they are settling any human problem by segregating it and then trying to forget it.

1923

The Negro as an Asset to the Nation.

1923

Section 1. - As a Laborer.

When the reader of this magazine seeks a career for his son and daughter, he recoils from any occupation which involves a large amount of manual toil and he does not for a moment consider menial service. And yet, most workers of the world always have been and still are servants and laborers by an overwhelming majority; and despite our tremendous technical development, there is no reason to suppose that this fact will not be true for long years to come. Because we dislike manual labor and despise the servant, we can hardly expect that this nation should regard as an asset a mass of folk who have always been chiefly laborers and servants.

34-4-41

And yet, we must remember that the black laborer in America has performed an unusual service. He has not only done the ordinary labor, incident to the industrial and social development of any country, but he has also performed that excess of toil which enabled this country to develop far faster than it would have ordinarily, and released from the necessities of hard toil enough of thought and genius to enable American economic development to do in 400 years what normally would have called for at least 1000 years. The Negro was not simply the slave of his white masters from 1500 to 1900 - he was the human sacrifice which between 1492 and 1850, laid the blood-covered foundation stones upon which was erected the structure of modern world commerce, with its kingdoms of tobacco, sugar and cotton. With this hard toil went a poignantly human, personal service; loyalty and sacrifice for masters, and the care of children and the bearing of illegitimate children, the nursing of the sick, the defense of the helpless, the succor of the discouraged and unfortunate.

If the American Negro has piled up for America, thousands of millions of dollars of wealth of which he has received no share, the Negro servant made a spiritual contribution which it is impossible to estimate

or to repay.

Nothing can present a clearer picture of the Negro in industry to-day than the actual census figures. We present the figures of 1910 as those of 1920 are not yet available:

34-4-42

(1)

Negroes gainfully employed - 1910

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 1,842,537 | 1,051,137 |
| Mining | 62,671 | 84 |
| Manufacturing & Hand Trades | 575,845 | 81,285 |
| Transportation | 274,565 | 2,083 |
| Business | 123,635 | 8,384 |
| Domestic & Personal Service | 234,063 | 871,008 |
| Public Service | 25,838 | 457 |
| Professional Service | 39,400 | 30,071 |

Under Manufacturing there are the following employments:

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Bakeries | 3,174 | 274 |
| Blast Furnaces and Steel Rolling Mills | 18,124 | 96 |
| Brick, Tile & Terra Cotta Factories | 18,703 | 111 |
| Building and Hand Trades | 242,387 | 45,754 |
| Charcoal and Coke Works | 5,437 | 17 |
| Cigar and Tobacco Factories | 14,717 | 10,746 |
| Clothing Factories (~~except~~ suits coats, cloaks, and overalls) | 8,594 | 937 |
| Cotton Mills | 6,333 | 883 |
| Fertilizer Factories | 7,648 | 75 |
| Iron and Steel Factories( not otherwise specified) | 5,336 | 91 |
| Iron Foundries | 6,140 | 32 |
| Laundries | 3,027 | 12,332 |
| Metal Industries & Factories(not otherwise specified) | 6,305 | 68 |

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Saw and Planing Mills | 110,453 | 770 |
| Slaughter and Packing Houses | 5,105 | 173 |
| Turpentine Distilleries | 7,106 | 56 |
| Woodworking Factories (not otherwise specified) | 8,216 | 452 |

34-4-43

Under Transportation there are the following employments:

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Livery Stables | 20,963 | 23 |
| Post | 5,709 | 166 |
| Railroads, steam | 128,546 | 1,243 |
| Streets, roads, sewers and bridges construction and maintenance of | 36,894 | 11 |
| Truck, Transfer, cab, and hack companies | 41,783 | 53 |
| Water Transportation | 32,263 | 358 |

Under Business there are the following employments:

| | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|
| Banking and brokerage | 3,001 | 207 |
| Insurance | 1,947 | 657 |
| Real Estate | 949 | 146 |
| Warehouses and cold-storage plants | 2,365 | 62 |
| Wholesale and Retail trade | 114,038 | 7,304 |

Professional Service includes these employments:

| | |
|---|---|
| Actors | 1,279 |
| Clergymen | 17,495 |
| Musicians and teachers of music | 5,606 |
| Physicians and surgeons | 3,077 |
| Teachers | 29,485 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Teachers (school) | 29,432 |
| Trained Nurses | 2,433 |
| Semiprofessional pursuits | 2,144 |
| Attendants and Helpers (professional service) | 1,375 |

34-4-44

Since 1910 great and decisive changes in Negro industry have taken place: there have been large increases of Negroes engaged in mining manufacturing, transportation, business, and professions and relative decreases among farmers and servants. Negroes are to-day the chief laboring force in the Southern states and a growing proportion of the labering force in the North.

Their work is not all confined to unskilled labor. As skilled artisans they have always had considerable place. During the days of slavery, Negro mechanics did most of the skilled labor on the plantations and a good deal of that in cities. In New Jersey, for instance, in the 18th century, slaves were employed as miners, iron-workers, carpenters and shoemakers. In Pennsylvania, in that day competition between white and black mechanics ~~of that day~~ was consid rable. The number of egro artisans increased during the 19th century, and Olmsted in his journeys in the slave states, found slave artisans everywhere. He declared that the mechanics which he saw in South Carolina "exercised as much skill and ingenuity as the mechanic that he was used to emphby in New England".

Above this, the Negro has furnished inventors and men of great technical skill. Their dean was Benjamin Banneker of Maryland. He was one of the surveyors of the District of Columbia in 1791 and issued the first American almanac; he constructed a clock which was the mechanical wonder of his day. Other Negro inventors have been James Forten who amassed a considerable fortune from his apparatus for managing sails; and R. B. Lewis who invented a machine for picking oakum which is still in use in practically the same form: An assistant examiner in the United States Patent Office

found, in 1913, a record of more than 1200 patents issued to colored men, 800 of which he was able to verify. Foremost among these were patents of Granville T. Woods in telegraphic and telephonic devices. Many of these were assigned to the General Electric Company and the American Bell Telephone Co. Elijah McCoy has over 40 patents and is the pioneer in the art of steadily supplying oil to running machinery so as to avoid the necessity of stopping the machine to oil it. His lubricating cup is used all over the world. W. B. Purvis invented machines for making paper bags; and J. H. Dickinson of New Jersey was one of the pioneers in Piano Player mechanism. William Douglass of Kansas has various inventions in harvesting machines; and James Doyle of Pittsburgh in automatic food-serving systems. Especially must we remember Jan Matzeliger, a colored man born in British Guiana, who came to the United States to work as a shoemaker. He invented and patented the shoe-lasting machine which was purchased by the United Shoe Machinery Company. This company consolidated 41 smaller companies into a great industrial organization, which controls shoemaking in the United States.

and these basic patents are still the foundation of its work

No nation in the world has a more willing laboring force or one, which on the whole, is more efficient than American Negroes. Even the so-called "laziness" of Negro workers is, as men are beginning to see to-day in part, a legitimate demand for reasonable leisure and enjoyment on the part of the hardest worked group in industry.

Section 2 - As a Soldier:

We may some day rise to the place where the refusal of a man to fight for his country or anyone's else country, will be counted to him for merit. In the past, however, we have rated a citizen's value, at least in part, by his willingness to fight as a soldier when called. This conception of duty has been recognized by the black man; and from the beginning of American history, the Negro soldier has played a large part in the defense of the country.

Colored soldiers fought in the Colonial wars; some 5000 of them

were enrolled in the war of the Revolution; and the first man who fell in that war was a Negro, the anniversary of whose death, the 5th of March, was the first American National holiday, and was so celebrated for five years. We quote from a contempory account: "

"The presence of the British soldiers in King Street excited the patriotic indignation of the people.. The whole community was stirred, and sage counsellors were deliberating and writing and talking about the public grievances. But it was not for the 'wise and prudent' to be first to ACT against the encroachments of arbitrary power. A motley rabble of saucy boys, Negroes and mulattoes, Irish Jessues and outlandish Jack tars, (as John Adams described them in his plea in defense of the soldiers) could not restrain their emotion or stop to enquire if what they MUST do was according to the letter of the law. Led by Crispus Attucks, the mulatto slave, and abd shouting, 'The way to get rid of these soldiers is to attack the main guard; strike at the root; this is the nest'; with more valor than discretion they rushed to King Street and were fired upon by Captain Preston's company. Crispus Attucks was the first to fall; he and Samuel Gray and Jonas Caldwell were killed on the spot. Samuel Maverick and Patrick Carr were mortally wounded. The excitement which followed was intense. The bells of the town were rung. An impromptu town meeting was held and an immense assembly gathered. Three days after, on the 17th, a public funeral of the martyr took place. The shops in Boston were closed and all the bells of Boston and the neighboring towns were rung. It is said that a greater number of persons assembled on this occasion than ever before gathered on this continent for a similiar purpose. The body of Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, had been placed in Fanueil Hall with that of Caldwell, both being strangers in the city. Maverick was buried from his mother's house in Union Street, and Gray from his brother's, in Royal Exchange Lane. The four hearses formed a junction in King Street and then the procession marched in columns six deep, with a long file of coaches belonging to the most distinguished citizens, to the Middle Burying Ground,

where the four victims were deposited in one grave over which a stone was placed with the inscription:

'Long as in Freedom's cause the wise content,
Dear to your country shall your fame extend;
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray and Maverick fell.'

24-4-47

"The anniversary of this event was publicly comemorated in Boston by an oration and other exercises every year until our National Independence was achieved, when the fourth of July was substituted for the Fifth of March as the mor proper day for a general celebration. Not only was the event commemorated but the martyrs who then gave up their lives were remembered and honored." In This same way

Haiti sent a contingent of 800 volunteers to save the American army at Savannah from destruction. During the war of 1812, Negroes formed a large proportion of those American sailors for whose impressment by the English the war was fought. Negro sailors were common on the privateers and fought with Perry and McDonough. Negro soldiers also fought especially at New Orleans where they were commended by Andrew Jackson:

"To the Men of Color. - Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms, - I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

In the Civil war, not only did thousands of Negroes serve as laborers, servants and spies, but 200,000 were enrolled soldiers - and as Abraham Lincoln said, 'without their help, the war could not have been won.'

In the Spanish American war, Negro regiments in the regular army and in the volunteer army were not only conspicuous and indispensable, but their work as volunteers against yellow fever showed an even higher conception of duty and sacrifices. In the recent World war, Negroes formed a larger proportion of the persons drafted than did the whites, according to their numbers in the population. They were indispensable as stevedores and laborers, and they furnished one whole division of soldiers and a part of another; and in the last offensive against the Hindenburg line, five Negro American regiments were in battle line, and a division in reserve. They received many medals & citations

It is to be hoped that never again will the United States be called upon to furnish citizens to take part in organized destruction and murder; but if the awful necessity does come, no men can be expected to do their duty better than black Americans.

Section 3. - As a Citizen.

As a citizen and voter even more than as a soldier, the Negro has served America and is serving. First of all, the revolt of the slave was one of the founding stones of democracy. The Maroons in the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, where they fought the concentrated might of the British Empire for more than two centuries, made it clear that the new democracy in America must take account of the man lowest down as well as the Bourgeoisie. Slave revolts not only were common all through the West Indies and South America, but they were organized repeatedly in the United States from the 16th century down to Nat Turner's raid.

The influence of the West Indies on democracy in America was decisive. First, it was Haiti that first freed the slave and Haiti at the critical moment made the emancipation of five South American democracies possible. Boliver was twice furnished with arms, money and men by Haiti at the ti e when his fortunes were lowest. Then too, the great revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines forced Napoleon to sell Louisiana

and the great Mississippi Valley to the United States for a song, and opened the way for democracy there.

The Negro appeared as freeman and voter in the earliest days in many of the Colonies and in five of the Thirteen Colonies he was among the voters who adopted the present Constitution.

34-4-49

After the establishment of the Cootun Kingdom in the South about 1830, the revolt of the slaves took the form of organized running-away. This not only weakened the slave system in the South, but it was the prime cause of the Abolition Movement in the North, and one of the reasons for its early triumph. Negroes as well as whites, cooperated in the Underground Railroad and persons like Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass were unanswerable arguments against slavery and tremendous methods of successful propaganda.

The Seminole Wars in Florida were also results of fugitive slaves fleeing to the Florida Indians who received thus a large infiltration of Negro blood.

When emancipation came through the Civil War, the Negro again played a decisive part as citizen. Desperate and long continued propaganda has perverted the view which the Nation takes of the Negro in Reconstruction times, and he has been made the scapegoat of both the North and the South. In truth, without the Negro in the South, Reconstruction on any lines except the virtual continued disruption of the Union was impossible. It was the presence of the freedmen that made it possible to stop war, withdraw armies, and still preserve the United States as a single country. The United States was obliged to make the Negro a voter if it wished to stop slavery. As a voter, his work has well been summed up by a white man, Albion W. Tourgee, who said of the Negro governments of the South: "They obeyed the Constitution of the United States and annulled the bonds of states, countries and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of

white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to about two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech or boycotted him on account of his political faith."

34-4-50

In the case of a typical state, a former Negro legislator in South Carolina said in the constitutional convention which disfranchised him: "We were eight years in power. We had built school houses, established charitable institutions, built and maintained the penitentiary system, provided for the education of the deaf and dumb, rebuilt the jails and court houses, rebuilt the bridges and reestablished the ferries. In short, we had reconstructed the state and placed it upon the road to prosperity and, at the same time, by our acts of financial reform transmitted to the Hampton government, an indebtedness not greater by more than $2,500,000. than was the bonded debt of the State in 1868, before the Republican Negroes and their white allies came into power."

And finally, as to the laws passed, we may quote this statement: Reconstruction constitutions, practically unaltered, were kept in

| | |
|---|---|
| Florida, 1868 - 1885 | 17 years |
| Virginia, 1870 - 1902 | 32 years |
| South Carolina, 1868 - 1895 | 27 years |
| Mississippi, 1868 - 1890 | 22 years |

Even in the case of states like Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Louisiana which adopted new constitutions to signify the overthrow of Negro rule, the new constitutions are nearer the model of Reconstruction document than they

are to the previous constitutions."

In the emancipation of women who now form a part of the recognized citizenship of the land, the Negro woman has played a notable part. It is generally recognized that the full emancipation of women can only come with economic independence. Negro women, of necessity, have formed a body of independent workers from the time of slavery, when mothers worked side by side with fathers in the field. Since slavery, the demand for Negro women as servants and laborers has usually exceeded the demand for colored men, and thus has made the colored woman an equal co-supporter of the family. Out of this has arisen an economic independence which has had its influence upon the rest of the country. Moreover, the Negro woman has had much to do with the break-down of the "doll" theory of womanhood. In the second Women's Suffrage Convention, held in 1859, much was made of the argument that woman was to be protected and cared for - the object of courtesies and attentions, and could not, for this reason, be allowed to enter political life. It was Sojourner Truth, the black Amazon, who shattered this argument with a few words: "Nobody ever helped me into carriages or over mud puddles or ever gave me a best place, but aint I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm. I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns and no man could head me, and aint I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man, when I could get it, and bear the lash as well, and aint I a woman? I have borne five children and seen most of them sold off into slavery and when I cried out with a mother's grief, nobody but Jesus heard me, and aint I a woman?"

To-day the Negro citizenship of the United States, with all its ignorance and inexperience, can be depended upon for a thorough understanding of the basic meaning of democracy and of justice toward the worker, decency toward women, education of children, and other fundamentals of American national life.

Section 4. - As an Artist:

34-4-52

The Negro has been and is primarily a laborer. He has fought as a soldier; he has done his duty as a citizen, but his great role in America is that of artist. He has given America its only native song. He has been the central figure of its native literature and he has given sensuous color and delight to its rather narrow aesthetic life.

The greatest gift of the Negro has been the Negro Folk Song. I have said elsewhere: "Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur ~~mx~~ God Himself stamped on her bosom; the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity rather than in beauty. And so by fateful chance the Negro Folk Song - the rhythmic cry of the slave - stands to-day not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side of the seas. It has been neglected, it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood; but notwithstanding, it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people."

The late Natalie Curtis ~~Barlow~~ Burlin wrote: "We of the white race are at last awakening to the fact that the Negro in our midst stands at the gates of human culture with full hands laden with gifts. Too long in this country have we barred the door.....we now learn that the black man's contribution to the industrial development of our land is an essential economic factor, so we have but to unlock the gate to see that he can be equally important to culture evolution in the 'melting pot' of the United States, and that his presence among us may be a powerful stimulus to the art, music, letters and drama of the American continent.

"Through the Negro this country is vocal with a folk-music intimate, complete and beautiful. It is the Nggro music with its by-product of 'ragtime' that to-day most widely influences the popular song-life of America, and Negro rhythms have indeed captivated the world at large. Nor may we foretell the impress that the voice of the slave will leave upon the

Art of the country - a poetic justice, this! For the Negro, everywhere discriminated against, segregated and shunned, mobbed and murdered - he it is whose melodies are on all our lips, and whose rhythms impel our marching feet in a 'war for democracy.' The irresistible music that wells up from this sunny and unresentful people is hummed and whistled, danced to and marched to, laughed over and wept over, by high and low and rich and poor throughout the land. The down-trodden black man whose patient religious faith has kept his heart still unembittered, is fast becoming the singing voice of all America. And in his song we hear a prophecy of the dignity and worth of Negro genius."

34-4-53

One chapter of our earlier musicial history is often forgotten: From the free Negroes of Louisiana there sprang up during slavery days, a number of musicians and artists who distinguished themselves in foreign countries to which they removed, because of the prejudice which existed against colored people. Among them was Eugene Warburg, who went to Italy and distinguished himself as a sculptor. Another was Victor Sejour, who went to Paris and gained distinction as a poet and composer of tragedy. Another by the name of Dubuclet was a physician and musician of Bordeaux, France. The Lambert family, consisting of seven persons, were noted musicians. Richard Lambert, the father, was a teacher of music. Lucien Lambert, a son, after much hard study, became a composer of music. He left New Orleans, however, and went to France, where he continued his studies. Later he went to Brazil, where he engaged in the manufacture of pianos. Among his compositions are: "La Juive", "Le Depart du Conscript", "Les Ombes Aimees", "Le Niagara". Another brother, Sidney Lambert, stimulated by the example and fame of his father and brother, made himself a name as a pianist and a composer of music. He wrote a method for piano of such merit that he received a decoration in recognition of his work from the King of Portugal. At last accounts he was a professor of music in Paris. Edmind Dede, who was born in New Orleans, in

1829. learned while a youth to play a number of instruments. He was a cigar maker by trade and, being of good habits and thrifty, accumulated enough money to pay his passage to France. He took up a special study of music and finally became director of the Orchestra of L'Alcazar, in Bordeaux, France."

34-4-54

With the folk-song and out of Spanish-America, came the Negro dancing which has gone all over the world; and on this music and dancing has been reared the modern syncopated music. Beyond this there is beginning to appear a noble superstructure of song and symphony; we have only to note names like Harry Burleigh, Coleridge Taylor and Nathaniel Dett to bring these facts home to us. In literature, the Negro has figured as a subject to be written about by authors like Emerson, Whittier, Lowell, Whitman, Stowe, Cable and Page; and as one who, out of a wonderful wealth of experience, is beginning to interpret himself to the world. Negro Folk Lore has been published by Joel Chandler Harris, and his work rhymes and songs preserved by Thomas W. Tally.

There is a regular Negro literature beginning back in the 18th century and developed by Negro writers down until to-day. Some of them are read only by Negroes; others like Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Booker T. Washington, Benjamin Brawley and William Stanley Braithwaite, are known to the nation. On the stage, the Negro has given the world, Ira Aldridge who deserves to be bracketed with the great Rachel and Sarah Bernhardt as one of the few great actors of the world. More lately, we have seen Bert Williams and Charles Gilpin. Negro minstrelsy has been developed by Negroes and others and then transformed into a new musical comedy which is gaining increased vogue.

Out of all this, the real Negro theater is beginning to appear. Negro players in serious drama were on Broadway before the war; and the theatre movement is carried on to-day at Howard University and in Chicago.

One of the greatest painters produced by America, is Henry O. Tanner, the son of a Negro Bishop, who is to-day dean of American artists in Paris. He has been followed by Scott and Harper, and some young sculptors are beginning to work. Naturally, the full day of the Negro artist has not dawned - he is still too near his problem: his experience is too poignant, his life too tragic, his poverty too real to leave him the leisure and detachment which the artist demands. But there can be no doubt of the great natural gift, the emotional worth and the marvelous experience which lies in this group, ready for the touch of the master hand.

34-4-55

Section 5. - As a Christian:

If one should ask you how many persons in the United States are seriously trying to practice the ethics of Jesus of Nazareth - the number would not be large. There can be no doubt as to the worth and organization of our churches, but there is tremendous doubt as to their practical effort to practice the Golden Rule and realize human brotherhood. In these matters, the American black man occupies a singular place. First of all, he himself as a group, exemplifies Christian ethics to an astonishing degree; he represents the meek and lowly; he has been "slow to wrath and plenteous in mercy". He has attempted on a scale seldom equalled before in a civilized community, to forgive his enemies and turn the other cheek.

The great crusade of Booker T. Washington has never been fully evaluated by most white folk. Booker T. Washington wanted social equality, wanted the right to vote, wanted education of the highest kind; but he thought it could only come through sacrifice. He tried to say to the American people: "We surrender our votes, our self-respect, and our right to learn at your behest and to keep only the right to work for you. And we do this with the hope and belief that in turn, you will give back to us, and indeed, force upon us, everything that we offer to sacrifice." It was a magnificient offer and it failed because white people could not rise to the

grandeur of its conception. They took every advantage of its surrender and gave nothing adequate in return. They crystallized the surrender of political activity into disfranchising laws; they stifled the possibilty of social intercourse by "Jim Crow" exactments; and they cut down education by starving the colleges and public schools and giving only half-hearted support to industrial education. The project failed then, bgt the failure was not the Negro's.

34-4-56

In other respects the Negro has been an example to Christians. His church is not a closed institution organized for the benefit of the rich. It is a church of the people and while, as such, it reflects little of dignity and often is spoiled by low moral standards, it does reflect the life of the people and it serves the every-day toiler.

as I have written elsewhere:

"At first sight it would seem that slavery completely destroyed every vestige of spontaneous social movement among the Negroes; the home had deteriorated; political authority and economic initiative was in the hands of the masters, property, as a social institution, did not exist on the plantation, and, indeed, it is usually assumed by historians and sociologists that every vestige of internal development disappeared, leaving the slaves no means of expression for their common life, thought and striving. This is not strictly true; the vast power of the priest in the African state has already been noted; his realm alone - the province of religion and medicine - remained largely unaffected by the plantation system in many important particulars. The Negro priest, therefore, early became an important figure on the plantation and fou d his function as the interpreter of the supernatural, the comforter of the sorrowing, and as the one who expressed, rudely, but picturesquely, the longing and disappointment and resentment of a stolen people. From such beginnings arose and spread with marvellous rapidity the Negro Church, the first distinctively Negro American social institution. It was not at first by any means a Christian Church, but a mere adaptation of those heathen rites which we roughly designate by the term Obe Wors hip,

34-4-52

or "Voodoism." Association and missionary effort soon gave these rites a veneer of Christianity, and gradually, after two centuries, the Church became Christian, with a simple Calvinistic creed, but with many of the old customs still clinging to the services. It is this historic fact that the Negro Church of to-day bases itself upon the sole surviving social institution of the African fatherland, that accounts for its extraordinary growth and vitality. We easily forget that in the United States to-day there is a Church organization for every sixty Negro families. This institution, therefore, naturally assumed many functions which the other harshly suppressed social organs had to surrender; the Church became the center of amusements, of what little spontaneous economic activity remained, of education, and of all social intercourse."

In 1916 the U. S. Census gave these figures of Negro churches:

Independent Negro Denominations

| Denominations | No. Churches | No. Members | No. Sunday Schools | No. of Scholars | Value of Church Property |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baptist Bodies: | | | | | |
| Baptist National Convention | 21,113 | 2,938,579 | 20,099 | 1,181,270 | $41,184,920 |
| Colored Free Will Baptists | 170 | 13,362 | 90 | 4,168 | 178,385 |
| Colored Primitive Baptists | 336 | 15,144 | 88 | 3,201 | 154,690 |
| Church of God and Saints of Christ | 94 | 3,311 | 57 | 1,526 | 43,746 |
| Churches of the Living God | | | | | |
| Church of the Living God | 28 | 1,743 | 27 | 491 | 23,875 |
| Church of the Living God (Christian Workers for Fellowship) | 155 | 9,626 | 99 | 2,238 | 78,955 |
| Church of the Living God (General Assembly) | 10 | 266 | 10 | 168 | 12,700 |
| Evangelistic Associations | | | | | |
| Voluntary Missionary Society | 4 | 855 | 4 | 386 | 4,000 |
| Free Christian Zion Church of Christ | 35 | 6,225 | 35 | 3,411 | 35,900 |
| Methodist Bodies: | | | | | |
| African Methodist Episcopal | 6,636 | 548,355 | 6,277 | 311,051 | 14,631,792 |

34-4-58

34-4-78

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| African Methodist Episcopal Zion | 2,716 | 257,169 | 2,544 | 135,102 | 7,591,393 |
| Colored Methodist Protestant | 26 | 1,967 | 24 | 920 | 52,733 |
| Union American Methodist Episcopal | 385 | 21,000 | 305 | 15,000 | 28,500 |
| African Union Methodist Protestant | 58 | 3,751 | 49 | 2,813 | 205,825 |
| Colored Methodist Episcopal | 2,621 | 245,749 | 2,543 | 167,880 | 5,619,862 |
| Reform Union Apostolic | 47 | 3,977 | 43 | 2,505 | 79,325 |
| African American Methodist Episcopal | 28 | 1,310 | 6 | 200 | 6,280 |
| Reform Methodist Union Episcopal | 27 | 2,196 | 25 | 699 | 35,500 |
| Congregational Methodist | | | | | |
| Evangelist Missionary Church | | | | | |
| **Presbyterian Bodies:** | | | | | |
| Colored Cumberland Presbyterian | 136 | 13,077 | 139 | 7,471 | 230,426 |
| Total | 34,625 | 4,087,662 | 32,464 | 1,842,517 | $70,198,807 |

## Negro Members of White Denominations

| Denominations | No. Churches | No. | No. Sunday Schools | No. Scholars | Value of Church Property |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Adventist Bodies:** | | | | | |
| Advent, Christian | 10 | 317 | 8 | 248 | 10,000 |
| Seven-Day Adventist | 54 | 2,553 | 51 | 2,610 | 108,755 |
| **Baptist Bodies:** | | | | | |
| Baptist-Northern Convention | 142 | 53,842 | 138 | 20,705 | 2,779,199 |
| Regular Baptists | 1 | 23 | | | |
| Primitive Baptists | 797 | 35,706 | | | 350,000 |
| Free Baptists | 197 | 10,876 | 177 | 5,732 | 186,130 |
| Christian Church (Christian Convention | 111 | 10,120 | 106 | 6,834 | 156,220 |
| Churches of Christ | 87 | 2,813 | 60 | 2,127 | 52,925 |
| Churches of God, General Assembly | 1 | 24 | 1 | 25 | 1,000 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Churches of God, General Eldership | 7 | 189 | 7 | 248 | 4,185 |
| Congregational Churches | 154 | 13,209 | 162 | 10,352 | 843,518 |
| Disciples of Christ | 162 | 11,478 | 175 | 7,219 | 246,730 |
| Independent Churches | 6 | 428 | 6 | 198 | 8,130 |
| Lutheran Bodies: | | | | | |
| Synodical Conference | 46 | 1,900 | 36 | 2,559 | 60,000 |
| General Synod | 1 | 15 | 1 | 25 | 5,000 |
| Joint Synod of States | 3 | 65 | 4 | 280 | 2,700 |
| Methodist Bodies: | | | | | |
| Methodist Episcopal | 3,704 | 320,825 | 3,614 | 214,982 | 8,047,197 |
| Methodist Protestant | 49 | 2,869 | 48 | 1,861 | 44,146 |
| Wesleyan Methodist Connection | 16 | 819 | 15 | 688 | 33,100 |
| Moravian Bodies: | | | | | |
| Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum) | 1 | 419 | 1 | 178 | |
| Presbyterian Bodies: | | | | | |
| Presbyterian Church of the United States of America | 434 | 31,957 | 430 | 27,618 | 1,276,148 |
| Presbyterian Church in the United States | 36 | 1,429 | 37 | 1,417 | [illegible] |
| Cumberland Presbyterians | 1 | 50 | 1 | 75 | 1,000 |
| Associate Reform Presbyterians | 1 | 18 | 1 | 35 | 200 |
| Protestant Episcopal Church | 217 | 23,775 | 201 | 15,932 | 1,527,768 |
| Reformed Bodies; | | | | | |
| Reformed Church in America | 2 | 59 | 1 | 52 | |
| Reformed Episcopal Church | 35 | 3,017 | 30 | 1,266 | 45,862 |
| Roman Catholic | 90 | 51,688 | 84 | 9,655 | 1,173,372 |
| United Brethren Bodies: | | | | | |
| United Brethern in Christ | 10 | 277 | 8 | 236 | 3,100 |
| Total | 6,375 | 579,960 | 5,403 | 333,157 | $17,009,570 |

34-4-59

34-4-79

The first consecrated bishop in America was a black man; and black men have the right to say that they have founded here the only real Christian church open to all men and ~~serving~~ willing to serve all men. And however imperfect the organization may be, it points a tremendous moral in an immoral land.

34-4-60

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# THE ETHIOPIAN ART THEATRE

A visitor from Czecho-Slavia or even from London visiting the Frazee Theatre last week would have noted some excellent acting. Evelyn Preer in Oscar Wilde's "Salome" made a marvellous impersonation; Sidney Kirkpatrick was absolutely convincing as Silas in the little Folk Play called "The Chip-Woman's Fortune". Nathaniel Guy as the Cyrian Captain of the Guard, had both the look and the voice and surely there was never a better Dromio than Charles Olden. The whole setting and verve of all the plays must have made upon such an auditor an impression of sincerity and abandon - the surrender of the individual completely to the part. There might have been, almost inevitably there would have come, questions of judgment, niceties of balance where actor and auditor would not agree. Herod's pleading might have been considered too breathless; Aunt Nancy's surrender to jazz music, something overdone - but all these would be matters of quite reasonable dispute and could not for a moment militate against the excellence of the performances as a whole.

But only a foreigner could see and judge these performances thus dispassionately. The American with few exceptions went there with his mind absolutely precluded from dispassionate judgment because these actors were of Negro descent. That one fact distorted and unbalanced everything that they said and done. Such an auditor did not for a moment ask himself how well is Salome performed; rather he said, Why should Negroes perform Salome at all? He saw the whole thing as a phase of problem. What could Negroes do on the stage? he asked himself. They could interpret the drama to Negroes, he would have answered, or they could do something bizarre and unusual and funny for whites. If one asked, Could they not attempt to do the usual things which white actors do, and bring to their task certain nuances of interpretation, subtly revealing new human gifts?

32-13-304

The American auditor would probably shake his head and say: possibly, of course, but not probably. And this attitude of America toward Negro art brings a grave question to the lovers of the beautiful.

Take for instance, the"Comdey of Errors" as given by the Ethiopian Players "a la jazz" to a modern audience. "The Comedy of Errors" is not particularly funny but it is Shakespeare. There comes then a problem of popularizing a great piece of literature. Some have attempted to do this with gorgeous scenery, others by new effects of lighting and staging, but the Ethiopian Players tried a new thing. They set the scene in a circus tent; they made the placing of the very simple a symbolic scenery, the matter of clowns and light jazz music, giving to the old play a series of modern interludes and then they played the play with vigor and truth. Miss Preer and the beautiful Edna Thomas, Marion Taylor and Arthur Ray, and as I have already said, Charles Olden gave an interpretation of Shakespeare which seems to me could scarcely have been bettered. If this new thing had come out of France with European imprint, I cannot but think that New York would have gone wild in praise as at its daring originality. As it was on the night I saw it, three tall, white gentlemen sitting in the very front row almost insulted the actors with their goings and comings, their gestures and comments.

38-13-305

Raymond O'Neil started last year in Chicago with a company of what Americans call Negroes. They were in fact, people one or more of whose ancestors more or less remote, were born in Africa; otherwise they were Americans with a heritage, with common memories and experiences, and these rather than blood made them a group apart and bound them together. Here some folk seem to think is "the Negro problem" but not so. Here, as the artist would immediately say, is a chance for something new and delicate. These people have dramatic instinct because they come new to the tragedy and comedy of the world:where the rest of man knows slavery, and lynching

and caste as a far off memory of memories, these people live them in their daily lives. So, as the foreword to the program says: "Believing that the Negro has a valuable contribution to make to the American drama, Mr. Raymond O'Neil, who has had many years of experience with stage both in America and in Europe, has brought together a group of professional players which he calls the Ethiopian Art Theatre. For twelve months Mr. O'Neil trained these players seeking to develop the natural warmth and richness of their voices, their graceful and expressive movements. His effort has been not to train them in imitation of the more inhibited white actors, but to develop their peculiar racial characteristics - the freshness and vigor of their emotional responses, their spontaneity and intensity of mood, their freedom from intellectual and artistic obsessions. Wherever these players have appeared they have received unstinted praise and the most hearty and cordial support".

Mr. O'Neil began his experiment in Chicago and for seven weeks played to audiences of colored and white people. Then he went to Washington to a colored theatre and there, to the world's astonishment, played to audiences with as many whites as Negroes in a theatre which before had hardly seen a white face. They gave special performances at the Little Theatre and the Penguin Club, and finally came to New York City where they have been playing for two weeks.

What does this movement mean and what does it portend for the future of Art in America? First of all, it has long been the consensus of opinion among the wise, that the great gift of the Negro to the world is going to be a gift to Art. This is quite contrary to popular opinion to whom the Negro means labor and sweat of brow, the bent back and bloated eye, the beast and burden-bearer. But on the other hand, the thinker and the artist know Negro music, know the color and passion of the black man's soul and believe that out of this already has come a great contribution

to drama is possible in the future.

How is this to be developed. Already there is a long history of partial failures and partial successes. Ira Aldridge, one of the greatest of actors, was a black man, but he found no chance in America where, at the time of his birth, most persons of Negro blood were still slaves. After the war, came comdey: black-faced minstrels done by white men and Negroes, and the development of musical shows. Then came the dead line. Americans expected Negroes on the stage to make them laugh but they expected nothing else and allowed no effort for a long time toward serious drama. Just before the war, came Mrs. Emily Hapgood's Negro Players to the edge of Broadway. They did a new folk drama and represented by several plays written by Ridgley Torrence. They were good plays and there was good acting and much appreciation by the better critics but the movement perhaps because of the war gained but passing attention.

This was preceded and followed by attempts at pageantry -- "The Star of Ethiopia" with a thousand actors was given for Negroes by Negroes in three great cities to audineces aggregating tens of thousands -- but the white American world hardly heard of it despite the marvellous color and drama. A Little Theatre movement followed starting in Howard University at Washington; and simultaneously with this, came Gilpin's triumph in the "Emperor Jones". All this is a disconnected, uneven but a fairly continuous development.

38-13-306

Some day the American Negro is going to take his place in the drama. What can he do and what ought he to try to do? To go back to things touched on at the beginning of this article, we may think of the Nggro actor in three roles: One, simply as an actor as one who gives to the world an interpretation of the same great plays which white actors have portrayed. Despite singular prejudice on the part of some people, this is a practical and legitimate role for black men and women and there is no reason to suppose that tye cannot succeed in such roles. Certainly the modern theatre has reached no such heights of perfection as to preclude an Aldridge as Othello, or a Kirkpatrick as Herod, or a Freer as Salome. The interpretations which such actors would bring might and might not be vastly different than those of white actors but there is no reason in the world why they should not make the serious attempt - and in some roles they might easily excel. As Theodore Dreiser wrote to Mr. Kirkpatrick: "Out of the general silence, --- in white critical circles I mean, --- that appears to have attended this surprisingly valuable artistic presentation I wish to attend to you personally and to all these others my grateful and deep appreciation of the grace, the culture and the abiding beauty of this presentation. I have seen many presentations of Salome in New York and elsewhere, --- none that I feel to be the peer of this. My first and second and remaining impression was and is that it was flawless,-- a very, very great deal to say. I was especially impressed with you own high artistic fervor and understanding. Also with that of Miss Freer, Mr. Bruce and Miss Bowman. May I say this as forcibly as possible. If artistic criticism in New York and America, for that matter were not the thin and anaemic thing that it is all of you and the Colored Folk Theatre would have been hailed within the week. I trust that your laurels will not long be delayed. My own sincere wish is that you maintain this artistic integrity uncorrupted indefinitely."

Secondly, the Negro may of course do in his own theatre a great

38-13-308

work in passing on the message of the drama to the masses of his own folk and developing among twelve millions of people new audiences reinforcing with new and sympathetic taste, and the pitifully small audiences which real dramatic art has in even white America.

Finally, Negroes as actors and as dramatic writers have a wonderfully rich field to exploit in their own terrible history of experience. The sombre pen of some black Ibsen, the religious fervor of some Negro Tolstoi or the light sarcasm of a black Moliere have here a marvellous chance to develope. Such a development will, of course, come slowly; it will come only as the black world gains something of that leisure and detachment for artistic work which every artist must have and which black men in America are to-day too poor, too bitter, too distracted by the grimness of mere living.

For these reasons, Raymond O'Neil and his colored players and splendid pioneers, and the artistic finish of their work, does them great credit. Their repetoire includes, beside the plays mentioned, Moliere's "Follies of Scapin", "George" an expressionist play, "Everyman" "The Taming of the Shrew", and several folk plays like "The Chip-Woman's Fortune". In every case, excepting "Salome", an attempt has been made to make the version humanely and modern, close to the lives of people.

The Ethopian Art Theatre has not been yet a financial success and had a run of but two weeks on Broadway, but it has had all the beginnings of success. It has engaged the enthusiasm and devotion of talented actors and it has begun to peel from the eyes of dramatic critics, the scales that blinded them for years to the beauty of Negro folk songs, that makes them still deaf to the song of Negro singers and but half-alive to the growing Negro drama and the rising Negro actor.

38-13-307

Du Bois article

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# The Ethopian Art Theatre

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

A visitor from Czecho-Slovakia or even from London visiting the Frazee Theatre this week would have noted some excellent acting. Evelyn Preer in Oscar Wilde's "Salome" made a marvellous impersonation; Sidney Kirkpatrick was absolutely convincing as Silas in the little Folk Play called "The Chip-Woman's Fortune". The whole setting and verve of all the plays must have made upon such an auditor an impression of sincerity and abandon - the surrender of the individual completely to the part. There might have been, almost inevitably there would have come, questions of judgment, niceties of balance where actor and auditor would not agree. Herod's pleading might have been considered too breathless; Aunt Nancy's surrender to jazz music, something overdone - but all these would be matters of quite reasonable dispute and could not for a moment militate against the excellence of the performances as a whole.

But only a foreigner could see and judge these performances thus dispassionately. The American(with few exceptions) went there with his mind absolutely precluded from dispassionate judgment because these actors were of Negro descent. That one fact distorted and unbalanced everything that they said and did. Such an auditor did not for a moment ask himself how well is Salome performed; rather he said, Why should Negroes perform Salome at all? He saw the whole thing as a phase of problem. What could Negroes do on the stage? he asked himself. They could interpret the drama to Negroes, he would have answered, or they could do something bizarre and unusual and funny for whites. If one asked, Could they not attempt to do the usual things which white actors do, and bring to their task certain nuances of interpretation, subtly revealing new human gifts? The American auditor would probably shake his head and say: possibly, of course, but not probably. And this attitude of America toward Negro art brings a grave question to the lovers of the beautiful.

3-21-24

Raymond O'Neil started last year in Chicago with a company of what Americans call Negroes. They were in fact, people one or more of whose ancestors more or less remote, were born in Africa; otherwise they were Americans with a heritage, with common memories and experiences, and these rather than blood which made them a group apart and bound them together. Here, several artists would immediately say, is a chance for something new and delicate. These people have dramatic instinct because they come new to the tragedy and comedy of the world: where the rest of man knows slavery, and lynching and caste as a far off memory of memories, these people live thmm in their daily lives. So, as the foreword to the program says: "Believing that the Negro has a valuable contribution to make to the American drama, Mr. Raymond O'Neil, who has had many years of experience with the stage both in America and in Europe, has brought together a group of professional players which he calls the Ethopian Art Theatre. For twelve months Mr. O'Neil trained these players seeking to develop the natural warmth and richness of their voices, their graceful and expressive movements. His effort has been not to train them in imitation of the more inhibited white actors, but to develop their peculiar racial characteristics - the freshness and vigor of their emotional responses, their spontaneity and intensity of mood, their freedom from intellectual and artistic obsessions. Wherever these players have appeared they have received unstinted praise and the most hearty and cordial support".

38-12-75

Mr. O'Neil began his experiment in Chicago and for seven weeks played to audiences of colored and white people. Then he went to Washington to a colored theatre and there, to the world's astonishment, played to audiences with as many whites as Negroes in a theatre which before had hardly seen a white face. They gave special performances at the Little Theatre and the Penguin Club, and finally came to New York City where they have been playing for two weeks.

What does this movement mean and what does it portend for the future of Art in America? First of all, it has long been the consensus of opinion among the wise, that the great gift of the Negro to the world is going to be a gift to Art. This is quite contrary to popular opinion, to those to whom the Negro means labor and sweat of brow, the bent back and bloated eye, the beast and burden-bearer. But on the other hand, the thinker and the artist know Negro music, know the color and passion of the black man's soul and believe that out of this already has come a great contribution to American art and that a greater contribution to drama is possible in the future.

How is this to be developed. Already there is a long history of partial failures and partial successes. Ira Aldridge, one of the greatest of actors, was a black man, but he found no chance in America where, at the time of his birth, most persons of Negro blood were still slaves. After the Civil war, came comedy: black-faced minstrels done by white men and Negroes, and the development of musical shows. Then came the dead line. Americans expected Negroes on the stage to make them laugh but they expected nothing else and allowed no effort for a long time toward serious drama. Just before the World war, came Mrs. Emily Hapgood's Negro Players to the edge of Broadway. They did a new folk drama represented by several plays written by Ridgley Torrence. They were good plays and there was good acting but the movement gained but passing attention. This was followed by attempts at pageantry -- "The Star of Ethopia" with a thousand actors was given for Negroes by Nggroes in three great cities to audiences aggregating tens of thousands -- but the white American world hardly heard of it despite the marvellous color and drama. A Little Theatre movement followed starting in Howard University at Washington; and simultaneously with this, Gilpin's triumph in the "Emperor Jones". All this is a disconnected, uneven but a fairly continuous development.

38-12-76

Some day the American Negro is going to take his place in the drama. What can he do and what ought he to try to do? To go back to things touched on at the beginning of this article, we may think of the Negro actor in three roles: One, simply as an actor, as one who gives to the world an interpretation of the same great plays which white actors have protrayed. Despite singular prejudice on the part of some people, this is a practical and legitimate role for black men and women and there is no reason to suppose that they cannot succeed in such roles. Certainly the modern theatre has reached no such heights of perfection as to preclude an Aldridge as Othello, or a Kirkpatrick as Herod, or a Freer as Salome. The interpretations which such actors would bring might and might not be vastly different than those of white actors, but there is no reason in the world why they should not make the serious attempt - and in some roles they might easily excel.

38-12-77

Secondly, the Negro may of course do in his own theatre a great work in passing on the message of the drama to the masses of his own folk and developing among twelve millions of people new audiences reinforcing with new and sympathetic taste, the pitifully small audiences which real dramatic art has in even white America.

Finally, Negroes as actors and as dramatic writers have a wonderfully rich field to exploit in their own terrible history and experience. The sombre pen of some black Ibsen, the religious fervor of some Negro Tolstoi or the light sarcasm of a black Moliere have here a marvellous chance to develope. Such a development will, of course, come slowly; it will come only as the black world gains something of that leisure and detachment for artistic work which every artist must have, and which black men in America are today too poor, too bitter, too distracted by the grimness of mere living to have yet achieved.

For these reasons, Raymond O'Neil and his colored players are splendid pioneers, and the artistic finish of their work, does them great credit. Their repetoire includes Oscar Wilde's "Salome", Moliere's "Follies of Scapin", "George" an expressionist play, "Everyman", "The

5/ Taming of the Shrew", "The Comedy of Errors" and several folk plays like "The Chip-Woman's Fortune". In every case, excepting "Salome", an attempt has been made to make the version human and modern, close to the lives of people; for instance, "The Comedy of Errors" is played in a circus tent with a jazz band, "Everyman" is done in modern clothes and in a "black-and-tan" cabaret.

The Ethiopian Art Theatre has not been yet a financial success but it has had all the beginnings of success. It has engaged the enthusiasm and devotion of talented actors and it has begun to peel from the eyes of ~~dramatic~~ critics, the scales that blinded them for years to the beauty of Negro folk songs, that makes them still deaf to the song of Negro singers and but half-alive to the growing Negro drama and the rising Negro actor.

38-12-78

A Visit to Pan Africa

1923

W. E. Du Bois

Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast spoke at the London session of the Pan African Congress. He is a remarkable black statesman, a descendant of ancient rulers of the Gold Coast, himself educated and now a Cocoa merchant resident in London many years. He was therefore a significant figure. For Mr. Matthews, a London barrister, also from West Africa, told me one night at dinner, a quarter century ago, he himself planted the first cocoa tree in the region of Accra in the British Gold Coast. It is the greatest cocoa producing area in the world. But singularly enough the commercial development here has not been at all according to modern theory. It has not been a case of the advent of foreign owned capital with its capitalistic system of industry driving native slave labor out of a development of peasant proprietorship and small plantations with black owners working leisurely as they wanted, doing their own thinking, and yet turning out this amount of product. We only know in which the United States been able to buy air economic law on the contrary has been through

34-6-14

It was there that Sir Sidney Olivier, former Governor of Jamaica, underscored it when he, in his remarks, that just what Africa could teach the modern economic ~~[illegible]~~ world. The ~~[illegible]~~ independence of the black worker, his demand for decisive aid and, the need of the newer science as to the possibilities of his economical human development — all this emphasized the need of an International Pan African movement to coordinate African genius & power & right for his freedom

a tax on exports (astonishing retrogression to the 18th century!) and the middlemen must profit. In the latter field, men like Armoah III are prospering — a veritable new African aristocracy.

All is not well, the more again & again told because the Ghanaian then has no political voice in his own government. He is a citizen colony of the political type with many ignorances & favorites appointed to the advisory council of the governors, & these councils increasingly demand power. In the great ancient Greek city of Athens the people had the greatest part in the political life. The U.S. Congress has the disenfranchisement of eighty million Negroes in the Pacific Territories.

Yet all strife is not bad; there must be direct voice from South Africa in the councils — & reach the nations there is not only a matter of distance but of indifference, white opinion — but all over England and Europe the presence of General Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, faced this problem continually & the fact

for if the black man is still confined because the servant of Parliamentary politics the Brown man of India has found more & darker. Again & again Smuts was enrolled & condemned his Sermon on the Mount & the Magnificent & stubborn Freed & exhalation that any appeal to Smuts Africa & recognise the manhood of Indian or Negro human over coloured which "Civilization" at the Cape!

34-6-15

The similar influence of this ~~S~~ Untransigeance of South Africa is seen in Mozambique. Kamba Simango, (a full blooded native of this Portuguese Colony, who has been educated in America & now going to Portugal & connects his training) used the Congress of the anti-national tendencies in his native land. The new Portuguese Colonial Code is most liberal and recognizes the full Portuguese citizenship of educated natives such the right & vote. ~~But~~ Unlike recently the magistrates has guides and minor officials of ~~Mozambique~~ Natives & Mozambique were black or Coloured & ~~education~~ Indians, ~~while~~ while scarce were understood. Today the Mozambique

(over)

Consolidated, an English concern, has by economic pressure of England on a weak distracted Portugal obtained a sixty years franchise in the colony which practically makes them absolute masters of the land; they own & control railroads & mines, they practically enslave the native labor & recruit for the mines of South Africa and they alone make the colony pay dividends instead of taxing the underworked Portuguese country. Of such is the Kingdom of Capital!

How can the force of world public opinion be brought to bear on such outrages. Many Englishmen like Harold Laski are shouting for immediate time the Mandates of the League of Nations. The same Boston police should, which in the strange providence of God made Calvin Coolidge President of the U.S. also & in a much credible way transplanted Harold Laski from Harvard & America & the London School of Economics & England. We addressed Pan African Congress, November & & made the closing suggestions that the League of Nations send

& ~~the~~ each of the mandated territories ~~have~~ Tanganyika, South West Africa, Cameroons and Togoland an accredited minister of the league. And this minister should be a national of some other country than the mandate of the mandate, he should be a trained anthropologist & that he should have the right to investigate conditions & report regularly to the league.

34-6-16

Mr Laski also ~~urged~~ seconded the efforts of the Second P A Congress to obtain representation of the Negro race on the Mandates commission. He muddle in British Kenya emphasizes the necessity of some international action. Here in a great fertile & rich territory, our Congress was continually reminded by voices within & without that ashonishing piracy on a huge scale was being deliberately perpetrated. England is taking the land from the natives, enslaving & confining them to native reserves and mostly by force and ruthlessly. One speaker said:

There is ample evidence to show that flogging and shooting of Natives in that region have developed into a system. For trivial, imaginary and suspected offencies a varing number of lashes with the "reim" or the "kiboko" is inflicted on the helpless and inarticulate Natives. From time to time death ensues as a result of these brutalities. The verdicts invariably returned by the Jury (composed exclusively of white settlers, are a scandal) and the sentences imposed by the Judges are in consequence utterly inadequate. "

On top of this the East Indians, smarting in debt and demanding a share in the vast theft of land and exploitation of labor are using the influence & fears of S. Africa ~~Gov~~ disfranchisement politically and economically & are bucking against this meet the ultimate wrath & indignation. Iran singular, this three fold battle, and there is a ~~is~~ possible a West Coast mentality growed here, with its foundations in Native land ownership.

From ~~Uganda~~ Uganda, which is officially joined to the Kenya Protectorate a strong protest was sent the Governor. It represented the utter exclusion of white settlement — under the whites seek directly & exploit & enslave or bully their slaves they leave the natives comparatively isolated & alone & call this "ruling through the chiefs". If the native rulers were encouraged in education & enclosed by other interests in industry & social life here named & attended effectively. But as the leaders sent to Cambridge, are intelligent

34-6-17

black folk dear, indeed all the missionary efforts are desperately in need of educated Negro teachers from the West Indies & the U.S. Will England admit such teachers or does she dear more than anything else trained intelligence in black Africa?

Sir Sidney Olivier, former Governor of Jamaica, is of the class of Englishmen who not only does not dear the training of the blacks but even objects to it considering it altogether a great gift from the black & the white world. He should desire the Pan African Congress urged international organization of negroes along the lines of the Congress to forward true possibilities

The great valley of the Congo in the heart of black forests of Belgium sovereignty there was almost complete silence in the Congo. The Union Congolaise, an organization of black men in Belgium & Belgian Africa had only to suggest the erection of the statue of the Congo of a great monumental statue to the black builders who died in the Great War. I dear such a stone figure would look with tears

Above even the reported régime in Congo. Both aid & ~~Schools~~ Missions schools has been planned and now yet carried for & the fundamental Conceptions of the Congo as a place where Capital can make large profits by using Labor of the Obedient Race & Obeying to the Religious Race still seems dominant

One French girl sent the assistant secretary of one organization, resident in Paris, and one member of the Bureau Permanent. But ~~the whole~~ French Negroism is at once the most reactive and at the same time the most inchoate ~~movement~~. Nothing became France has gone further, aimed further in denying the Personhood of black folk than any white nation One need African give that one at the Congress of this ~~relation~~ in United Africa, as an educated woman, between the natives & the United official rulers, but the fury & Vituperation of social intercourse in French Senegal where she went & lived her words. A white French teacher from Dakar assured us the Subservience & the right & duty was not confined & ~~Even~~ the bons communes ~~Communes~~ of Senegal dont followed the educated natives throughout French Africa although the number of deputies in French Parliament as yet remained the

and the native who served in the army

34-6-18

The school system under a plan as elaborate as that of France runs very slowly but beautifully extended, and St Louis & Baker have a complete & fine System.

Here then is France challenging the whole world by dividing for the annihilation & individual restraint of black men. ~~Both~~ England, & America & Germany are aghast at the dividend. But what can they do? French, also Africa is as large as the United States in territory and to mention Algiers Tunis & Morocco. The loyalty of black Frenchmen is so great that they can scarcely be induced & cordialed in a Pan-African Congress. They shrink me, they say, we are free. On the other hand their sympathy & cooperation in any degree (and we have some cooperation from them) unites England & Belgium endeavors. England hides during the Pan African Congress along with any seeming repudiation of "Anglo saxon blood" & unlimited ~~the~~ the with. English ~~feeling~~ bias of Pan Africa.

But England, America & World Events have, as clear many times, France friends: made Black Englishmen & Black Americans & Belgians emigrate have caused & believe in the justice of Race equality & the possibility of developing real Black manhood under their flags. France has played his trump card. Other Empires until Negro subjects ~~will~~ follow suit or openly renege.

America dominated the World Race Congress as was manifest with ~~example~~ effort & shame her exclusion of Negro organizations fighting. A Black Doctor of a church ~~of~~ body which has 3/4 of a million American blacks spoke & no & told how she was on this way & declined a school in Basutoland, given by the Colored women of Ohio!

We were not a large group at this 3rd congress - only 13 countries & 6 American cities as against 30 countries in 1921. But we have, I believe, manifested a national crisis

of growth in a time of unprecedented industrial crisis & one we can look forward & a congress in the United States in 1925, in the midst of the ~~storm~~ growing agitation here for home rule & responsible government

Accordingly we drew up a new charter of rights & appointed to go to Lisbon in Portugal for a second session. And this is our charter.

34-6-19

1923

# A Third Journey to Pan-Africa

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

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Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast spoke at the London session of the Pan-African Congress. He is small, black and earnest, a descendant of ancient rulers of the Gold Coast, never enslaved; and now a cocoa merchant resident in London many years. He was therefore a significant figure. For Mr. Hutchinson, a London mulatto barrister, also from West Africa, told us one night how, a quarter of a century ago, he himself planted the first cocoa tree in that region and to-day Nigeria and the British West Coast are the greatest cocoa producing areas in the world. But singularly enough the economic development here has not been at all according to modern theory. It has not been a case of the advent of foreign-owned capital with captains of industry driving native slaves but of a development of peasant proprietorship on small plantations with black owners working leisurely as they wished, being their own masters, and yet turning out this mass of products. The only way in which the British have been able to lay an economic tax on the product has been through a tax on exports (astonishing retrogression to the 18th century!) and the middleman's vast profit. In the latter field, black men like Amoah III are trespassing - a veritable new African Chieftainship.

It was at this point that Sir Sidney Olivier, former Governor of Jamaica, impressed upon us, in his remarks, that just here Africa could teach the modern economic world. The independence of the black worker, his demand for leisure and art, the word of the new science as to the possibilities of his normal human developments - all this emphasized the need of an international Pan-African movement to conserve African genius and power and to fight for the black man's freedom.

All is not well in West Africa, we were again and again told, because the black man there has so restricted a voice in his own government. His is a crown colony of the restricted type with only figureheads and favorites appointed to the advisory council of the governors, and these councils without decisive power. In the great imperial council meeting in London there was not a single black face and perhaps the greatest fact brought before the Pan-African Congress was this disfranchisement of fifty million Negroes in the British Empire.

34-6-21

Yet all hope is not lost: there was no direct voice from South Africa in our counsels - to reach the natives there is not only a matter of distance but of intervening white opinion - but all over England and Europe the presence of General Smuts, Premier of the Union of South Africa, forced this problem continually to the fore; for if the black man is still confined beneath the service of Imperial politics the brown man of India has found voice and power. Again and again Smuts was compelled to interrupt his Sermon on the Mount to the naughty and stubborn French to explain that any effort in South Africa to recognize the manhood of Indian or Negro would overthrow "white civilization" at the Cape.

The sinister influence of this intransigeance of South Africa is seen in Mozambique. Kamba Simango, (a full blooded native of the Portuguese colony, who has been educated in America and is now going to Portugal to complete his training), told the Congress of the unfortunate tendencies in his native land. The new Portuguese Colonial Code is most liberal and recognizes the full Portuguese citizenship of educated natives with the right to vote. Until recently, the magistrates, tax-getters and minor officials of Mozambique were black or coloured; and schools and missionary effort, while scarce were unhindered. To-day, the members of the Mozambique Company - an English concern - have by economic pressure of England on a weak distracted Portugal obtained a fifty year franchise in the colony with powers that make them absolute masters of the land; they can and do oppose and sup-

press schools and missions; they virtually enslave native labor and recruit for their mines of South Africa; and they have made the colony pay dividends instead of taxing the impoverished mother country. Of such is the Kingdom of Capital!

34-6-22

How can the force of world public opinion be brought to bear on such outrages? Many Europeans like Harold Laski are still hoping for much from the Mandates of the League of Nations. The same Boston police strike, which in the strange providence of God made Calvin Coolidge President of the United States, also and in a much more credible way transferred the brilliant Harold Laski from Harvard and America to the London School of Economics and England. He addressed the Pan-African Congress November 8th and made the striking suggestions that the League of Nations send to each of the mandated territories like Tanganyika, South West Africa, Cameroun and Togoland and accredited minister of the League; that this minister should be a national of some other country than the holder of the mandate; that he should be a trained anthropologist and that he should have the right to investigate conditions and report regularly to the League.

Mr. Laski also seconded the efforts of the Second Pan-African Congress to obtain representation of the Negro on the Mandates Commission. The muddle in British Kenya emphasizes the necessity of some international action. Here is a great fertile and rich territory; our Congress was continually reminded by voices within and without that an astonishing piracy on a huge scale was there being deliberately perpetrated. England is taking the land from the Natives, enslaving and confining them to native reserves and mistreating them outrageously. One speaker said: "There is ample evidence to show that flogging and shooting of Natives in that region have developed into a system. For trivial imaginary and suspected offences a varying number of lashes with the 'reim' or the 'kiboko' is inflicted on the helpless and inarticulate Natives. From time to time death ensues as a result of these brutalities. The verdicts invariably returned by the jury

(composed exclusively of white settlers) are a scandal and the sentences implsed by the Judges are in consequence utterly inadequate."

34-6-23

On top of this, the East Indians, pushing in here and demanding a share of this vast theft of land and exploitation of labor, are through the influence and fears of South Africa disfranchised politically and economically and are protesting against this with the utmost vigor and indignation. How singular, this threefold battle, and how impossible is a West Coast native growth here, with its foundation in native land ownership!

From Uganda, which is officially joined to the Kenya Protectorate, a moving appeal was sent the Congress. It represented the other extreme of white oppression - either the whites seek directly to exploit and enslave or failing that power they leave the Natives carefully isolated and alone and call this "ruling through the chiefs". If the native rulers were encouraged in education and inspired by outer ideals in industry and social life here would be splendid opportunity. But, as the paper sent us complained, an intelligent black folk here, with all the missionary effort, are desperately in need of educated Negro teachers from the west Indies and the United States. Will England admit such teachers or does she fear, more than anything else, trained intelligence in black Africa?

Of the great valley of the Congo in the red and black forests of Belgian sovereignty there was almost complete silence in our Congress. The Union Congolaise, an organization of black men in Belgium and Belgian Africa, had nothing to suggest but the erection at the mouth of the Congo of a great memorial statue to the black soldiers who died in the Great War! I fear such a stone figure would look with tears upon even the reformed regime in the Congo. State aid to mission schools has been planned but not yet carried far and the fundamental conception of the Congo as a place where Capital can make huge profits by using labor of the cheapest price and driving it by physical force still seems dominant.

Our French group sent the assistant secretary of our organization,

34-6-24

resident in Paris, and one member of the Bureau Permanent. But French Negrodom is at once the most inactive and at the same time the most inspiring part of our movement. Inspiring because France has gone further, much further, in recognizing the manhood of black folk than any white nation. One West African girl told me at the Congress of her isolation in British Africa, as an educated woman, between the Natives and the British official rulers, but of the joy and naturalness of social intercourse in French Senegal where she went to visit her uncle. A white French teacher from Dakar assured us that citizenship and the right to vote were not confined to the four communes of Senegal but followed the educated native and the native who served in the army throughout French Africa although the number of deputies to the French Parliament as yet remained the same. The school system with a plan as elaborate as that of France was being slowly but persistently extended and St. Louis and Dakar have a complete and fine system.

Here then is France challenging the white world by bidding for the military and industrial support of black men. England, America and Germany are aghast at the prospect. But what can they do? French black Africa is as large as the United States in territory, not to mention Algiersm, Tunis and Morocco. The loyalty of black Frenchmen is so great that they can scarcely be induced to cooperate in a Pan-African Congress. "Why should we?" they say, "We are free". On the other hand their sympathy and cooperation in any degree (and we have some cooperation from them) makes England and Belgium suspicious. English papers during the Pan-African Congress dug up my smiling repudiation of "Anglo-Saxon blood" and intimated the anti-English bias of Pan-Africa.

But England, America and white Europe have one clear way where France points: Make Black Englishmen and Black Americans and Belgian Congolese have cause to believe in the justice of their countries and the possibility of developing real black manhood under their flags. France has played this trump card. Other lands with Negro subjects must follow suit or openly renege.

34-6-25

America dominated the Third Pan-African Congress, as was natural, with effort to spread her experience in Negro organized fighting. A black Bishop of a church body which has three-fourths of a million American blacks spoke to us and told us that he was on his way to dedicate a school in Basutoland, given by the colored women of Ohio!

We were not a large group at this Third Congress - only thirteen countries and six American states as against thirty countries in 1921. But we have, I believe, weathered a natural crisis of growth in a time of universal industrial crisis and we can look forward to a Congress in the West Indies in 1925 in the midst of the growing agitation there for home rule and responsible government.

Meantime we drew up again our charter of rights and adjourned to go to Lisbon in Portugal for a second session. And this is our charter:

To Americans of Negro descent: 1924

I want earnestly to urge Negro voters throughout the United States to support the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette.

No one appreciates more than I the dilemmas and heart-searchings which come to black voters every four years. They have come to me. For years I have looked for the man and the party which I could whole-heartedly support. I thought I saw such a man in Woodrow Wilson. I supported him in 1912. I voted against him in 1916. I hoped that the Bull Moose party under Theodore Roosevelt would be our refuge, but it went a-whoring after the bourbon South and openly repulsed us.

Today our difficulties of decision are upon us again and at the same time, our political power was never so strong. In seven great Northern states and in six border states, we hold such great political power that our vote must be a strong if not decisive factor in the final result of the election.

37-2-19

Can we support Coolidge and Dawes? I know no more damning statement of the reasons for not supporting these men than the conference of Negro Republican editors in the West recently ~~gave as reasons for support.~~ enunciated. They declared that ~~they were~~ themselves "unanimous in our complaints" and they voiced ~~those complaints~~ them in eight paragraphs as stinging as any Democrat, Republican, or Socialist ever brought: segregation, discrimination, denial of representation, the Lily Whitism of Slemp, the failure to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments, and the failure to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill.

If we turn for refuge to the Democrats, we turn inevitably to the Solid South. In states like New York and Illinois, Negroes can afford to vote for Democrats but in the United States they cannot. John W. Davis can only become president by accepting the support of that combination of oligarchy, disfranchisement, mob law, and caste which today stands for the Southern South and if that South elects Davis, that South will and

must have a dominant voice in his cabinet and policies.

When I first knew that Robert LaFollette would run for president, I determined to support him because I knew the man. I have never met him personally and yet I know him better than I have ever known any other presidential aspirant. He is honest, even to his hurt. He is fearless in the face of unlimited wealth and power. He has consistently backed the interests of the mass of people against the privileged and wealthy few. He is unpopular. He has been reviled and spit upon and sneered at. His record on measures in our favor is straight. He favored the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill; he favored the reduction of Southern representation as long as the South disfranchised voters; and it was his action that led to the confirmation of Walter Cohen as Collector of the Port of New Orleans, when the Republican party was unable to accomplish it.

But this is not all. At the beginning of the campaign I favored LaFollette because of his personal integrity and because his party was, in my opinion, the least of three evils. I was not satisfied at the action of the party at Cleveland or rather, the lack of action, with regard to the Negro. I wanted a strong, clear note on our problems and our conditions. As the campaign has progressed, my rather inactive attitude of approval, has changed to a stronger and stronger determination to do everything I can for the success of the Third Party.

We have got in the first place certain unequivocable pronouncements from La Follette and his party. The denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan was done first and done thoroughly. La Follette's promise to free Haiti and undo the crime of Wilson, Harding and Coolidge has been open, clear, and repeated. The statement in the Progressive Campaign Text Book on the Negro suits me exactly. I wrote it. And in recent interviews I have come to believe that Senator LaFollette is, as he is reported to have said, "opposed to all forms of restriction which are based on racial identity".

I am the more easily persuaded to believe this attitude as the genuine attitude of LaFollette and the Progressive Party because it is the only logical ~~reason~~ one that they can take. I know how large a part of their support comes from the Railway Brotherhoods and that the ~~Railway~~ Brotherhoods are the only trade unions which openly and specifically discriminate against black men. If this class of union labor becomes powerful in the councils of the new party, we will suffer in another form, the same sort of thing that we suffer from the Democrats and Republicans. Here lies risk But I cannot think that this attitude is going to prevail ~~be true~~ because the foundation stone of progressive action is the emancipation of the masses, a great and important part of which we are in the United States.

37-2-20

Why are us especially mobbed, oppressed and insulted? It is not because all men hate us and love evil. It is because today it is profitable to lynch and cheat "niggers", and mankind is organized today for profit. ~~They~~ Men seek profit and great profit because they fear poverty; because the average human being stands aghast at the pits of ignorance and crime that face the masses of men; They are therefore scrambling and because they thirst for the former's heritage of great wealth and tearing and sweating and climbing out of ~~these~~ pits of human Hell and they climb on the backs and hearts of men, and on the breasts and faces of women, and on the beaten bodies of little children; and they climb on us because we are the easiest women to trample on.

How may we stop this sort of thing? As Negroes and as those liable to the heaviest oppression, we may fight back, growl, and scream, and show the world that whatever it is suffering, we are suffering more because of our race and color. This is justifiable and this is the thing we are doing, ~~and~~ it is the thing we must do. But it is not enough. The system must change. The method must go. Else, neither we nor the white laboring masses are going to escape. ~~Some~~ Individuals, to be sure, may escape; some may go free into the upper air of decent income and wealth; but they will only do it as they join the climbers and the ~~strivers~~. oppressors

Everything, therefore, which is essential to the emancipation of mankind is essential to us, and particularly, all which tends to raise the laborer and the criminal and the outcast, to clothes, food, knowledge and manhood, tends to raise us.

37-2-21

Here is a great rich land. It could easily support its present population and many more in decent plenty. There is no excuse in America for extreme poverty, for unemployment, for illiteracy, for prostitution, or for the majority of what we call petty crimes. Under any fair organization and distribution of land, work and income, these scourges would practically disappear. They are here today. They are commonplace and wide-spread because of indefensible monopoly, privilege, lying and stealing among the powerful, who thus gather to themselves incomes which give them increased power to dominate production, recreation, education, art, and literature; ~~that~~ which enables them to make democratic governments and elections, representative institutions, and judicial decisions, a farce and a joke in this great republic. This system of industry and rule must change, and Robert LaFollette proposes to begin this change.

The Progressives promise no immediate millennium nor can they do so; but they promise to begin that vast revolution which will give to the farmer who raises the food, most of the money which the laborer who eats it pays, instead of distributing 75% of it to intermediate gamblers. The progressives propose that public property shall be the property of the public and not the monopoly of the few ~~in private hands~~; that the gifts of nature shall be administered for all instead of for ~~the privileged few.~~ private profit They believe that a democracy fit to govern itself is fit to run its own its oil & coal railroads and that a representative assembly of intelligent men such as the United States congress ought to be, does not need to have an irresponsible body of old men tell it what the people want and needs. In other words, the Progressive party proposes to apply

plain, ordinary honesty ^ to business and politics and if Negroes are not interested in that they are interested in nothing.

I can well believe therefore, that this is the high hour for the Negro in politics in America; that he has a chance to vote for salvation by helping to give birth to a new party of honesty, decency and progressive intelligence. I hope that the black voter will see this opportunity and will help emancipate America from its present slavery which is forcing it to lag behind ^ the great nations of the world in every essential respect except ^ the accumulation of wealth ^ in private hands. We can do this by ~~putting into power~~ ^ aiding in the United States a progressive, liberal, labor party under the leadership of an honest man.

37-2-22

To Americans of Negro descent:

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27-1-25

Today our difficulties of decision are upon us again and at the same time, our political power was never so strong. In seven great Northern states and in six border states, we hold such great political power that our vote must be a strong if not decisive factor in the final result of the election.

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His record on measures in our favor is straight: he favored the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill; he favored the reduction of Southern representation as long as the South disfranchises voters; and it was his action that led to the confirmation of Walter Cohen as Collector of the Port of New Orleans, when the Republican party was unable to accomplish it.

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37-1-37

Why are <u>we</u> especially mobbed, oppressed, and insulted? It is not because all men hate us and love evil. It is because today it is profitable to lynch and cheat "niggers", and mankind is organized today for profit. Men seek profit and great profit because they fear poverty; because the average human being stands aghast at the pits of ignorance and crime that face the masses of modern men; and because they thirst for the power and prestige great wealth bestows. They are therefore scrambling and tearing and sweating and climbing out of these pits of human Hell and they climb on the backs and hearts of men, and on the breasts and faces of women, and on the beaten bodies of little children; and they climb on <u>us</u> because we are the easiest of men to trample on.

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32-1-38

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32-1-39

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37-2-23

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[1924]

# THE CASE OF THE TUSKEGEE HOSPITAL

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Once upon a time an Indianapolis physician of good practice went to war and in France was a Captain in the medical corps of the A. E. F. He served his unit well but eventually came down with a bullet and was invalided back to a base hospital. There as he convalesced his skill became known. Good physicians were all too scarce and the hospital physicians used this doctor although he was colored. He proved an excellent practitioner and knew his business thoroughly so that when the matter of deserved promotions came up, the hospital authorities did not hesitate to recommend Dr. Joseph H. Ward to be major in the medical corps.

Now if the authorities of this hospital had been regular army men they would have done no such unethical thing. One seldom recommends Negroes in the army for promotion and never for promotion above a captaincy, no matter what their ability. But the recommendation went in and the higher officials, not knowing Ward's color, duly promoted him. When at last, well and discharged, Major Ward returned to his former regiment his fellow white field-officers were beside themselves with vexation and eventually in the course of official red tape, Ward was excused from duty in the army and sent home to America.

Yesterday the newspapers carried the fact that this same Joseph H. Ward had been appointed to the head of the great veterans hospital at Tuskegee replacing the last white official and making the whole hospital staff colored.

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Most white Americans reading this will be chiefly interested in the rather unusual news that a great modern hospital can be manned by Negroes. They would have thought, generally speaking, that even granted that this was desirable, no sufficiently trained colored physicians could be found. And there is no doubt but what the black man in America has his difficulties in getting a medical education. There are only two colored medical schools and they are not adequately equipped; and if a man goes to a white medical school troubles may arise.

37-3-112

J. E. Coleman for instance has for the last two years been a student at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. He is not going back nest year. This is not because of his cholarship for although he has worked nights in the post office as mail clerk and studied in the daytime his marks in the various courses have been from 87% to 95% and he gained honorable mention for the anatomy prize. But this year he was asked not to come back. The college did not want to instruct a colored man in clinical work.

So that the path of the colored physician has had its thorns but nevertheless the number of trained Negro physicians in the United States is considerable and growing daily larger and there was no real difficulty found in manning the great hospital at Tuskegee and a half dozen other hospitals in the United States like Freedman's at Washington and Mercy and Douglass at Philadelphia and Provident in Chicago.

Colored folk however know that this matter of professional ability was not the main thing in the Tuskegee case; that this rather extraordinary case on the other hand was but a milestone along the curious path which Negro America is traveling. It is a path that runs up hill and down, through dark forests and sunny glades; but especially it turns and twists so frequently that one cannot see just where one is going

and the dark travelers are not at all sure toward what they are walking.

Civilization is, of course, a matter of personal contact. The treasures of human culture have always been communicated from man to man and from generation to generation chiefly through the personal acquaintanceship of human beings, of the learned with the ignorant, of the cultured with the ill bred, of teacher with student. Everyone knows this who knows anything about human advance and to talk of "imitation" as being a method of uplift peculiar to any group or race is arrant nonsense.

32-3-114

Now, after the Civil War when by law we were seeking the social and economic emancipation of the black freedmen, the South sought as all oligarchies have done since Time began to insist upon a policy of Separation. The development of the white and black race in the South was to be along equal but "separate" paths and a pro gram was gradually laid down for separate schools, spearate churches, separate travel, separate restaurants, separate residential districts and the like. Of course there was a logical impasse here. On the one hand the separation could not go to complete economic and social division since the South was still depending upon the Negro for labor and the Negro was an integral part of organized society; and onethé other hand the South did not expect complete separation. It expected Subordination as an integral part of the Saparatists program because; it argued that without white leadership in human culture, the Negro could not develop far or fast and that therefore separation would doom him practically to permanent subordination.

Immediately it became the established policy of the Negroes to fight separation, primarily because separation meant subordination - meant lack of essential cultural contact. Yet the fight of the Negroes

against separation was not whole hearted or complete. Of course they fought the insulting "Jim Crow" cars and attempts to make them live in slums; when it came to schools, they objected to the separate school in theory but in practice they did not want hateful white people teaching their children and in their churches they distinctly demanded colored preachers because white religion did not seem to them real religion.

37-3-115

The Negroes fight against separation was first tempered therefore by the potent fact that in a world of enemies one prefers to consort with ones friends in sheer self defense.

So long, however, as consorting mainly with their own meant contact with ignorance and degradation the forward looking Negroes continued fighting segregation even in schools and churches. Gradually however there came a subtle change. The Negro began to find culture within in his own ranks. He began to get educated Negro preachers, trained Negro teachers, skilled Negro physicians. While, therefore, he began fighting separation because he wanted to gain human culture by contact with cultured white people, he found himself from the first in the place where he prefered sympathy to learning and then at last he found cultured individuals in his own group who were not only able to impart the elements of civilization but were able to perform their task in much pleasanter and more effective ways than most white people. Thus and suddenly the Negro began to discover that not only was he theoretically the "equal" of the white man but that in fact and in his own experience, a swiftly growing number of his people were for his purposes not only equal but superior; that he would rather be preached to by colored ministers, that he would rather be taught by colored teachers, that he would rather meet colored folk because they were so extraordinarily interesting and were in truth his own.

Thus there came a curious whirling of public opinion inside the

colored group. Separation for the most part not only ceased to hinder the colored race from any cultural advance but even helped it forward. But forward toward what? Exactly the same thing was happening in Negro America as happened in Germany when she discovered cultural resources in her own soul that made her independent largely of a French culture that despised her and sneered at her; the same thing that happened to Ireland when she decided that to be "Irish" was even more desirable than to be "English". In both these cases however self realization in a new group led inevitably to -- but back to our muttons.

The colored group found itself facing most unexpectedly, an inner paradox. They talked, for instance, with one breath about "race pride" their Talented Tenth and the abolition of all racial segregation. I ventured once to point out the paradox of this position to a colored group. It was in Philadelphia and last year. I can see again that mass of intent faces staring up toward me with a certain perplexity in which hostility and wonder were mingled. I said to them: The Cheyney Normal School must have State aid or it will die. We cannot let it die, we need it, yet State aid makes it in fact if not in law a Negro Normal school in Pennsylvania. Very good: now if you promote a great Negro institution well supported, beautifully built, with teachers from the greatest universities in the world, this is Race Pride. At the same time this is Segregation. And I added: the point that you must remember is this: the demands of democracy and the demands of group advancement cannot always in this world be reconciled. The race pride of Negroes is not an antidote to the race pride of white people, it is simply the other side of a hateful thing; and on the other hand if you seek to carry out the principles of democracy today in America you deliver your children to the tender mercies of white teachers who in so many cases neglect or hate them.

My audience was disturbed. Some accused me bitterly of advocating

32-3-116

segregation. Others declared I was fighting segregation in the last ditch. Thus one sees in embryo signs of future cleavage within the Negro race, as it faces this cruel paradox.

On the other hand there are some situations where in this matter of race separation no Negro is allowed for a moment even to hesitate; but all must move in vast and solid phalanx. This was the Tuskegee case. Negroes would, of course, have preferred admission to the great military hospitals on the same terms as other citizens, but for one bitter fact: What it means in most cases for a colored man to be in a hospital with white physicians and white nurses, the poor maimed black boys in the Great War knew to their eternal cost. I remember the colored officer who was brought in war and winter to the base hospital at Toul, half dead with pneumonia. It was dark and he was light or to put it differently, it was twilight and he was mulatto. The nurses laid him in the anti-room and lighted matches to examine his hair in order to be sure he was a "nigger" before they selected his ward.

32-3-117

There were exceptions to be sure where Negroes received the most considerate and thoughtful treatment; but for the most part the memory of the Red Cross nurse in the Great War is a horror to the black American soldier. The difference then between a hospital with southern whites in full control and a hospital with colored physicians and nurses is to the vision of most black folk the difference between Heaven and Hell.

When the great Veterans hospital was established at Tuskegee, white Alabama immediately demanded full control of this government institution with its necessarily large income and power. They even offered to change their own "Jim Crow" laws so as to install white nurse with black "nurse-maids"! Now the tradition of Tuskegee has been to yield to the white South and to accept race separation in most traditional lines as both necessary and proper. A suggestion to the late Mr. Washington stopped Tuskegee teachers even from playing tennis for a

while because white neighbors did not like to see Negroes thus disporting themselves. Nevertheless Mr. Washington was a very shrewd man and while he always yielded on points which he thought unessential he managed to extract always a certain quid pro quo.

His successor, Dr. Moton is a man of much simpler and more straightforward type and for a while the white South considered him as putty under their fine Italian hands; and the American Negro for some time was disposed to agree with them on that point. For instance, once they patently fooled Moton. His wife was put out of a Pullman car in Alabama. One of the local white trustees offered to attend to the publicity concerning the event and he made Mr. Moton say in the papers that Moton did not believe that colored people should ride in Pullman cars! This was telegraphed all over the land. What could Moton do? If he told the world that the trustee lied he must leave Tuskegee. He did nothing and the wrath of black America descended bitterly upon his head.

37-2-118

Again, President Wilson sent Mr. Moton abroad to tell the colored soldiers to behave themselves when the came home. Not at just this time the colored soldiers in France were furious with resentment at their treatment by whites. They said that their officers were more eager to "Jim Crow" Negroes than to fight Germans and spent more time and trouble at it. They told a tale of cruelty and humiliation that has few parallels. The message that Moton brought was not the message that Negroes soldiers wanted or hoped to hear and again the wrath of black America descended on Moton's head.

Now in the case of the Tuskegee hospital everybody expected Mr. Moton to yield, and what was the wrath and disgust of white Alabama when Moton refused to yield. Even when he was threatened with mob violence he simply nodded patiently and told them that they would have to go ahead. He did not yield and he could not yield. He called the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to his aid and all black America and stood firm.

Thereupon white Alabama tried other tactics. It appealed to the white North in its usual way. The real trouble it intimated was that the Negroes capable of running an institution of that sort were not to be found; that the "best" Negroes and "best" whites were getting on very nicely in the South and why wave the "bloody shirt"? That contemptible Northern Negro radicals were stirring up all the trouble. But this did not work because of the new and newly wielded political power of the Negroes. President Harding had tried to surrender to the "Lily Whites" with the result that instead of increasing the Republican vote certain Republican congressmen like C. Bascom Slemp lost their seats in Congress. Mr. Harding hesitated but there was no alternative and he promised to see that colored physicians were put in charge of the hospital. Nothing was left for white Tuskegee but to appeal to mob law and they staged a Ku Klux Klan parade. Now this, while very picturesque, was really trenching on difficult ground. How far could the village of Tuskegee defy the United States Government? Discreet white Southerners and Northern friends of the South suggested that this could not go very far. The net result of all his was that Calvin Coolidge as a new election approached, appointed Major Ward in place of the last white man.

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Now looking all this squarely in the face where does it leave us? The same problem faces the Negro in another from in his schools. Since the great crusade of Reconstruction, when northern white men and women of the finest type went south to teach the eager freedmen there has been a tradition of white and Negro teachers working together in the higher Negro school. The South has again and again attached this by law and social wrath but still this contact of white and black America long remained the finest cultural contact between diverse races that the world

32-3-18

afforded. America may never know in the pother of race hate, how much she owes to the fact that up to the present no liberally trained Negro walked into the world, who had not in his youth held the hand of a white teacher and friend.

But change has come. The romance of the crusader has faded and the courage of the martyr. The white south by steady and implacable pressure is demanding of all white folk in the south conformity with southern ideals as to the Negro. To this demand has been joined the financial pressure of the philanthropic north and especially the boards like the General Education Board where the white south has strong representation and the Negro no voice. It has gradually become a recognized rule of philanthropy that no Negro higher school can survive unless the white south dominates it. This domination comes through white southerners on the Trustee Boards, in the teaching force and especially by pressure on white Northern presidents and teachers.

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Results can be seen at Atlanta, Hampton and Fisk. Atlanta University is an institution where white and colored teachers are pretty well mixed on the faculty and where the alumniaare strongly represented on the Board of Trustees; where teachers and students eat together in the same dining room and live under conditions of perfect social equality. This institution the white South hates and the influence of the white south is such with philanthropists and philanthropic organizations that Atlanta University is starving today. Despite its great record and fine work it has not half the income which it needs, its teachers are wretchedly underpaid; its equipment is painfully inadequate.

Hampton, on the other hand, is the pet of philanthropy and of the white South. Three aftive local southern trustees have large influence with its principal and its policy. Fisk is historically the great Negro university. It gave the world the Negro folk song. Its professors like Spece were great scholars; its first president was a great American measured by any standard. Its graduates cover the nation and lead the

black world in many centers. But Fisk is fallen. As was once said of Brown---"Yesterday we had a President, today we have a Million Dollars." The President of Fisk started to raise endowment. He knew that the way to do this was to secure for his methods and opinions the imprimatur of white Tennessee. He was successful and today Fisk is the best endowed Negro college and Hampton the best endowed Negro school in America.

But the Negro is not satisfied. On the contrary he is bitter with resentment; for curiously enough the irreducible demand of the white South in Negro schools is the teaching and practice of submission to insult. The final demand of the white South is insult - personal insult of Negroes to make them know their place. This the South demands. This the present white teachers are continually yielding. There is no doubt of this. Talk as we will of the new "inter-racial" Southern spirit the white South today and the liberal white South stands alone in the civilized world in demanding as a condition of daily intercourse with fellow human beings the personal humiliation of these black folk.

37-3-121

Let me illustrate: Robert Moton of whom I spoke above is a notable American. He has an honorary LL.D. from Oberlin; he is the most distinguished living graduate of Hampton, and a member of the Board of Trustees. A short time ago he visited Hampton. He entered the dining room where he used to board. He sat down at the table to greet an old fellow-worker - not to eat. Immediately a Southern white woman, teaching at Hampton, arose and ostentatiously left the table and the dining room. She is still teaching at Hampton.

There is at Hampton a colored woman teacher who has the Phi Beta Kappa key from Oberlin. A meeting of the chapter in Virginia was called to meet at Williamsburg. Her name was deliberately omitted from the list of persons invited by the authorities of Hampton; and when the other white teachers learned this by accident and in protest refused to go the Principal, Dr. Gregg and the Dean of Women, a Southern white woman went to represent Hampton.

Similar things are happening at Fisk. Fisk has had Southern white teachers who have declined even to greet their colored colleagues on the campus. Gradually the colored professors are being forced out and no new ones appointed. Not a single dean or head of a department today is colored. In order to clinch his campaign for fifty thousand dollars of endowment money to be raised by the white South, President McKenzie used the celebrated Fisk music. The South loves the Negro folk song and Fisk can sing it. But the white South will not come to Fisk to hear Fisk sing. Fisk must come to them and come on its knees. Just as the South refuses to my wife and daughter and to white prostitutes the title of Mrs. and Miss just so the white South demands that Negroes entering their homes or clubs enter by the kitchen door.

Last year the President of Fisk took the Girls Glee Club, composed of young ladies from the best Negro families of America down town to the Grotto, a former underground Rathskeller. He sent them down an alley and in the kitchen entrance and had them sing to white men in a smoke-filled room. Later he took them out to a fashionable Southern girls "finishing school" and again sent them into the kitchen door and had them sing to these supercilious young ladies. When the male glee club departed for England the President arranged a concert in town with the colored members of his faculty "Jim Crowed", the colored audience "Jim Crowed" and separate windows for whites and Negroes to buy tickets.

With this grows up between students and teachers in institutions like Hampton and Fisk, distrust and suspicion and severe discipline. The South still wants these institutions to train servants and docile cheap labor and the white teachers obediently discourage ambition. There is no talk of wagons and stars at Fisk and Hampton.

Even in the North the attitude of the South is reflected. At Lincoln University, Pennsylvania the faculty consists of a body of white professors with white and colored instructors and colored male students. No black man

has ever been appointed a professor at Lincoln and the black alumni is without voice or influence on the Board of Trustees. Many of the white teachers have been conscientious and thorough but can the Negro race accept without protest an institution which draws the color line in its own faculty?

At Howard University with colored and white teachers, colored and white trustees and a white President we have perpetual turmoil arising almost entirely over the question of the President's attitude toward colored folk and his treatment of colored professors.

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The alumni of these institutions have long hesitated. If they complain, if they assert their power of boycott, what will follow? Will a change from one white president to another mean anything? In most cases it will not. What then will a change to a colored president mean? First it will mean an entire colored faculty for what white person would dare brave public opinion and serve under a Negro superior? It would mean certainly in many cases, a more or less complete withdrawal of white philanthropy ~~in most cases~~ and higher education in white and black America is mainly dependent on the rich.

Both these things the Negro must face and of them the loss of social contact on a high plane ~~between them~~ is the most serious. If black colleges are forced by illiberal and insulting policies to demand complete colored control they will cut the strongest spiritual tie between the white and black race in America. This cultural contact of white and colored teachers with each other and of students with a mixed faculty has undoubtedly been one of the greatest sources of racial peace in the United States and a situation of fine promise for the future. The ending of this is not only unfortunate--it is calamitous; it is portentous. But if this social contact can only be had at the expense of such racial degradation as has been indicated, then the Negro race is almost forced to ask for its own teachers and to support its own colleges and universities or to demand

state aid for "Jim Crow" higher training. This is exactly what has happened in Pennsylvania.

Here again there has been a developing situation. Formerly to turn over a school to colored teachers meant the retrogression of the school and colored people knew it and resisted it. But they and their white friends did not always know the real reasons. These reasons were that a distinctly inferior type of man who also happened to be colored was put in place of the former white man and he was asked to conduct the school on a reduced appropriation with almost no guidance and advice from without. In nearly every State Normal school of the South there have been from time to time and in many cases still remain, colored politicians and lickspittles of the low type who have conducted a disgraceful institutions where learning was a sham.

37-3-124

But this is changing. A new type of colored man is coming and

in and while he is finding small welcome and meagre cooperation in State schools, in some private schools like Morehouse at Atlanta and Johnson Smith at Charlotte he is getting splendid cooperation. Morehouse college changed from a white president to a colored president; but ~~they~~ the church board owned the school took a man of scholarship and character and unusual executive ability and it gave him unusual opportunity and he is building one of the finest institutions in the whole South, white or black and the colored people suddenly see a colored institution with a colored faculty where their sons are getting sympathetic attention and first class training and they are beginning to learn for that kind of school.

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What now is the end of all this? Whither are we drifting? Remember that the advance of the black American in the last twenty-five years has been, despite himself and unnoted by his friends, mainly along a Separatist program. Increased separation, separate institutions, better leadership in these institutions, a larger group economy by which colored people serve themselves through their own stores, insurance societies and professional service, a tremendous and some times a almost fanatic increase of "race pride". White people do not sense this. They see increasing race segregation and increasing Negro education and ability. They are content and happy. And the Negro too is content and happy to a vast and disconcerting degree. He is beating the white folks at their own game. He is gaining power. He is indulging his deep hatred and dislike. Larger and larger numbers are escaping all contact with whites. What is the end of all this? Can we not see it plainly looming? Insult, separation, race-pride, hate, war. There is the nasty horrible world-old thing creeping on us. Impossible? Of course it is impossible for twelve million to fight a hundred but can they not hate the harder for their very impotence? Can they not

whether they migrate, die or live, add the red flame of their bitter hurt to all that mounting bill of devaltry which the dark world holds against the white? No - there's no hurry; it will not happen in our day. No. But it will happen. A day unto the Lord is as a thousand years and then even the blind can see.in the very segregation of the American Negro a rebirth and re-blooming of selfish racial concentration, of the reciprocal race hate and despising, of group friction of world war.

32-3-126

Where are the pacifists? Where are the real people who fight war by the common sense method of doing away with the things that cause war? instead of waiting until war and unsanity and murder are here and then prancing to jail with a yell and fine flourish. Why are the Pacifists silent in these vast preliminaries of battle? Have they forgotten the fields of France strewn with the dead youth of the world? Have they not seen the world staggering in rebirth, bereft of the flower of its manhood and led by old men and cowards? Or if they have seen all this what are they doing about it today and here and in America and in our own Negro problem.

Nothing. Nothing. The damned fools do not even know what's going on.

# THE ESSENCE OF AFRICAN CULTURE

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Three things Africa has given the world and they form the essence of African culture: Beginnings, the Village unit, and Art in sculpture and music.

Long before the last two thousand years which we call the years of modern civilization, lay the beginnings of human culture. For ten thousand years, ~~and~~ perhaps fifty thousand years and more, mankind struggled with the first steps of advance; struggled and wavered, forged forward, retreated, fell and arose again. This was a period fateful for all mankind, for all culture. It was far more tremendous in its ultimate significance than anything that has happened since the first Olympiad.

38-15-41

It is in these years that the black race, in its own land, Africa, and in all the paths by which it wended its way thither, seems always first. Whenever one ~~preserves~~ sees the first faint steps of human culture, the first successful fight against wild beasts, the striving against weather and desease, there one sees black men. They were not the only beginners but they seem to have been the successful and the persistent ones. Thus Africa appears as the father of mankind and the people who eventually settled there wherever they wandered before and since along the Ganges, the Euphrates and the Nile, in Cypress and about all the Mediterranean shores, form the largest and often the only group of human beings successfully advancing from animal savagery toward primitive civilization. The ancient world looked upon them continually as creators of human culture and rang with their tributes. Hammurabi, law giver of Babylonia, is called "to go forth like the sun over the

Black race". The Greeks sent Zeus and Poseidon to feast annually with the "Blameless Blacks" and the Roman historians tell us that the Blacks "conceive themselves to be of greater antiquity than any other nation. They suppose themselves also to be the inventors of divine worship, of festivals, of solemn assemblies, of sacrifices, and every religious practice. They affirm that the Egyptians are one of their colonies."

Out of many things that these beginnings emphasize we may select two, the discovery of the use of iron, and the establishment of the village unit. Probably the properties of iron have been discovered in the world many times and in many places, but it seems likely that while Europe was still in its stone age and while neither Egypt nor Western Asia nor ancient China knew iron, the black Africans had invented the art of smelting. It was a moment big with promise for the uplift of the human race. No effective industry, no sure defense was possible for mankind with laborously chipped stone tools. Copper and bronze made great advance over stone but only hard iron founded modern industry and this marvellous discovery was made by African Negroes. It was a simple thing and yet the little fire and bellows of the African smith still to be found all over Africa goes back through thousands and thousands of years and with it the beauty and efficiency which this smith forged into his iron tools.

The second thing that came out of the early strife of black folk was the village unit. I shall never forget my first glimpse of an African village. The night before we had ridden the bar in the moon light with the curious singing of lithe black boys. Above on the great headland twinkled Monrovia, below lay the black and silent forests beside a sombre sea. But this morning down by the sea and down by the forests suddenly we walked out into a little town. It

38-15-42

was a town of the Vilas. It was a thing of ~~great coloring,~~ clay color cream and purple, clean, quiet, small with perhaps a dozen or more homes. Authority was here and religion, industry and trade, education and art. It was not a complete thing from a modern point of view. It had little or no machinery, it lay almost defenseless against surrounding malaria. News service with the greater world, there was none. Its whole inner being had been changed and in some respects upset by a new surrounding and invading economy. And yet this little village was a mighty thing and it had come down from a mighty past. Its beginning stretched back in time thousands and thousands of years and yet gathered to itself traditions and customs springing almost from the birth of the world. In space along it stretched back, along a path-like valley from the low thunder of the sea on the black West Coast to the great central plateau of Africa with forest, lake and sand, two hundred miles away. Perhaps the great successful movements of this vast continent so veiled today in mystery had brought it even further seaward from the regions of the Mountains of the Moon, past Ethiopia and Nubia, Melle and Songhay, Haussaland and Benin, those shadowy empires of the past. Perhaps even this little village here once knew Atlantis itself and Greek and Carthagenia

No matter whence the African village came and how it is today distorted and changed, and has been in the past glorified and degraded, it is a singularly persistent and eternal thing. Again and again this village with its conical huts, its central fire, its grassy streets, its fields of grain and fruit and its cattle has been reborn in Africa and spread itself over the endless lines of the continent. Even the African city as it rose time and time again was a city of villages. Ancient Jenne, whence comes our modern word Guinea, "had seven thousand villages so near to one another that the chief of Jenne had no need of messengers", but cried his message from gate to gate and village to

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village until within a few moments it had gone a hundred miles to Lake Dibo.

We know the village unit the world over and among all people but among most folk the village early lost itself in some larger unit and civilization became a matter of city and state and nation. But the African village, because of geography and climate, because perhaps of some curious inner tenacity and strength of tradition persisted and did on a small scale what the world has continually attempted on a wider scale and never satisfactorily accomplished. The African village socialized the individual completely and yet because the village was small this socialization did not submerge and kill individuality. When the city socializes the modern man he becomes mechanical and cities tend to be all alike. When the nation attempts to socialize the modern man the result is often a soulless Leviathan. The African village attempted a small invention of the modern city and state and attempted it more successfully. It lost thereby breadth and power, it failed to integrate into a larger permanent imperialism. It never succumbed wholly to a militarism of its own but for that very reason it tasted slavery of every sort to others. But it was and is and perhaps will long be in its limited way a perfect human thing.

In the African village was bred religion, industry, government, education and art and these were bred as integral inter-related things. Take, for instance, religion. All beginnings are tragedy and tragedy is fate. From fate springs primitive religion and the primitive religion of Africa as developed by the African village underlies the religion of the world. Egyptian religion was in its beginning and later development of purely Negro character and mulatto Egyptian priests on the stones of Egypt continually received their symbols of authority from the black priests of Ethiopia. The Negro religion thus developed had something about it that was grim and

38-15-44

and terrible and for that very reason it powerfully expressed the feelings of the first fighters in the world. The fire and desert, water and jungle of Africa, the beast and bird and serpent, the devil of desease with his flies and insects and worms and the infinitesimal germs that creep in the skin and veins and marrow of men. All these are personified by the African Fetish. Fetish is a primitive philosophy of life. It is a spiritual explanation of physical evil and it explains by making all things spirit both the good and the bad and by seeking spiritual limitations for physical ills.

The religion of the black man spread among all the Mediterranean races. Shango, god of the West Coast, hurler of thunder bolts and lord of the storms, render of trees and slayer of men, cruel and savage and yet beneficent was prototype of Zeus and Jupiter and Thor. This African religion still centers in the village and yesterday I saw in Liberia black maidens from the "Gree Gree" bush, soft and velvet of skin with bodies that shame the Venus of Milo dancing before God and Devil according to the ancient village rite.

Beginning historically with this religious philosophy of life the African village became a center of work and was an organizer of industry and showed its most masterly development. Agriculture, manufacture, trade and art centered here. Despite the blazing sun, the dusty desert and the malaria the Negroes worked systematically and continually. Among the great race groups "Negroes are the best and keenest tillers of the soil." Africa is the home of house cattle and in the heydey of its village life thousands upon thousands of cattle composed the herds from north to south. Fields were fertilized and irrigated and fruit was raised.

To this we must add the village industry. The African village

from early days wove cloth, baked earthen ware, manufactured instruments and arms, baskets and shoes, soap and glass. They worked in iron, copper, brass, bronze, gold, silver, bone and ivory. They built in fibre, wood and stone. They developed an original division of industry, a division first by families and clans so that even the militarized Zulus are to this day divided according to ancient industrial designation like "the men of iron" and "sons of corn cleaners". Beoynd that division of industry appeared among the villagers so that they were grouped according to their reciprocal activities and became complements one to another. One village specialized in fishing, another in wine, another in metals and still another in trade, importing from without. Sometimes the division went even further. One Congo village carves elephant tusks, another makes a particular style of hat and others swords, cooper rings, wood carvings and burnt clay pitchers. The industry tends to rise from artisan to artist. "We come to a house with many doors" says Frobenius, "and there the scarlet glow from a sunken fire-pot. Around it sat the workers with their rods of iron on which the rings of lovely glass were twirled above the glare; there in the background the bellows wheezed; there on the floor lay finished bright-hued goods; here rings of plain glass were being turned and gaily patterned." And he tells his satisfaction with "this busy moving picture full of tints stuck so fiery off indeed from its background; the work-folk went on so assiduously with their employment; the glass of rainbow hue glittered so gaily amidst the uninterrupted hammering and rocking and smelting and turning."

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Out of this industry developed the African market-place which knit the continent together with the road and trade centers from the Gulf of Guinea to Zanzabar and from Walfish Bay to Lake Chad long before the modern coming of Europe. The trade of African villages early reached the world. Egypt, Persia, and Indian Cypress, Greece and Rome

Byzantium Spain and Italy.

What the village system lacked in breadth and vision it gained in depth and personal knowledge. There was no monopoly, no poverty, no prostitution and the only privilege was the definite, regulated and usually limited privilege of the chief and head men given in return for public service and revokable for failure. This primal village life has today largely disintegrated before the white invader, before machine goods and imperial compulsion, but it played its part in the world and was a contribution to civilization.

The African village was perpetuated by its own system of education, an education narrow but severely practical, an education which feared vision and speculation but which was suited to its great end of training children to perpetuate the village system. It taught the child to work and to obey, it revealed to him his body, it gave him wealth of the accumulated stores of law and wisdom of the tribe. It treated him from the very first not as a plaything but as a integral and useful part of the village organization.

In the African village a democracy of an effective type was developed, a democracy so strong that its very strength proved Africa's undoing in the face of the organized industrial militarism of Europe and Asia. The African village recognized the right not only of men but of women and children to a certain voice in government. Its popular assembly was a more effective democratic legislature and court and the center of its institutions formed "a clear and definite organization so duly ordered and so logical that we but seldom meet with its like among all the peoples of the earth." Modern democracy as Europe and America has directed it is often therule of the mob and the setting of a mediocrity at best and organized crime at worst in the seat of authority. The democracy of the African village on the contrary had its basis in

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reverence for authority and in courtesy of individual toward individual. Even today African courtesy among the mass of men is unequalled. Mungo Park, Livingstone, Stanley, all tell of this "true African dignity". I have seen in French Senegal natives by the hundreds crowding the inadequate railroad stations and trains, but the courtesy not alone toward strangers but toward each other was noticeable, natural and unfailing. To this the village democracy added the selection of ability, a selection which placed heredity high but seldom made it permanently unquestionable. The African chief often became a tyrant but this was not the rule and the village democracy continually reasserted its power. But when the right of rule was once recognized obedience to authority was well nigh universal and democracy never meant in Africa disrespect for authority. African villages elected authority and not man to rule and they obeyed and reverenced the ruler because of what he represented. Thus Africa became and still is the village while Europe is the city, America largely the state and Asia stubbornly the empire.

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For this stubborn clinging to a fine and narrow idea of government religion, work and education, Africa paid. Africa paid with Dispersion and Slavery. Dispersion came because the Village could not corral and hold its strongly developed individualities as could the state and empire. So that from days before the dawn of history down to our era a stream of black men have passed out of black Africa and into the world and profoundly influenced Civilization by their genius. There was Nefertari, and was as Flinders Petrie says, "the most venerated figure of Egyptian history the black queen of Egypt who drove out the Hyksos; there was the black Mut-emaa, mother of the great Amen-hoteh III who built the great temple at Luxor and whose direct descendant was the royal princess who made Tut-ankh-amen, Pharoah of Egypt.

Besides these marked individual instances, there is the fact that the Egyptian race itself in general had a considerable element of Negro blood, and one of the prime reasons why no civilization of the type of

that of the Nile arose in other parts of the continent, if such a thing were possible, was that Egypt acted as a sort of channel by which the genius of Negroland was drafted off into the service of Mediterranean and Asiatic culture.

The second and more terrible way in which Africa paid for her individualistic village culture was by the slave trade when Christian Europe trades in uman beings for four hundred years. The slave trade alone cost Africa in dead and stolen nearly one hundred million souls. And yet people ask today the cause of stagnation culture in that land since 1600.

Nevertheless for all this there was compensation and this compensation was African art. The sense of beauty which is the last and best gift of Africa to the world and the true essence of the black man's soul. The climate, the flora and fauna of Africa lured mankind to first steps toward world conquest. That African climate is a tremendous thing. The sunshine of its central zones cloaks you like a golden blanket; it hangs heavy about your shoulders; it envelopes you; it smothers you in soft but mighty embrace. The rain of Africa is a consuming flood, a river pouring out of heaven, without banks or current. In Africa the swift, the energetic are the Dead. In Africa the lazy survive and live. This African laziness is several things; it is hiding from the fierce sunlight; it is shelter from the penetrating rain; it is defence from malaria. And it

brings with it leisure and dreams and human intercourse. The dreaming of the colder world must await artificial heat and sanitation and homes and when these came, with them came machinery and standardized toil and deadening conventions. But in the village from earliest primeval days there was leisure and freedom.

I remember one Sunday I walked in the African "Big Bush", back fifty miles from the sea. There was deep green shade between us and the grim and golden sun; black trunks of giant trees, star-palms, slithering vines and flowers. Monkeys screamed and fled, rivers twinkled, and furtive beasts moved in the far shadows. Ahead stalked a gaunt yellow missionary with his gun. A snake like a gleam of black light crossed the path.

Then we came to the village. A little center of work and leisure. A pile of coffee berries baked in the sun; a group of workers thatched a home; a group of sleepers stretched their long, dark, beautiful limbs in sleep; children played; and in the central compound--a place of space and fire and shelter and food, there was a clean square of leisure and seats and shade for guests.

It is this sort of thing that has given Africa beauty in exchange for slavery and disease; in exchange for that isolated provincialism which men call primitive culture. Deep in forest pictures and by the banks of low, vast rivers; in the deep tense quiet of the endless jungle, the human soul whispered its folk tale, carved its pictures, sang its rhythmic songs and danced and danced. The language of Africa grew and developed for their unique work, "so simple and clear in their

30-5-50

phonology, so logical in their syntax." From these have descended one of the richest masses of oral tradition of poetry and folk lore which the world knows. To this was early added the art of sculpture.

We have long known of the African artist. Traces of his work have been found in prehistoric Europe, in parts of Asia and of course in Egypt. Later rich centers of African art were brought to European knowledge on the African western coast. It was long customary to think of this art first as imitation, secondly as inexpressably crude and funny, but today more recent interpretations whows that the primitive art of Africa is one of the greatest expressions of the human soul in all time, "that black men invented art as they invented fire," that they spread their ideas of art among their white neighbors and that their earliest expressions had an originality and fidelity of purpose that the primitive world never surpassed. Finally out of Africa and out of the soul of black folk came music and rhythm. The African not only sang beautiful melodies but he invented part singing and his instinct for rhythm developed syncopation. He early made musical instruments and especially did he make the drum a living and speaking thing. His songs "rich as is their weave of rhythm and polyphony is not the only music of the African but through other instruments of his own invention the black man achieves the independence of human voice that presupposes a conception of music as an art, demanding an understanding of tone qualities and again a sense for the structural building of rhythmic and melodic balances of sound."

What is African music? Have you heard the tom-tom in O'Neill's "Emperor Jones"? Below this, this ecstacy of Fear, runs that rhythmic obbligato,--low, sombre, fateful, tremendous, full of deep expression and infinite meaning; have you danced in your soul and have you heard a Negro orchestra playing Jazz? Your head may revolt, your ancient conventions scream in protest but your heart and body leaps to rhythm. It is a new and mighty art which Africa gave America and America gave the world. It

38-15-51

has circled the world, it has set hundreds of millions of feet a-dancing--it is a "new"and "American" art which has already influenced all music and is destined to do more. Or again, have you heard the Sorrow Song? Once upon a time - I was a youth of eighteen - I taught school in the hills of Tennessee. I was new to section and people, and of a soft and dark and lovely night, I went out under the stars. And there rolling down across the valley came music. It was as the Voice of Angles upon the Halls of God. It was the sorrow of riven souls suddenly articulate; it was the tears of slaves, the sobs of raped daughters, the quiver of murdered bodies, the defiance of deathless hope. I shivered and ran. I hurried along the stony creek, and up hard hills and through the grey and twinkling village. And ever as I ran the music, the terrible, beautiful music swept nearer. It became more human, louder, pulsating with life and vigor and yet more poignantly sweet. There was a building set upon a hill--a dim, dilapidated thing, half-furnished with bench and board and far flung door and window. There within swayed and danced a people mad with song. It was the demoniac possession of infinite music. Wild arms waved in air, wild feet beat out the time, wild faces, dark, sweat-creased, stared up to God and wild and wilder words cut the night---

"Stand the storm it won't be long, we'll anchor by and by -
O, the stars of the elements are falling and the moon drips away
into blood
Roll, Jordan, roll."

O, it was bizarre - the people were black and dirty and funny but I stood and wept and when in a flash of silence, a woman lept into the air and shrieked as the dying shriek I sat down cold with terror and hot with new ecstacy.

Again and yesterday I sat in old St. Georges, New York and heard a whole service entoned to the music set by a Negro composer, built on Negro music and sung by a white choir. The audience within was spellbound and

35-15-52

without a thousand friends of Harry Burleigh clamored for admittance in vain.

And finally, last Christmas, I looked out of my window. The moonlight drifted down on palm and mangoes. Strange blossoms spread their scent on the soft hot breeze. I could hear the dull roar of the Atlantic beyond Cape Mesurado. I could hear music - songs that rose and rolled nearer. Words half English, half Vai, tunes that were once gospel hymns, but Africa had taken them - Africa had given them rhythm and syncopation; high soared the soprano obbligato, low rolled the strong big voices of men. It was the strangest combination, re-weaving, new-birthing of an old thing I had ever heard.

38-15-53

Such is the gift of music which Africa is still giving the world. The essence of African culture then lies in its initial strife which began all culture; in its development of the village unit in religion, industry and democracy; and finally in its art--its realization of beauty in folk lore, sculpture and music. All this Africa has given the modern world together with its suffering and woe.

By W. E. B. Du Bois

# SIERRA LEONE

Africa is always the unexpected. Thus Pedro da Cintra, sailing along the low west African coast in 1462, suddenly saw the Lion Mountain leap and roar to the silver sea. He called these fifty miles of singing headland, Sierra Leone, and one sees today that couchant Lion from the ocean, the great twin-humped ~~headland~~ mountain that comes down close to the waters so contrary to one's preconceived notions of the African coast. All along here and particularly at Sherbro Island which lies low, yonder to the right, the slave trade flourished in the 18th century until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and then in 1787 there began an experiment.

32-15-23

Some day if I have time (which I shall probably not) I am going to write a scientific treatise on the technique of racial discrimination. It is a fascinating study. I have seen many methods applied now in three continents, in city and in country and between various races of men. One of my most interesting recent experiences has been to note its application in Sierra Leone.

Today still, at Sierra Leone the mountain comes down to the sea, looming in curve and peak over the sweep of the harbor. Freetown looks large and wide, built of white and red stone, flinging rows of homes far along the sea, and a gleam of villas up the mountain side. It is a beautiful sight of a sunny morning; hot and dusty at noon-tide; and always full of folk and puzzling. Puzzling because one senses anomaly here, history built on history, abandoned, built again. Yonder from the low mouth of the wide river, sweep in great canoes with white uptipping rhomboidal sails, long

canoes full of black men. Rhythmically they float across the bay, flashing paddles deftly plied. They somehow speak of Carthaginian triremes with white-swathed figures at prow and stern and lean dark bodies amidships. And sure enough somewhere here Carthagenians and Phoenecians landed 2500 years ago!

Here then on Silver sea, lie past and present. But in the street one rubs one's eyes. Here is the flowing garb of West India, the wide, loose, gay gown sweeping the instep, the flowing turbaned kerchief. In these garments live the memories of Maroons and Creoles who came long years ago by way of Nova Scotia. There is the English black man, sometimes university bred and immaculate; sometimes from the local schools; a man varied in language and outlook and appearance. There are the natives, for native suburbs gird the town - Krootown, Congoland and the like. One sees them with loin cloth and with flowing Arabian robes. A black Mohammedan does his orisons beneath my window. "Allah-il-Allah! -- Allah Akbar"-- kneeling on his mat. There are always white subalterns in khaki, silent, almost watchful.

38-15-24

I sense some unrest in Freetown. This city of forty thousand people has evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity. Curious chapters on economic history could be dug up here, I am sure, for first the colony was a philanthropy, then a trading company, then since 1808, a crown colony. Today it falls into two parts and thereby hangs a long and curved tale.

It all began with the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century and the far-sighted vision of England of coming changes in industrial organization. The slave trade declined and this coast became a refuge for re-captured slaves. Black and poor prowlers from England, Maroons from Jamaica and Nova Scotia, load after load of slaves re-captured on the high seas, not to mention a cargo of white prostitutes

from England, were dumped on these shores to stew and strive and live and die. All of these pieces of peoples, intermingled groups of individuals from the West Indies, from all parts of the African interior, from the United States and from Nova Scotia, began to settle down and to develop along certain lines. By the middle of the 19th century the English mission schools were turning out some fairly educated young people. The older people were grasping at a more or less stable economic foothold; buying from England, selling some raw products. As time went on some of them sent their sons and daughters to England. Some sent their wives too and established their families there for purposes of education. Very slowly but certainly there arose in British West Africa a group of Negroes with educated leadership, a few with the best modern university training. England was rather negligently proud of them. They were curiosities when they appeared in London. Queen Victoria's ministers promised them eventual autonomy and the chance to set up for themselves, presumably as an independent country.

38-15-25

March 3, 1865 a select committee of the House of Commons resolved "that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal." Pursuing this policy and with the energetic pushing forward of the Negroes the colony was virtually in the hands of black folk by 1890. Sir Samuel Lewis, a colored man, had been Chief Justice. McCarthy was Queen's Counsel and the people were voting and electing their own officials.

Meantime matters changed. Africa became a great open land

for new raw material. Instead of giving up African colonies, the European nations after the middle of the 19th century, began to scramble for all the territory they could get there and by 1885 had it definitely divided up. English business began to move out to Africa and when it moved to West Africa it met the educated Negro leader. What happened?, One can best sense this by going to Sierra Leone today.

38-15-26

You see a country of black folk, of black folk of all degrees of wealth and education. At the Governor's garden party I met black men and women of culture and manners. They would have been at home in any cultured assembly. Their dress was not that of the latest London tailors and yet they were well dressed. The women perhaps, most of all, followed least the latest styles and yet they were soft-voiced, restrained and pleasant.

But it was interesting to see that garden party. The Governor was conventionally English, tall and slim, with white top hat and morning coat. His wife was the gracious Great Lady. Around them were Englishmen and Negroes but they did not mingle. Yet their lack of mingling was altogether different from anything I have seen. In the black belt of the South white and black do not mingle but the line is definitely and openly defined. There is a place for the blacks and wander and swagger as they will, they never cross the line. Yet, across that definite and mutually recognized line, the races talk and banter quite good-naturedly.

Here there was no such line visible. Now a black man, now a white man would greet the Governor and his lady. But when they stopped for conversation, white very seldom spoke with black or black with white. There was a sense of independence, not necessarily

hostility. They acted rather as people of the same social status who had not been introduced.

Following this out I noted other anomalies. Up the side of the Lion Mountain, and reached by a beautiful and costly winding boulevard, were villas, lovely bungalows, high where the ocean breezes struck them. There were tennis courts and golf links, a beautiful English suburb. Automobiles whirled by and well-dressed people lolled on the verandas.

If now, you assumed that these were the aristocrats and rulers of the colony you were puzzled by meeting in the main street the Mayor and his wife in their rickshaw. The Mayor was a stout black man, educated, well-dressed, well-mannered. His wife was intelligent. You met other men; lawyers, teachers, physicians, men of culture and distinction. The great mass of the people were black; the stores were kept largely by black people although the great emporiums and wholesale houses were in the hands of whites. Even there there were colored clerks. If you went to the courts the judges and government prosecutors were all white but the lawyers were all black.

There was busy commerce in the port. The ships were English, manned by white Englishmen. The great and dominant commercial houses were white. The Chamber of Commerce which had its own representative in the Governor's council was predominantly white, with only a few black members. Seeing all this you sat down and began to study it out. You began to wonder what had happened here. Blacks were ruling and yet they were subordinate.

Manifestly, here in Africa and in a country with a small but evident black leadership, there was social and residential segregation by race; there was a degree of disfranchisement that left the Negroes

almost without political power; there was a peonage of the great mass of natives that kept them at work at low wage with little profit; and there was very little popular education.

I knew how t is sort of thing was accomplished elsewhere. In the country districts of the southern South in our own land, the thing is done by brute force. The Negro who should buy a house in a white district would be mobbed; the Negro who tried to vote would be knocked down; the Negro who tried to get away from the plantation where he was working would be beaten or jailed; and Negro school facilities would be what the white people permitted.

38-15-28

In the cities of the South, on the other hand, the same thing would be accomplished by the interference of the police and the courts. Public "order" would keep the Negro out of his new house and the action of registrars would keep him from voting. He could leave his job but it is doubtful if he could find a better-paying one. His schools would be better but not good and still dominated by the whites.

In the Northern United States the same thing is approximated by the distribution of wealth. A Negro cannot buy in good residential districts because he hasn't the income and may not usually get sufficient income. His voting is neutralized by parties refusing to bid for it. Only a few and usually the worst-paid occupations are open to him. The public schools are crowded and poor or actual Jim Crow schools are introduced as in Philadelphia and Indianapolis.

But how is all this accomplished in British West Africa with a predominantly Negro population, with some highly-educated Negro leadership, and with only a handful of whites?

Sierra Leone proper, with Freetown and some four hundred and fifty square miles about it, is a settlement dominated by civilized

Negroes of all types. When the partition of Africa added thirty one thousand square miles of hinterland to this, there arose a dilemma. Legally, Freetown would rule the hinterland and if Freetown had been white, there would have been no questions raised, it would have been "Home-rule", divine right. But Freetown was black and aggressively black and, true to its great principal of divide and conquer, England proceeded to drive a wedge between native and civilized blacks and to back this movement with propaganda. The black West African was all right in a way and capable of some training; rather good as a clerk and small merchant, but he would never do as a ruler. White men must rule.

At a time then, when blacks were rising in the government and civil service, the professions and trade and were on the way to dominate colony and protectorate, there came a new dispensation. The power of the blacks was strictly confined to the four hundred and fifty square miles of Freetown and vicinity, and here their political power was narrowed and curtailed. Around the little Negro republic which centered at Freetown there was built up a great protectorate. This super-government surrounded and choked and overshadowed the original black republic. The republic still has its feeble forms of government operating within the confines of Freetown. It has a city council. It elects the mayor and some other local officers. But its funds and powers of execution and expenditure are strictly curtailed. Practically direct taxation on land and houses is its only form of revenue. Police, sanitation, the harbor business and commerce in general and all matters to do with the natives and education are all under the protectorate government. And not only are the courts under the white protectorate but as Jurors must be black the white court can at its will in criminal cases abolish trial

by Jury and in all cases the judges sitting as a court of appeal pass on their own judgments!

Thus the government of the protectorate is white, is overshadowing, is all-powerful. At the head of this government is the autocratic governor who is practically a king by divine right. He is in reality responsible only to the Colonial Office and the Colonial Office in London is reasponsible only to God. The policy of the white government is to curtail the functions of what remains of the Negro government; to keep the educated and voting Negroes as far as possible from all contact with the natives and the natives from all such leadership. The territory where the natives live is divided into districts and over each is a district commissioner responsible to the Governor and with practically unlimited power over the natives.

38-15-30

The civil service, in its upper limits is largely confined to white men who receive high salaries with many and valuable perquisites. In a country where the income of the mass of people is very small, and where the average pay of colored civil servants is $350 a year the Governor gets $20,000 a year, a mansion and summer bungalow. The secretary, treasurer, comptroller of customs and three commissioners and medical officials get five to six thousand dollars a year each and homes. The Chief Justice and Attorney General get $10,000 and $6000 and homes and other white men receive from four to five thousand dollars. In all 203 Europeans receive nearly $550,000 a year in salaries. In addition to this are a large number of pensions paid in England from the local revenue, ranging from fifty dollars to two thousand five hundred dollars a year. A man who could scarcely earn two thousand dollars in England, comes out to Sierra Leone at a salary of five thousand, with all the

witchery of authority over "niggers". The level beauty of the white mountain side has been seized by the government, made accessible by white and winding roads covered with pretty bungalows and set aside for the white rulers.

The native tribes are ruled by the governor and his commissioners through their chiefs; that is, chiefs who accept white rule and behave and send down palm oil kernals, rice, etc. get money and favors from the government and his commissioners and are held in power. Those who do not, soon lose their influence and are driven from power. In return, the government builds roads, makes crop experiments and furnishes a little education for the chiefs' sons, through elementary schools superintended by white men.

The governor and his appointees by controlling trade raise by indirect taxation a revenue of about four million dollars a year. The income was about $3,950,000 in 1922 and estimated at about $4,100,000 in 1924. Of this income 50% is from customs taxes. The main items of expense are $650,000 for public debt and official pensions, $550,000 for administration, $460,000 for courts and soldiers, $310,000 for sanitation and $380,000 for public works.

Nearly all the white people in the colony are officials and merchants. The officials have a special status made for them because they are officials. The most beautiful and salubrious residential district in the colony is officially assigned to these persons for residence. The government makes their roads, builds their houses, lays out their tennis and golf fields. The officials ride on a special car on the trains, thus practically inaugurating a "Jim Crow" car system. The sanitary and medical systems are announced as inaugurated "to make Sierra Leone habitable by white folk."

The white merchants are united in a Chamber of Commerce. This chamber of commerce has representation upon the Governor's council and consequently the right to present its views. Moreover, since it represents the chief source of revenue upon which the government is based and since through its English commercial connection it expresses strong influence in the colonial office, its views must be received with attention. There is no evident color line to the membership in this Chamber of Commerce and there are a few colored members; but the membership fee is high - $125 a year - and there is no restriction upon the number of memberships which any commercial organization may take. The great Elder-Dempster shipping monopoly and similar companies may easily take out a hundred or more memberships should that be necessary in order to dominate the Chamber. On the other hand, most small black merchants would not join at all, Why should they waste $125?

38-15-32

Education hitehrto , has been almost entirely missionary. Sometimes the missionaries have done a good job as in the case of Fourah Bay College , the only effective institution of higher learning today in all West Africa. In other cases the work has been fragmentary and of little account. The government has begun some education. The system is incomplete and the appropriations amount to only $125,000 a year.

The whole administration of the natives in the interior has to have for its paramount object, revenue, revenue to the state, profit to the trader, and cheap raw materials for the English manufacturers. The best method of increasing trade revenue is to have peace and quiet. Peace and quiet is achieved through using the chiefs, bribing them, cajoling them, displacing them. While some commissioners and some governors try to develop advance movements and re-organization and up-

lift of native life, most of them, of necessity, are content if they can get a peaceful flow of palm oil and other native produce from the interior to the coast.

Here then is the problem. One is astonished at the ingenuity of its working out. One wonders how much might not have been accomplished if half the ingenuity used here had been used really to build up and develop the African in Africa. As it is, the inevitable race conflict is on in West Africa. On the one hand one hears of impudent and half-educated Negro leaders in silk hats and long coats, who want to rule and exploit the natives for their own aggrandizement, and on the other hand one hears of English officials living in luxury at high salaries; pensioned for life at the expense of the black tax payer after a comparatively few years service; responsible to nobody for their actions; and desiring only self-aggrandizement and profits for the English merchants and investors.

Out of this situation has grown agitation. This agitation has naturally thrown the black community into warring conflicts. There are the colored people who gain by the present arrangement. Always the colonial government has something in its gift for colored men. There are a few but possible imperial honors to be distributed, etc. Then there is a large class that says, "What's the use? What can we do against the might of England? After all England does do things well. She brings out English experts who can give us better sanitation then Africans can. She brings out trained administrators with whom we cannot compete. She administers our finances. Why not bear it and hope for adjustment in the future?" Then there are the radicals with wild criticism, with personal grievance, with personal failures.

Despite all this there were always strong Negroes in Sierra

Leone who declared that West Africa belonged to West Africans and demanded the abolition of color discrimination in the civil service and color discrimination in residence. Such men were marked, naturally for governmental disapprobation and against them were pushed forward puppets, "white folks' niggers", who pretended that all was well when one considered the shortcomings of the black folk.

28-15-34

The first reaction of black West Africa was to win the battle by individual ability; to push their young men forward; to give them the best university training particularly in the professions and thus gradually to work colored men into the civil service and into power. This path of advance was pretty effectually stopped by governmental action. Whereas in 1892, a black man, Sir Samuel Lewis, was acting chief justice of Sierra Leone and Maxwell chief magistrate of Bambia and Frans Smith acting chief justice of the Gold Coast, lately no black man has been appointed judge or held any judicial office under the crown government. For a long time it was impossible for competent black men with first class university degrees in medicine, to secure appointment in the African Medical Service and when finally by continued agitation some were appointed, they were put in a special African department at lower salaries than the white men who had pursued exactly the same courses and passed the same examination.

Here, for instance, is a white man who took the degrees of M.B. and Ch.B. at Glasgow in 1910. He receives $5000 a year. A colored man with the same degrees from Edinburg in 1908 receives $3000. The salary of white physicians rage from $3,300 to $5,500 while the Negroes with the same training and experience begin with $2,700 and never received more than $3,000.

The black people began to see that their fight for individual advancement was not only systematically blocked by the white

governors and their appointees, but that they were losing in their battle, the support and sympathy of the natives. Now the natives of Sierra Leone and its hinterland, are men with a mighty history back of them; a history of organization, education, state building, literature and art. They are a part of that great development of human culture in Western Africa which lately has been brought to the attention of the civilized world.

They come within the history of that coast reaching from the mouth of the Gambia to the mouth of the Niger, three thousand miles, where a marvelous drama of world history has been enacted. Here, as Frobenius thinks, was the fabled Atlantis; here came Phoenicians and Carthaginians and from the high plateau of the interior came the Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey peoples. Behind them came the Mossi, and upon the high plateau toward the interior arose in the past, the great empires of the Mellistine and the Songhay. War, conquest, and the slave trade have swept over these peoples and left them disintegrated and bewildered, but they have still the material of great nations. Gradually, then, the new and Europeanized blacks leading Sierra Leone, began to get in touch with the chiefs and thinkers of the remaining groups of these native states. This was easier as time went on because some of the sons of the chiefs and of the great families, had been among the young men educated in the missionary schools and sent to Europe.

Finally this whole agitation and fight came to a head in a National Congress of British West Africa which met at Akra on the Gold Coast in 1920. There were present, representatives from Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The meeting had been projected in 1915 and pushed further in 1918 but came to a head only finally in 1920. The object as stated by F. W. Dove of Sierra Leone

was: "Firstly to effect a Union between the four colonies. Secondly to stimulate public interest in matters affecting public welfare. Thirdly to give greater weight to West African opinion. In coming before you the main idea is this; that we believe we have passed the days of childhood which have been associated for years past with the black man. In other words we believe the days have passed when it was commonly supposed that the African is like a child and must be forced against his will. The time has passed when the African peoples should be coerced against their will to do things that are not in accordance with their best interests or for their benefit."

38-15-36

The conference sat for a week, debated the situation thoroughly, drew up a splendid set of documents, and sent a deputation to England. Official England refused to receive the deputation. English newspapers were dumb. The door of the Colonial Office was closed in their faces. But all this was in vain. The congress became a permanent body. It met again in Bathurst in January 1922 and is preparing for a third meeting. A permanent office under a General Secretary is maintained at Secondee, Gold Coast.

One of the opening speakers said at the meeting of 1920 "that each one of these delegates is an African belonging to a distinctive African Family and thereby commanding the right of property and other interests either in his own right or in the right of the family to which he belongs. It follows from this that apart, from the fact of the Delegates to the Conference being the natural leaders of the people of their several communities, they have in themselves the right to appeal to His Majesty's Government for such constitutional reforms as in their judgment are necessary."

"But over and above the foregoing circumstances indicating the status of the Delegates, they carry with them the support of the people who whether educated or uneducated are sufficiently alive to

the importance at this hour of seeking for the amelioration of British West African political conditions."

" I need hardly remind you that our Empire has just emerged from a great war in the course of which all its members have more or less made sacrifices of some sort."

"In this the several British West African communities have not been behind-hand and the official records show the extent of their efforts. I believe I speak your minds when I say that British West Africa is entitled to and expects some consideration at the hands of His Majesty's Government."

"We know that India has been recognized and given a constitution which to a large extent will meet some of their most crying wants."

"Egypt is also about to receive a con titution, and Malta has already been accorded self-fovernment. Is it too much to ask and to expect that British West Africa should also receive due consideration?"

"The personnel of this Conference must satisfy any doubts as to the fitness of British West Africa to have an effective voice in the conduct of its public affairs. It will be for this Conference to present such a case as cannot possibly escape attention and consideration by His Majesty's Government; and you will readily agree with me that if this Conference were to fail in any of its objects but secure this paramount one of the Franchise it will not have met in vain."

The following were some of the resolutions adopted by the National Congress:

"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for a change in the Constitutions of the several British West African

Colonies, so as to give the people an effective voice in their affairs both in the Legislative and Municipal Governments."

"That this Conference is of the opinion that the system of Education best suited to the needs and conditions of the various British West African peoples under British influence is one which, whilst enabling the students to attain the highest possible proficiency in the many departments of learning, will least interfere with the development by the student of a proper spirit of reverence for indigenous institutions and modes of life not opposed to equity and good conscience."

"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has come to found a British West African University on such lines as would preserve in the students a sense of African Nationality."

"That in the opinion of this Conference the Aboriginal inhabitants of the several Colonies of British West Africa are not 'Aliens' or 'Foreigners' to one another and advocates the avoidance of all discriminatory Ordinances in that relation, and pledges itself to make representations at the proper quarter for the repeal of any such existing Ordinances."

"That this Conference, being strongly convinced that the time has come for the cooperation of the peoples of the British West African Dependencies in promoting their economical development, recommends the consideration by the various Committees of the formation of a Corporation, to be known as the British West African Co-operative Association, under the Companies Acts, with powers, inter alia, to found Banks, promote shipping facilities, establish Co-operative Stores, and produce buying centres, in such wise as to inspire and maintain a British West African National Economical development."

"That the time has come to open definitely to African practitioners

32-15-38

of experience all Judicial appointments."

"That this Conference deplores the gradual modification in successive Ordinances throughout British West Africa of the right of citizens to trial by Jury in Criminal cases, and recommends that the right should be regulated in accordance with English Common and Statute Laws."

"That this Conference views with marked disfavour the Trades Union spirit of the West African Medical Staff, which attempts to exclude qualified African citizens of British West Africa from entering the Medical Service in their country."

"That in the opinion of this Conference the principle of Trusteeship with respect to the lands of the people of British West Africa by Government has been overdone, and that it is proper to declare that the average British West African is quite capable of controlling and looking after his own interests in the land."

"That it condemns the principle of Government compulsorily acquiring large areas of land at nominal prices and letting the same or portions thereof to private companies or persons without giving the owners the opportunity of the bargain or the benefit of it."

"It is hereby resolved by this Congress that its policy is to maintain strictly and inviolate the connection of the British West African Dependencies with t e British Empire, and to maintain unreservedly all and every right of free citizenship of the Empire and the fundamental principle that taxation goes with effective reppresentation."

Despite the official attitude which the British government at first attempted, she was compelled to give way. In 1922 Nigeria was granted a legislative council with a minority of elected members, the majority still being appointed by the autocratic governor. The

Negroes secured audience before the League of Nations Union with Gilbert Murray, Dr. Maxwell Garnett and other persons of distinction present and began to get publicity.

In 1923 the Gold Coast was given a similar grant and in 1924 Sierra Leone. Gambia will follow soon.

To gage the meaning of this we must remember that in Sierra Leone the former legislative council consisted of twelve persons, eight white colonial officials and four "unofficial" members (three black and one white). All these were appointed by the governor. The new system which toes into effect this year has twenty one members of council, eleven official and ten unofficial. Of the unofficial members three are elected by the people, two nominated by commercial interests and five appointed by the governor, three from the chiefs and two other colored men.

38-15-40

It is a muddled and indefinite step but it is a little step toward democracy in West Africa. Naturally the Africans are not placated with this sop and they are protesting and pushing. Concessions in the civil service are being made: in the West African Medical Service, established "for the health of the whites", seven of the twenty physicians are now Negroes. Certain "African" assistants in the treasury and colonial offices are being appointed, junior to the white secretaries and with less pay.

This slow and grudging and illiberal yielding is in vain. Black British West Africa is out for self rule and in our day it is going to get it.

Africa

Africa is always the unexpected. Thus Pedro da Cintra, sailing along the low West African coast in 1462, suddenly saw the Lion Mountain leap and roar to the silver sea. He called these fifty miles of singing headland Sierra Leone, and one sees today that couchant Lion from the ocean, the great twin-humped mountain that comes down close to the waters so contrary to one's preconceived notions of the African coast. All along here, and particularly at Sharbro Island, which lies low, yonder to the right, the slave trade flourished in the eighteenth century until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and then in 1787 there began an experiment.

33-15-28

I sense unrest in Freetown. This city of forty thousand people has evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity. Curious chapters of economic history could be dug up here, I am sure; for first the colony was a philanthropy, then a trading company, then since 1808 a Crown colony. Today it falls into two parts, and thereby hangs a long and curved tale.

It all began with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, and England's far-sighted vision of coming changes in industrial organization. The slave trade declined and this coast became a refuge for recaptured slaves. Black and poor prowlers from England, Maroons from Jamaica and Nova Scotia, load after load of slaves recaptured on the high seas, not to mention a cargo of white prostitutes from England, were dumped on these shores to stew and strive and live and die. All of these pieces of peoples, intermingled groups of individuals from the West Indies, from all parts of the African interior, from the United States and from Nova Scotia, began to settle down and develop along certain lines. By the middle of the nineteenth century the English mission schools were turning out some fairly well educated young people.

The older people were grasping at a more or less stable economic foothold; buying from England, selling some raw products. As time went on some of them sent their sons and daughters to England. Some sent their wives, too, and established their families there for purposes of education.

Very slowly, but certainly, there arose in British West Africa a group of Negroes with educated leadership, a few with the best modern university training. England was rather negligently proud of them. They were curiousities when they appeared in London. Queen Victoria's Government promised them eventual autonomy and the chance to set up for themselves, presumably as an independent country. On March 3, 1865, a select committee of the House of Commons resolved "that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal." Pursuing this policy and with the energetic pushing forward of the Negroes the colony was virtually in the hands of black folk by 1890. Sir Samuel Lewis, a colored man, had been Chief Justice. McCarthy was Queen's Counsel and the people were voting and electing their own officials.

Meantime matters changed. Africa became a great open land for new raw material. Instead of giving up African colonies, the European nations after the middle of the nineteenth century began to scramble for all the territory they could get there and by 1885 had it definitely divided up. English business began to move out to Africa, and when it moved to West Africa it met the educated Negro leader. What happened?

Manifestly, here in Africa and in a country with a small but evident black leadership, there was social and residential segregation by race; there was a degree of disfranchisement that left the Negroes almost without political power; there was a peonage of the great mass of natives

that kept them at work at low wages with little profit, and there was very little popular education.

Sierra Leone proper, with Freetown and some 450 square miles about it, is a settlement dominated by civilized Negroes of all types. When the partition of Africa added 31,000 square miles of hinterland to this, there arose a dilemma. Legally, Freetown would rule the hinterland and if Freetown had been white there would have been no questions raised; it would have been "home rule", divine right. But Freetown was black and agressively black and true to its great principle of divide and conquer, England proceeded to drive a wedge between native and civilized blacks and to back this movement with propaganda; the black West African was all right in a way and capable of some training; rather good as a clerk and small merchant, but he would never do as a ruler. White men must rule.

At a time, then, when blacks were rising in the Government and civil service of Sierra Leone, the professions and trade, and were on the way to dominate colony and protectorate, there came a new dispensation. The power of the blacks was strictly confined to the 450 square miles of Freetown and vicinity, and here their political power was narrowed and curtailed. Around the little Negro republic which centred at Freetown there was built up a great protectorate. This super-government surrounded and choked and overshadowed the original black republic. The republic still has its feebls forms of government operating within the confines of Freetown. It has a City Council. It elects the Mayor and some other local officers. But its funds and powers of execution and expenditure are strictly curtailed. Practically direct taxation on land and houses is its only form of revenue. Police, sanitation, the harbor, business and commerce in general and all matters to do with the natives and education are all under the protectorate Government. And not only are the courts under the white protectorate, but as jurors must be black, the white

court can at its will in criminal cases abolish trial by jury, and in all cases the white Judges sitting as a Court of Appeal pass on their own judgments!

Thus the Government of the Protectorate is white, is overshadowing, is all-powerful. At the head of this Government is the autocratic Governor who is practically a king by divine right. He is in reality responsible only to the Colonial Office and the Colonial Office in London is responsible to no one. The policy of the white government is to curtail the functions of what remains of the Negro government; to keep the educated and voting Negroes as far as possible from all contact with the natives and the natives from all such leadership. The territory where the natives live is divided into districts, and over each is a District Commissioner responsible to the Governor and with practically unlimited power over the natives.

28-15-91

The civil service in its upper branches is largely confined to white men who receive high salaries with many and valuable perquisites. In a country where the income of the mass of people is very small, and where the average pay of colored civil servants is $350 a year, the Governor gets $20,000 a year, a mansion and Summer bungalow; the Secretary, Treasurer, Controller of Customs, three Commissioners and medical officials get from $5,000 to $6,000 a year each and homes. The Chief Justice and Attorney General get $10,000 and $6,000 and homes, and other white men receive from $4,000 to $5,000. In all, 203 Europeans receive nearly $550,000 a year in salaries. In addition to this are numerous pensions, paid in England from the local revenue, ranging from $50.00 to $2,500 a year. A man who could scarcely earn $2,000 in England comes out to Sierra Leone at a salary of $5,000 with all the witchery of authority over "niggers".

The native tribes are ruled by the Governor and his Commissioners through their chiefs; that is, chiefs who accept white rule and behave

and send down palm oil, kernels, rice and other articles, receive money and favors from the Government and its Commissioners and are held in power. Those who do not soon lose their influence and are driven from power. In return, the Government builds roads, makes crop experiments and furnishes a little education for the chiefs' sons through elementary schools superintended by white men. The Governor and his appointees rais by indirect taxation a revenue of about $4,000,000 a year. Nearly all the white people in the colony are officials and merchants. The officials have a special status made for them because they are officials. The most beautiful and salubrious residential district in the colony is officially assigned to these persons for residence. The Government makes their roads, builds their houses, lays out their tennis courts and golf links. The officials ride on a special car on the trains, thus practically inaugurating a "Jim Crow" car system. The sanitary and medical systems are announced as inaugurated "to make Sierra Leone habitable by white folk."

The white merchants are united in a Chamber of Commerce, which has representation upon the Governor's Council, and consequently the right to present its views. Moreover, since it represents the chief source of revenue upon which the Government is based, and since through its English commercial connections it exerts strong influence in the Colonial Office in London, its views must be received with attention. There is no evident color line to the membership in this Chamber of Commerce and there are a few colored members; but the membership fee is high—$25 a year—and there is no restriction upon the number of memberships which any commercial organization may take. The great Elder-Dempster shipping monopoly and similar companies may easily take out a dozen or more memberships should that be necessary in order to dominate the chamber. On the other hand, most small black merchants would not join at all. Why should they waste $125?

Education hitherto has been almost entirely missionary. Sometimes the missionaries have done good work, as in the case of Fourah Bay College, the only effective institution of higher learning today in all West Africa. In other cases the work has been fragmentary and of little account. The Governor has begun some education. The system is incomplete and the appropriations amount to only $125,000 a year.

The whole administration of the natives in the interior has to have for its paramount object revenue—revenue to the State, profit to the trader and cheap raw materials for the English manufacturers.

Here, then, is the problem: One is astonished at the ingenuity of its solution. One wonders how much might not have been accomplished if half the ingenuity used here had been used really to build up and develop the African in Africa. As it is, there is inevitably race conflict in West Africa. On the one hand, one hears of impudent and half-educated Negro leaders in silk hats and long coats who want to rule and exploit the natives for their own aggrandizement; and, on the other hand, one hears of English officials living in luxury at high salaries, pensioned for life at the expense of the black taxpayer after a comparatively few years' service, responsible to nobody for their actions, and desiring only self-aggrandizement and profit for English merchants and investors.

Out of this situation has grown agitation. This agitation has naturally thrown the black community into warring conflicts. There are colored people who gain by the present arrangement. Always the Government has something in its gift for colored men. There are few but possible imperial honors to be distributed. Then there is a large class that says: "What's the use? What can we do against the might of England? After all England does do things well. She brings out English experts who can give us better sanitation than Africans can.

38-15-93

She brings out trained administrators with whom we cannot compete. She administers our finances. Why not bear it and hope for adjustment in the future?" Then there are the radicals with wild criticism, with personal grievance, with personal failures. Despite all this there were always strong Negroes in Sierra Leone who declared that West Africa belonged to West Africans and demanded the abolition of color discrimination in the civil service and color discrimination in residence. Such men were marked, naturally, for governmental disapprobation, and against them were pushed forward puppets, "white folks' niggers", who pretended that all was well when one considered the shortcomings of the black folk.

The first reaction of black West Africa was to win the battle by individual ability; to push their young men forward; to give them the best university training, particularly in the professions, and thus gradually to work colored men into the civil service and into power. This path of advance was pretty effectually stopped by governmental action. Whereas in 1892 a black man, Sir Samuel Lewis, was acting Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and Maxwell Chief Magistrate of Gambia and Frans Smith Acting Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, lately no black man has been appoin ted Judge or held any judicial office under the Government. For a while it was impossible for competent black men with first-class university degrees in medicine to secure appointment in the African Medical Service, and when finally, by continued agitation, some were appointed, they were put in a special African department at lower salaries than the white men who had pursued exactly the same courses and passed the same examination. The black people began to see that their fight for individual advancement was not only systematically blocked by the white Governors and their appointees, but that they were losing in their battle the support and sympathy of the natives.

Now the natives of Sierra Leone and its hinterland are men with a

mighty history back of them, a history of organization, education, State building, literature and art. They are a part of that great development of human culture in Western African which lately has been brought to the attention of the civilized world. They come within the history of the coast reaching from the mouth of the Gambia to the mouth of the Niger, 3,000 miles, where a marvelous drama of world history has been enacted. Here, as Frobenius thinks, was the fabled Atlantis; here came Phoenicians and Carthaginians; and from the interior came the Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey peoples. Behind them came the Mossi, and upon the high plateau toward the Central Sudan arose, in the past, the great empires of the Mellistine and the Songhay. War, conquest and the slave trade have swept over these peoples and left them disintegrated and bewildered, but they have still the material of great nations. Gradually, then, the new and Europeanized blacks, leading Sierra Leone began to get in touch with the chiefs and thinkers of the remaining groups of these native States. This was easier as time went on because some of the sons of the chiefs and of the great families had been among the young men educated in the missionary schools and sent to Europe.

Finally, this whole agitation and fight came to a head in a National Congress of British West Africa, which met at Accra on the Gold Coast in 1920. There were present representatives from Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The meeting had been projected in 1915 and pushed further in 1916, but came to a head finally only in 1920.

The Conference sat for a week, debated the situation thoroughly, drew up a splendid set of documents and sent a deputation to England. Official England refused to receive the deputation. English newspapers were dumb. The door of the Colonial Office was closed in their faces. But all this was in vain. The Congress became a permanent body

It met again in Bathurst in January, 1922, and is preparing for a third meeting. A permanent office under a General Secretary is maintained at Secondee, Gold Coast.

Despite the official attitude which the British Government at first assumed, it was compelled to give way. In 1922, Nigeria was granted a Legislative Council with a minority of elected members, the majority still being appointed by the autocratic Governor. In 1923, the Gold Coast was given a similar grant, and in 1924, Sierra Leone leaving Gambia for subsequent action. To gauge the meaning of this we must remember that in Sierra Leone the former Legislative Council consisted of twelve persons, eight white colonial officials and four "unofficial" members (three black and one white). All these were appointed by the Governor. The new system has twenty-one members of Council, eleven official and ten unofficial. Of the unofficial members three are elected by the people, two nominated by commercial interests and five appointed by the Governor. Of these five, three are to be native chiefs and two others colored men. It is a muddled and indefinite step, but it is a little step toward democracy in West Africa. Naturally, the Africans are not placated with this sop and they are protesting and pushing. Concessions in the civil service are being made. In the West African Medical Service, established "for the health of the whites", seven of the twenty physicians are now Negroes. Certain "African" assistants in the Treasury and Colonial offices are being appointed, junior to the white Secretaries and with less pay. This slow and grudging and illiberal yielding is in vain. Black British West Africa is out for self rule and in our day it is going to get it.

38-15-96

The Mountain of the Lion.

Pedro da Cintra, of Portugal, first saw the Lion Mountain in 1462. It runs for 50 miles along the low West African coast rising with but a narrow coast land, straight up from the sea. Here the English slave trade flourished until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce. And then, in 1787 they began an experiment: black and poor prowlers in England, maroons from Jamaica, load after load of slaves recaptured on the seas, not to mention a load of white women from England were dumped on these shores to stew and strive and live and die.

Today still at Sierra Leone the mountain comes down to the sea, looming in curve and peak over the sweep of the harbor. Freetown looks large and wide and built of white and red, strong-flinging long rows of homes far along the sea and a gleam of villas up the mountains. It is a beautiful sight of a sunny morning--hot and dusty at noontide, full of folk and puzzling. Puzzling because one senses anomaly here. History built on history abandoned built again. Yonder from the low mouth of the wide river sweet in great canoes, with white up-tipped sails, long canoes full of black men rythmatically they float across the bay with flashing paddles deftly plied. They somehow speak of Cartheginian treasures with white swathed figures at prow and stern and lean brown bodies amid ships. There are Past and Present. But in the streets one rubs ones eyes. There is the of West Indian,--the wide loose and gay gown sweeping the instep, the flying turbaned kerchief. In these live the Maroons and Creoles who came long years since by Novia Scotia. There is the English black man-- perhaps university bred and immaculate perhaps from local schools. A man varied in language in in appearance. The natives are then--from these our native suburbs--Krootorn, Congo town and the like, from the interior. There is the loin cloth and the flowing A Mohammedan black does his beneath my window--Allah-il-Allah! - Allah Akbar--on his mat. There are Englishmen in white and in Khaki, silent and watchful.

12-18-36

I sense a certain unrest in Freetown. The city of 40,000 had evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity, a curiously economic history could it be dug up. It was first a then a trading Company--then 1808 a crown colony; Today it falls into two parts and thereby brings a long and curved tale. Sierra Leone with Freetown and some 450 square miles is a settlement from civilized Negroes of all types. When the of Africa added 31,000 miles of timberland to this, there arose a dilemma. Logically Freetown would rule the timberland and if Freetown had been black they would have been no question raised. But Freetown was black and agressively black.

The black was all upset in a way, capable of some training---good as clerks and small merchants but not a "ruler." White men must rule. From a time then when blacks were working into government and civil service professions and trade and on the way to dominate colony and came a new dispensation.

The black's power was confined to the colony and the political power of the colony narrowed and contacted--the police, much of the taxation, the it became governmental. The tribes men ruled by the through the chiefs---chiefs who accepted white rule and behaved and sent down palm oil and kernels and get money and favor. Others did not . In return the government helped with roads, crop experiments and advice and a very little education--a chief's son's school where a little elementary work of low standard is superintended by white men. White men became the chief and almost the only persons in the upper part of this civil service and are paid high salaries $3000 and up with large valuable . A man works at home would

36-18-27

scarcely get $2000, gets the [illegible] of $2000and all the [illegible] of authority over "niggers."

A lonely bit of the high mountain side was seized by the government,

covered with pretty bungalows [illegible] to golf links and given to the white rulers.

Thus the government explant [illegible] the interior, and by contributing trade taxation, ran up an income of some four million dollars a year. What does it do with this money.

1. Squanders most of it lavishly on haying and pensioning an overpaid civil service of white folk.
2. Gives a part to railroad, roads to the interior, sanitation, "to make Sierra Leone habitable by white folk.
3. Gives a little to education---less than it lavishes on gold and [illegible] for whites.

What did the black folk do? The first result was much dissentment and

Article From The Survey - Negro Number

# THE BLACK MAN BRINGS HIS GIFTS

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

1924 [not published]

We've got a pretty fine town out here in middle Indiana. We claim fifty thousand inhabitants although the census cheats us out of nearly half. You can't depend on those guys in Washington. The new Pennsylvania station has just gone up and looks big and clean although a bit empty on account of the new anti-loafing ordinance. There is a White Way extending down through the business section which makes us quite gay at night. Of course, we have Rotary, Kiwanis, the Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Women's Clubs. There are six churches, not counting the colored folks.

37-2-6

Well, last year somebody suggested we have an America's Making pageant just like New York. You see, we need something to sort of bring us together after the war. We had a lot of Germans here and near-Germans and we had to pull them up pretty stiff. In all, we had seven or eight races or nations, not counting the colored people. We salute the flag and many of us can sing The Star Spangled Banner without books. But we really need Americanization; a sort of wholesome getting together.

So, as I have said, last year the Federation of Women's Clubs started the matter and got a committee appointed. They appointed me and Birdie; Mrs. Cadwalader Lee (who is an awfully aristocratic Southern lady); Bill Graves, who runs the biggest store; the editor of the daily paper and the Methodist preacher, who has the biggest church. They made me secretary but Birdie suggested that we needed an impartial chairman who knew something about the subject, for, says she, "What with the Germans, Poles, Scandinavians and Italians, everybody will claim so much that there'll be nothing left for the real Americans." We met and considered the idea favorably and wrote to the state university.

They sent us down a professor with a funny name and any number of degrees. It seems that he taught sociology and "applied ethics", whatever that may be.

"I'll bet he's a Jew," said Birdie as soon as she looked at him. "I've got nothing against Jews, but I just don't like them. They're too pushing."

37-2-7

First thing off the bat, this professor, who wore a cloak and spoke exceedingly proper and too low for anybody to hear unless they were listening, asked if the colored people ought not to be represented. That took us a bit by surprise as we hadn't thought of them at all. Mrs. Cadwalader Lee said she thought it might be best to have a small auxiliary colored committee and that she would ask her cook to get one up.

"Well," says I, after we had gotten nicely settled for our first real meeting,"what is the first thing that's gone to making America and who did it?" I had my own mind on music and painting and I know that Birdie is daft on architecture; but before we either of us could speak, Bill Graves grinned and said, "hard work."

The chairman nodded and said, "quite true, labor."

I didn't know just what to say but I whispered to Birdie that it seemed to me that we ought to stress some of the higher things. The chairman must have heard me because he said that all higher things rested on the foundation of human toil.

"But, whose labor?" asked the editor. "Since we are all descended from working people, isn't labor a sort of common contribution which, as it comes from everybody, need not be counted?"

"I should hardly consent to that statement," said Mrs. Cadwalader Lee, who is said to be descended from a governor and a lord.

"At any rate," said the chairman, "the Negroes were America's

first great labor force."

"Negroes!" shrilled Birdie, "but we can't have them!"

"I should think," said Mrs. Cadwalader Lee, softly, "that we might have a very interesting darky scene. Negroes hoeing cotton and that sort of thing." We all were thankful to Mrs. Lee and immediately saw that that would be rather good; Mrs. Lee again said she would consult her cook, a very intelligent and exemplary person.

"Next," I said firmly, "comes music."

"Folk songs," said the Methodist preacher.

"Yes," I continued. "There would be Italian and German and—"

"But I thought this was to be American," said the chairman.

"Sure," I answered. "German-American and Italian-American and so forth."

"There ain't no such animal," says Birdie, but Mrs. Cadwalader Lee reminded us of Foster's work and thought we migt have a chorus to sing Old Folks at Home, Old Kentucky Home and Nelly Was a Lady. Here the editor pulled out a book on American folk songs by Krehbiel or some such German name and read an extract. (I had to copy it for the minutes.) It said:

"The only considerable body of songs which has come into existence in the territory now compassed by the United States, I might even say in North America, excepting the primitive songs of the Indians (which present an entirely different aspect), are the songs of the former black slaves. In Canada the songs of the people, or that portion of the people that can be said still to sing from impulse, are predominantly French, not only in language but in subject. They were for the greater part transferred to this continent with the bodily integrity which they now possess. Only a small portion show an admixture of Indian elements; but the songs of the black slaves of the South are original and native products. They contain idioms which were

37-2-9

transplanted from Africa, but as songs they are the product of American institutions; of the social, political and geographical environment within which their creators were placed in America; of the influences to which they were subjected in America; of the joys, sorrows and experiences which fell to their lot in America.

Nowhere save on the plantations of the South could the emotional life which is essential to the development of true folksong be developed; nowhwere else was there the necessary meeting of the spiritual cause and the simple agent and vehicle. The white inhabitants of the continent have never been in the state of cultural ingenuousness which prompts spontaneous emotional utterances in music.

This rather took our breath and the chairman suggested that the auxiliary colored committee might attend to this. Mrs. Cadwalader Lee was very nice about it. (She has such lovely manners and gets her dresses direct from New York.) She said that she was sure it could all be worked out satisfactorily. We would need a number of servants and helpers. Well, under the leadership of that gifted cook, we'd have a cotton-hoeing scene to represent labor and while hoeing they could sing Negro ditties; afterward they could serve the food and clean up.

That was fine, but I didn't propose to be sidetracked.

"But," I says, "we don't want to confine ourselves to folk songs. There is a lot of splendid American music like that of Victor Herbert and Irving Berlin."

The editor grinned. But the chairman was real nice and he mentioned several folks I never heard of—Paine, Buck, Chadwick and DeKoven. And, of course, I know of Nevin and McDowell. Still that editor grinned and said, "Yes, and Harry Burleigh and W. C. Handy and Nathaniel Dett."

Here the preacher spoke up. "I especially like that man, Dett.

Our choir sang his Listen to the Lambs last Christmas."

"Oh, yes," said Mrs. Cadwalader Lee, "and Burleigh's Young Warrior was one of the greatest of our war songs."

37-2-10

"I am sure," said the Methodist preacher, "that our choir will be glad to furnish the music."

"But are they colored?" asked the chairman, who had been silent.

"Colored?" we gasped.

"Well, you see, each race was to furnish its own contribution."

"Yes," we chorused, "but this is white American music."

"Not on your life," said the editor, who is awfully slangy.

"Of course you know Burleigh and Dett and Handy are all Negroes."

"I think you're mistaken," said Mrs. Cadwalader Lee, getting a bit red in the face.

But sure enough, the chairman said they were and we did not dare dispute him. He even said that Foster's melodies were based on Negro musical themes.

"Well," said the preacher, "I am sure there are no Negroes in town who could sing Listen to the Lambs," and the editor added, "And I hardly think your choir could render The Memphis Blues just as it ought to be." We looked at each other dubiously and I saw right then and there that America's Making had a small chance of being put on in our town. Somebody said that there was a choir in one of the colored churches that could sing this music, but Mrs. Cadwalader Lee reminded us that there would be insuperably difficulties if we tried to bring in obstreperous and high-brow Negroes who demanded social equality. It seems that one of these churches had hired a new social worker—a most objectionable colored person who complained when Mrs. Lee called her by her first name.

"That editor is just lugging the Negroes in," said I to Birdie.

"The Negroes seem to be lugging us in," she replied, and she launched us into architecture. From architecture we went to painting. There were Sargent and Whistler and Abbey. Birdie had seen Tanner's Raising of Lazarus in the Luxembourg and suggested a tableau.

37-2-11

"We might get him to help," said the editor. "He's having an exhibit in New York." We were thrilled, all except Mrs. Lee. "I understand he has Negro blood," she said coldly,"and besides, I do not think much of his work." We dropped that and hurried to inventions.

Here, of course, America is preeminent and we must pick and choose. First the preacher asked what kinds of inventions we ought to stress since America was so very inventive. Bill Graves wanted to stress those which had made big money, while the preacher wanted to emphasize those which had "made for righteousness." Birdie said she was strong for those which were really helpful and the chairman suggested the telephone, things that had helped travel, labor-saving devices, etc.

Well, we named over a number of things and especially stressed the telephone. The editor mentioned Granville Wood as one who had helped to perfect the telephone but we din't listen. I'm sure he was a Negro. But in spite of all, the chairman spoke up again.

"Shoes," he said.

"Well," said I, "I didn't know we invented shoes. I thought they were pretty common before America was discovered."

"But American shoes are the best in the world," said the editor, and then the chairman told us of the United Shoe Machinery Company and how they made shoes.

"And," he added, "that lasting machine which is at the bottom of their success was invented by a Negro."

"I don't believe it," said Birdie flatly, looking at Mrs. Cadwalader Lee. Mrs. Lee got pale this time.

"Of course," she said, "if you are just going to drag in the Negro by the ears—"

37-2-12

"Still," said the editor, "we are after the truth, ain't we? And it is certainly true that Matzeliger invented the lasting machine and you wouldn't want your sister to marry Matzeliger, now would you?"

"Ain't he dead?" asked Birdie, and Mrs. Cadwalader Lee doubted if we ought to be interested in anything as common as shoes.

"I should think automobiles and locomotives would express our genius better."

"Only, we didn't invent them," said the editor.

"But we did invent a method of oiling them while in motion," said the chairman.

"And I'll bet a colored man did that," said Birdie.

"Quite true," answered the chairman. "His name was Elijah McCoy. He is still living in Detroit and I talked with him the other day."

"Might I ask," said Mrs. Cadwalader Lee, looking the chairman full in the face, "if you yourself are of pure white blood?" We all started and we looked the chairman over. He was of dark complexion and his hair was none too straight. He had big black eyes that did not smile much; and yet there couldn't be any doubt about his being white. Wasn't he a professor in the state university and would they hire a colored man no matter how much he knew? The chairman answered.

"I do not know about the purity of my blood although I have usually been called white. Still, one never knows," and he looked solemnly at Mrs. Cadwalader Lee.

Of course, I rushed in, angels being afraid, and cried,

"Dancing—we haven't provided for dancing and we ought to have a lot of that."

"Lovely," says Birdie, "I know a Mexican girl who can do a tango

and we could have folk-dancing for the Irish and Scotch."

37-2-13

"The Negroes invented the tango as well as the cake walk and the whole modern dance craze is theirs," said the editor.

This time the preacher saved us. "I'm afraid," said he,"that I could not countenance public dancing. I am aware that our church has changed its traditional attitude somewhat, but I am old-fashioned. If you are to have dancing—" We hastened to reassure him unanimously. We would have no dancing. We dropped it then and there.

Mrs. Lee now spoke up. "It seems to me," she said, "that the real greatness of America lies in her literature. Not only the great writers like Poe and Lanier but in our folk-lore. There are the lovely legends of the mountain whites and, of course, the Uncle Remus tales. I sometimes used to recite them and would not be unwilling to give my services to this pageant.

"Negro dialect, aren't they?" asked the editor, with vast innocence.

"Yes," said Mrs. Lee, "but I am quite familiar with the dialect."

"But oughtn't they to be given by a Negro?" persisted the editor.

"Certainly not; they were written by a white man, Joel Chandler Harris."

"Yes," added the chairman, "he set them down, but the Negroes originated them—they are thoroughly African."

Mrs. Cadwalader Lee actually sniffed. "I am sorry," she said, "but it seems to me that this matter has taken a turn quite different from our original purpose and I'm afraid I may not be able to take part." This would kill the thing, to my mind, but Birdie was not sure.

"Oh, I don't know," she whispered, "she is too high-brow anyway and this thing ought to be a matter of the common people. I don't mind having a few colored people take part so long as they don't want

to sit and eat with us; but I do draw the line on Jews."

37-2-14

Well, we took up education next and before we get through, in popped Booker T. Washington. And then came democracy and it looked like everybody had had a hand in that, even the Germans and Italians. The chairman also said that two hundred thousand Negroes had fought for their own liberty in the Civil War and in the war to make the world safe for democracy. But that didn't impress Mrs. Lee or any of the rest of us and we concluded to leave the Negro out of democracy.

"First thing you know you'll have us eating with Negroes," said Birdie, and the chairman said that he'd eaten with Republicans and sinners. I suppose he meant to slur Democrats and Socialists but it was a funny way to do it. Somehow I couldn't just figure out that chairman. I kept watching him.

Then up ppps that editor with a lot of notes and papers.

"What about exploration?" he asks. Well, we had forgotten that, but naturally the Italians could stage a good stunt with Columbus.

"And the French and Spanish," said Birdie, "only there are none of them in town, thank God!"

"But there are colored folk!" said that chairman. I just gave him a withering look.

"Were they Columbus' cooks?" I asked.

"Probably," said the chairman, "but the one I have in mind discovered New Mexico and Arizona. But I'm afraid," he added slowly, "that we're getting nowhere."

"We've already got there," said Birdie. But the chairman continued: "How could we when we're talking for people and not letting them express themselves?"

"But aren't we the committee?" I asked.

"Yes, and by our own appointment."

"But we represent all the races," I insisted, "except, well--except

37-2-15

the Negroes."

"Just so," replied the chairman, "and while I may seem to you to be unduly stressing the work of Negroes, that is simply because they are not represented here. I promise to say nothing further on the matter if you will indulge me a few minutes. In the next room, a colored woman is waiting. She is that social worker at the colored church and she is here by my invitation. I had hoped to have her invited to sit on this committee. As that does not seem possible, may she say just a word?"

He looked at me. I looked at Birdie and Birdie stared at Mrs. Cadwalader Lee. Mrs. Lee arose.

"Certainly—oh, certainly," she said sweetly. "Don't let me interfere. But, of course, you will understand that we Lees must draw the line somewhere," and out she sailed.

I knew the whole thing was dead as a door nail and I was just about to tell Birdie so when in marched that Negro before we'd had a chance to talk about her. She had on a tailor-made gown that cost fifty dollars if a cent, a smart toque and (would you believe it?) she was a graduate of the University of Chicago. If there's anything I hate it's a college woman. And here was a black one at that. I didn't know just how to treat her so I sort of half turned my soulder to her and looked out the window. She began with an essay. It had a lot of long words which sounded right even if they weren't. What she seemed to be driving at was this:

Who made this big country? Not the millionaires, the ministers and the "know-alls," but laborers and drudges and slaves. And she said that we had no business to forget this and pretend that we were all descended from the nobility and gentry and college graduates. She even went so far as to say that cranks and prostitutes and plain fools had a hand in making this republic, and that the real glory of America

37-2-16

was what it proved as to the possibilities of common-place people and that the hope of the future lay right in these every-day people.

It was the truth and I knew it and so did all of us, but, of course, we didn't dare to let on to each other, much less to her. So I just kept staring out the window and she laid aside her essay and began to talk. She handed to the Negro, music, painting, sculpture, drama, dancing, poetry and letters. She named a lot of people I never heard of; and others like Dunbar and Braithwaite and Chesnutt, but I had always thought they were white. She reminded us of Bert Williams and told us of some fellows named Aldridge and Gilpin.

And then she got on our nerves. She said all this writing and doing beautiful things hurt. That it was born of suffering. That sometimes the pain blurred the message, but that the blood and crying lurked beneath. And at last she took out a little thin black book and read.

She read about this country not belonging to white folks any more than it did to black folks and that the black folks got here before the pilgrims. I couldn't help stepping on Birdie's toes because she says her people came in on some boat named after a flower so long ago she's forgot their names. The black girl said that the story of the Negro could be found on every page of the story of American. This made me sick and I turned and glared right at her. But she looked right through me and went on. She said Negroes had been soldiers in all our wars, had nursed the babies, cooked the food and sung and danced besides working so hard that "working like a nigger" was about the hardest work you could picture.

And she asked us if America could have been America without Negroes.

She had me up a tree, I must admit. And I reckon the rest felt as I did — all except that editor.

37-2-17

The chairman looked at us with owl-like eyes; then he shoved a paper at me and read it aloud as he did:

"Timeo Nigros et dona ferentes"

Nobody knows what he meant and nobody gave him the satisfaction of asking.

Well, we just sat and stared until she left. Then we went on talking but we didn't touch the real question; and that was, could we have America's Making without Mrs. Cadwalader Lee and with the Negroes?

We couldn't make up our minds and before we had courage to say so openly we went smash on religion.

We might possibly have had some sort of an America's Making pageant if we hadn't discussed religion. You see, the editor who is downright malicious and hates the Federation of Women's Clubs because they start things, got us all wrong by trying to get a definition of religion. He was strong on meekness and humility and turning the other cheeck and that sort of thing and I knew he didn't mean a word of it.

"I suppose," said Birdie, "that you'll be saying that the Negroes have given us all our religion because they're cowards and allowed themselves to be slaves and take insult today meekly."

"I must admit," said the preacher, "that if the meek inherit the earth, the American Negro will get a large share."

"But will the meek inherit the earth?" I asked.

"I think so," said the chairman calmly.

Birdie jumped up and reached for her cloak. "I believe you're a Jew and a pacifist," she said.

"I am both," he answered.

"And I suppose," said I, getting my hat on straight," that when somebody slaps you over, you turn the other cheek."

"I did," said he.

"Well, you're a fool," I answered, reaching for my coat.

And Birdie yelled, "And what did they do to you after you turned the other cheek? Answer me that."

"They crucified me," said the chairman.

Rejected by Locke for Survey
+ another article submitted

Worlds of Color, 1924.

Once upon a time in my younger years and in the dawn of this century I wrote: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line". It was a pert and singing phrase which I then liked and which since I have often rehearsed to my soul and asked how far is this prophecy or speculation? Today in the last years of the century's first quarter, I propose to examine this matter again, and more especially in the memory of the great event of these great years, the World War. How deep were the roots of this catastrophe entwined about the color line? And of the legacy left, what of the darker race problems will the world inherit?

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Most men would agree that our present Problem of Problems is what we call Labor: the problem of allocating work and income in the tremendous and increasingly intricate world embracing industrial machine which we have built. But despite our study and good will is it not possible that our research is not directed to the right spots geographically and our good will too often confined to that labor which we see and feel and exercise right around us rather than to the ~~dis-~~ periphery ~~appearing~~ of the vast circle and to the unseen and inarticulate workers within the World Shadow? And may not the continual baffling of our effort and failure of our formula be due to just such mistakes? At least it will be of absorbing interest to step within these shadows and, looking backward, to view the European and white American labor problem from this external vantage ground or better ground of disatvantage.

With nearly every great European empire today walks its dark colonial shadow, while over all Europe ~~as one~~ there stretches ~~a murky~~ the yellow shadow of Asia that lies across the world. One might indeed rede the riddle of Europe by making its present plight a matter of colonial shadows and

speculate wisely on what might not happen if Europe became suddenly shadowless — if Asia and Africa and the islands were cut permanently away. At any rate here is a field of inquiry, of likening and contrast in the matter of each land and its far off shadow.

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I walked to the Palacio dos Cortes with Magellan. It was in December 1923 and in Lisbon. I was rather proud. You see Magalhaes (to give him the Portuguese spelling) was a mulatto - small, light brown and his hands quick with gestures. Dr. Jose de Magalhaes is a busy man - a practising specialist; professor in the School of Tropical Medicine whose new buildings are rising; and above all, deputy in the Portuguese Parliament from Sao Thome, Africa. Thus this Agolese African, educated in Lisbon and Paris, is one of nine colored members of European Parliaments. Portugal has had colored ministers and now has three colored deputies and a senator. I saw two Portuguese in succession kissing one colored member on the floor of the house. Or was he but a dark native? There is so much ancient black blood in this peninsula.

33-1-24

As compared with Scandinavia, Portugal is colored. To be sure Germanic types predominate strongly but its high rough features are often tanned and burned and in its midst here and there, the practiced eye sees the shadow of Africa in a sweet brown that is not tan, in the great beautiful eye of sorrow, the hair sleek black and waving and the sharp features delicately toned and rounded, even made full and curved.

Between the Portuguese and the African and near African there is naturally no "racial" antipathy - no accumulated, historical hatreds, dislikes, despisings. Not that you would likely find a black man married to a Portuguese of family and wealth, but on the other hand it seemed quite natural for Portugal to make all the blacks of her African empire citizens of Portugal with the rights of the European born.

But Magalhaes and another represent Sao Thome. They are elected by black folk independent of party. Again and again I meet black folk from Sao Thome - young students, well dressed, well-bred, evidently sons of well-to-do, if not wealthy parents, studying in Portugal, which harbors annually a hundred such black students.

32-1-25

Sao Thomé illustrates some phases of European imperialism in Africa. Its industrial rule combines cheap land & labor in Africa & large manufacturing capital in Europe with resultant power from home investors and the democratic press. Once in a while — not often, a feud between Capitalists & manufacturers at home throws sudden light on Africa. For instance; in the Boer war the "cocoa" press attacked the Unionists and exposed labor conditions in South Africa. In retaliation after the war Union Liberals here in power the Unionists attacked labor conditions in Portuguese cocoa colonies.

For a long time the cocoa industry flourished on the islands of Sao Thome and Principe, on large plantations run by Portuguese and backed by English capital. Here under a system of recruiting and indentures which amounted to slavery these little islands led the world in cocoa production and here the basis of the great English and American cocoa industry. When the English liberals backed with money from the great cocoa merchants attacked the Tory industrial system and its slave labor in South Africa at the time of the Boer war quick retaliation on the part of the Unionists accused the cocoa merchants of abetting slavery in Portuguese Africa.

This system was attacked,

Immediately there arose the situation which is characteristic of modern industrial imperialism: differentiate it from past imperialism. Modern expansion has to use democracy at home as its central authority

This democracy is strangely cubbed by industrial organization but it does help select officials and public opinion once aroused rules. Thus with a democratic face at home modern imperialism turns a visage of stern and unyielding autocracy toward its darker colonies. This double-faced attitude is difficult to maintain and puts hard strain on the national soul that tries.

32-1-26

Thus in England the attack of the Unionists on the Liberals and the "cocoa-press" proving slavery on the Sao Thome plantations, led to demand ~~sudden and~~ but drastic labor reform in Portuguese Africa. Now the profits of the great Portuguese plantation owners could not afford this nor could they understand this sudden virtue on the part of capitalists who had known all along how labor was "recruited". They charged "hypocrisy" not understanding that English capital had an inconvenient democracy at home that often cracked its whip over them. The cocoa industry was forced by public opinion to boycott Portuguese cocoa; the Portuguese ~~giant~~ great proprietors were forced to give place to smaller Negro and mulatto cultivators who could afford smaller profits. At the same time the center of cocoa raising crossed the straits and seated itself in the English colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, formerly the ancient kingdoms of Ashanti, Yoruba, Hassaland, [redacted] and others. Thus in this part of Portuguese Africa the worst aspects of slavery melted away and colonial proprietors with smaller holdings could afford to compete with the great planters; wherefore democracy both industrially and politically took new life in black Portugal. Intelligent black deputies appeared in the Portuguese parliaments, a hundred black students studied in the Portuguese universities and a new colonial code made black men citizens of Portugal with full rights.

But in Portugal, Alas! no adequate democrats control has been established nor can be with an illiteracy of 75%: so that while the

colonial code is liberally worded and economic power has brought some freedom in Sao Thomé, unrestrained Portuguese and English capital rules in parts of Angola and in Portuguese east Africa, where no resisting public opinion in England has yet been aroused. In Portugal, however, opposition to English commercial imperialism here has come because of Lorenzo Marquis. Geographically this port is the natural outlet of the Transvaal, Rhodesia and Becuanaland, a territory as large as France and Spain together. Hitherto British South Africa has practically dominated this port in spite of the fact that it is in Portuguese territory, but today when the treaty is renewing Portugal is asserting her undoubted rights and the situation is strained. Out of this situation may come unavailed chance of emancipation for black labor, if only European democracy recognizes any fellow interest in such a development.

32-1-22

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There are in Latin Europe since the Great War some signs of such interest. The Spanish Consul at , laughed when I expressed a desire to land at Rio de Oro and see a bit of Spanish Africa and advised me not to. He intimated that the only part of this province which the Spanish owned was the fort and that they had to hide there at night for fear of the natives. Now the natives of Morocco both French and Spanish are more Negroid than the Negroes of America, and the fight between Spain and the Moors is historic and goes back behind those days which built the Alhambra and its supporting marvellous civilization. Spain lost her black shadow when she lost her American colonies and is striving in Tangiers and Morocco to achieve a new and sinister one within different success.

On the gaily colored Italian placard which adorned the Italian boot black stand in Brooklyn where I used to go there stood among the gorgeous soldiery defending Italy and attacking Austria during

the Great War a tall black soldier in crimson fez from Erytria. Since the war it has been these same black soldiers that have held and reconquered Tripoli for the Italians since no ministry dared to send Italian soldiers abroad to duplicate the slaughters which have attended the attempt of Italy to expand into Africa.

The African shadows of Spain and Italy then are but drafts on some imperial future not yet realized and touching home industry and democracy only in the war budget. As Spain is pouring treasure into a future Spanish Morocco, so Italy has laready poured fabulous sums in the attempt to annex north and northeast Africa, especially Abyssinia. The prince who is today visiting Europe is the first adult successor of that black Menelek who humbled Italy to the dust at Adowa in 1896.

32-1-28

Insurgent Morocco, independent Abyssinia and Liberia are, as it were, shadows of Europe on Africa unattached and as such they curiously threaten the whole imperial program. On the one hand they arouse democratic sympathy in home land which makes it difficult to submerge them and again they are temptations to agitation for freedom and autonomy on the part of other black and subject populations.

There is a little black man in Belgium, whose name is Mfumu Paul Panda. He is filled with a certain resentment against me and American Negroes. He writes me now and then but fairly spits his letters at me and they are always filled with some defense of Belgium in Africa or rather with some accusation against England, France and Portugal there. I do not blame Panda although I do not agree with his reasoning. Unwittingly summer before last I tore his soul in two. His reason knows that I am right but his heart denies his reason. He was nephew and therefore by African custom heir of a great chief who for thirty years back to the time of Stanley has cooperated with white Belgium. As a child of five young Panda was brought home from the Belgium Congo by a Belgian official and given to his maiden sister. This sister reared the little black boy as her own, nursed him, dressed him, schooled him and defended against the criticism of her friends, his-

right to university training. She was his mother, his friend. He loved her and revered her. She guided and loved him. When the second Pan African Congress came to Brussells it found Panda leader of the small black colony there and spokesman for black Belgium. He had revisited the Congo and was full of plans for reform. And he thought of the uplift of his black compatriots in terms of reform. All this the Pan African Congress changed. First it brought on his head a storm of unmerited abuse from the industrial press; we were enemies of Belgium; we were pensioners of the Bolshevists; we were partisans of England. Panda hotly defended us until he heard our speeches and read our resolutions.

37-1-29

The Pan African Congress, ~~however,~~ revealed itself to him with a new ~~nre~~ and unexplicable program. It talked of Africans as intelligent thinking, self directing and voting men. It envisaged an Africa for the Africans and governed by and ~~of~~ for Africans and it ~~harangued~~ arraigned white Europe including Belgium for nameless and deliberate wrong in Africa. Panda was perplexed and astonished; and then his white friends and white mother rushed to the defense of Belgium and blamed him for consorting with persons ~~of such~~ with ideas so dangerous and unfair to Belgium. He turned upon us black folk in complaining wrath. He felt in a sense deceived and betrayed. He considered us foolishly radical. Belgium ~~is~~ was not perfect but ~~is~~ was far less blood guilty than other European powers. Panda continues to send me clippings and facts to prove this.

In this last matter he is in a sense right. England and France and Germany deliberately laid their shadow across Africa. Belgium had Africa thrust upon her. Bismark intended the Congo Free State for Germany and he cynically made vain and foolish Leopold temporary custodian; and even after Bismark's fall, Germany dreamed of an Africa which should include Congo, half the Portuguese territory and all the French, making Germany the great and dominant African power. For this she fought the great war.

Meantime and slowly Belgium became dazzled by the dream of empire. Africa is but a small part of Britain; Africa is but a half of larger France. But Congo is eighty-two times the size of little Belgium and at Tervurien, wily Leopold laid a magic mirror - a ~~revealing~~ an entrancing flash of light, set like a museum in rare beauty and approached by magnificent vistas; a flash of revealing knowledge such as no other modern land possesses of its colonial possessions. The rank and file of the Belgians were ~~dazzled~~ impressed. They dreamed of wealth and glory. They received the Congo from Leopold as a royal gift-shyly but with secret pride. What nation of the world had so wonderful a colony! and ~~she~~ Belgium started to plan its development.

32-1-30

Meantime the same power that exploited the Congo and made red rubber under Leopold - these same great merchants and bankers still ruled and guided the vast territory. Moreover Belgium impoverished by war and conquest needed revenue as never before. The only difference then between the new Congo and the old was that a Belgian liberal public opinion had a right to ask questions and must be educated. Propaganda intimating that this criticism of Belgium was mainly international jealousy and that the exploitation of black Belgium would eventually lower taxes for the whites,- this was nearly enough to leave the old taskmasters and methods in control in spite of wide plans for eventual education and reform.

I remember my interview with the socialist minister for colonies. He hesitated to talk with me. He knew what socialism had promised the worker and what it was unable to do for the African worker, but he told me his plans for education and uplift. They were fine plans but they remain plans even today, and the Belgium Congo ~~remains~~ is still a land of silence and ignorance with few schools, with forced industry, with all the land and natural resources taken from the people and handed over

At the same time ~~extensive~~ occa
began to appear as a considerable check on
~~England~~ West Africa which relied the English
industry [illegible] on Portugal

37-1-31

With him Paris is now associated in a new journal, Les Continents, René Maran, the young Negro who won the Goncourt Prize with his novel, "Batouala". The bitter attack, on the French administration of black Africa is the beginning of a new era

to the State and the State so far as Congo is concerned ruled well-nigh absolutely by profitable industry. Thus the African shadow of Belgium gravely and dangerously overshadows that little land.

I had letters to Prince Touvalou in Paris. He is a nephew of Behanzin - that king of Dahomey who fought France so bitterly for his native soil. The Prince is a young black man, polished, speaking both English and French; and he came to notoriety because certain Americans demanded his ejection from a Montmartre cabaret where he had gone with a white advocate and was dancing with a white woman after winning a difficult court case. He is a significant figure - perhaps, in time, historical. France's attitude toward black and colored folk is peculiar. England knows Negroes chiefly as colonial "natives" or as occasional curiosities on London streets. America knows Negroes mainly as freedmen and servants. But for nearly two centuries France has known educated and well-bred persons of Negro descent; they filtered in from the French West-Indies - sons and relatives of French families and recognized as such under the Code Napoleon, while under English law similar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known many and the fine arts a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to say in France as elsewhere that Negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated Negroes as such, they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual natural personal appearance.

Then came the War and France needed black men. She threw them ruthlessly into horrible slaughter. She made them "Shock" troops. They walked from the tall palms of Guinea and looked into the mouths of KRUPP guns, without hesitation, with scarcely a tremor. France watched them offer the blood sacrifice for their adopted Mother land with splendid

She recruited them by every method by appeal, by deceit, by half-concealed force

often much
sang-froid, and utter abandon.

Without Black Africa Germany would have overwhelmed France before American help was in sight. A tremendous wave of sentiment toward black folk welled up in the French heart. And back of this sentiment came fear for the future, not simply fear of Germany reborn but fear of changing English interests, fear of unstable America. What Africa did for France in military protection she could easily repeat on a vaster scale, wherefore France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using half a million or more of trained troops from yellow, brown and black Africa. France has 40,000,000 Frenchmen and 60,000,000 Colonials. Of these Colonials, 845,000 served in France during the war of whom 535,000 were soldiers and 310,000 labor contingents. Of the soldiers, 440,000 came from North and West Africa. The peace footing of the French army is now 660,000 to whom must be added 189,000 Colonial troops. With three years service and seven years reserve, France hopes in ten years time to have 400,000 trained Colonial troops and 450,000 more ready to be trained and these Colonial troops will serve part of their time in France.

37-1-32

This program brings France face to face with the problem of democratic rule in her colonies. Theoretically her attitude is that the colonies and part of the motherland, to be represented in the French parliament as rapidly as is practical. This theory is being put in partial practice. Not only is North Africa represented in the French Parliament, but already five deputies of Negro descent sit in the French parliament, one of whom represents French Senegal.

All this brings, however, both political and economic difficulties: Diagne, black deputy from Senegal was expelled from the Socialist party because he had made no attempt to organize a branch of the party in his district. And the whole colonial bloc stand outside the interests of home political parties, while these parties know little of the particular

French ordinary has had wide experience in the manipulation of democracy at home but her colonial experience is negligible. Legally of course the colonies are part of France. Theoretically colonials are French citizens and already the blacks of the French West Indies and the yellows & browns of North Africa are so recognized & represented in Parliament. Four towns of Senegal have similar representation but here questions dealt

Dust beyond this more or less nebulous clearing looms the immediately practical problem of French unity. The French nation & French dreams individually have wrecked huge ruins on African colonies considering black Africa alone;

32-1-33

French unity is today flagrantly at terrific battle with Europe for the hegemony of re-born central Europe.

demands of local colonies. As this situation develops there will come the question of the practicality of ruling a world nation with one law making body. And if devolution of power takes place what will be the relation of self governing colonies to the mother country.

But beyond this looms the bigger problem. What is the relation of French imperial industry going to be to the democratisation of colonies? At present French industry is fighting to control Europe; but with this goes feverish activity in the colonies. Government funds and privare capital has been poured into Africa. Dakar is a modern city superimposed on a native market place. It's public buildings, its vast harbor, its traffic are imposing. Conakry has miles of ware houses beneath its beautiful palms. No European country is so rapidly extending its African railways — one may ride from St. Louis over half way to Timbaktu and from Dakar 1500 miles to the Gulf of Guinea. The question is: can this French Industrial imperialism based on education and democracy survive in competition with the English and Belgian system. If it can, the triumph of France in Africa is the triumph of the black race, and this the black race in increasing millions knows. The question is then can France at once make her colonies paying industrial investments and at the same time centers for such a new birth of Negro civilization and freedom as will attach to France the mass of black folk in unswerving loyalty and will to sacrifice. Such a double possibility is today by no means clear. The present probabilities are that the future spread of the industrial imperialism of the west will be largely under French leadership. French and Latin imperialism in industry will depend on alliance with western Asia, northern and central Africa, with the Congo rather than the Mediterranean as the southern boundary. Suppose that this new Latin imperialism emerged from the great war, developed new antithetic parallelism to English imperialism where blacks and browns and yellows subdued, cajoled and governed by white men form a laboring proletariat

32-1-33

subject to a ~~adjunct to~~ European white democracy; suppose that contrary to this white industry controls
Latin Europe should evolve political control with black men and the
Asiatics having a real voice in Colonial government ~~in industry~~ over. What
would this cost? It would mean, of course, nothing less than the giving up of the idea of an exclusive White Manôs World. It would be a revolt and a tremendous revolt against the solidarity of the West in opposition to the South and East. France moving along this line would perforce carry Italy, Portugal and Spain with it and it is the fear of such a possible idea that explains the deep seat of resentment against France on the part of England and America. It is not so much the attitude of France toward Germany as her apparent flaunting of the white fetish that frightens white Europe. The plans of those who would build a world of white men ~~has~~ have always assumed the ultimate acquiescence of the colored world before their military power and industrial efficiency, despite present world wide unrest in the darker world and because of its lack of unity and babel of tongues and wide cleft of religious difference: but if now one part of the white world bids for dark support by gifts of at least partial manhood rights, the remainder of the white world scents treason and remains grim and unmoved and unyielding in its heart. But is it certain that France is going to follow this program?

I walked through the native market at St.Louis in French Senegal - a busy, colorful scene, There was wonderful work in gold filigree and in leather, all kinds of beads and bracelets and food and food and foods. Mohammedans salaamed at sunset, black veiled Moorish women glided like sombre ghosts with living eyes, mighty black men in pale burnooses strode by - it was all curious, exotic, alluring. And yet I could not see quite the new thing that I was looking for. There was no color line particularly visible and yet there was all the raw material for it. Most of the white people were in command holding

32-1-34

while both at home & with Colonies democracy in industry continued to progress?

Century

Worlds of Color, 1924

Once upon a time in my younger years and in the dawn of this century I wrote: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line". It was a pert and singing phrase which I then liked and which since I have often rehearsed to my soul and asked how far is this prophecy or speculation? Today in the last years of the century's first quarter, I propose to examine this matter again, and more especially in the memory of the great event of these great years, the World War. How deep were the roots of this catastrophe entwined about the color line? And of the legacy left, what of the darker race problems will the world inherit?

37-2-28

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*The Labor Problem*

Most men would agree that our present Problem of Problems is what we call Labor: the problem of allocating work and income in the tremendous and increasingly intricate world embracing industrial machine which we have built. But despite our study and good will is it not possible that our research is not directed to the right spots geographically and our good will too often confined to that labor which we see and feel and exercise right around us rather than to the periphery of the vast circle and to the unseen and inarticulate workers within the World Shadow? And may not the continual baffling of our effort and failure of our formula be due to just such mistakes? At least it will be of absorbing interest to step within these shadows and, looking backward, to view the European and white American labor problem from this external vantage ground or better ground of disadvantage.

...oday in the last years of the century's first quarter, I propose to examine this matter again, and more especially in the memory of the great event of these great years, the World War. How deep were the roots of this catastrophe entwined about the color line? And of the legacy left, what of the darker race problems will the world inherit?

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I walked to the Palacio dos Cortes with Magellan. It was in December 1923 and in Lisbon. I was rather proud. You see Magalhaes (to give him the Portuguese spelling) was a mulatto - small, light brown, well-knit and fifty. His crisp hair was grisled, his eyes sparkling and his hands quick with gestures. Dr. José de Magalhaes is a busy man - a practising specialist; professor in the School of Tropical Medicine whose new buildings are rising; and above all, deputy in the Portuguese Parliament from São Thomé, Africa. Thus this Angolese African, educated in Lisbon and Paris, is one of nine colored members of European Parliaments. In other days I had walked in France with Diagne of Black Senagal, Boisneuf, Candace and Le Grossiliere of the Black West Indies who were helping to rule white France. Portugal has had colored ministers and now has three colored deputies and a senator. I saw two Portuguese in succession kissing one colored member on the floor of the house. Or was he but a dark native? There is so much ancient black blood on this peninsula.

37-2-34

As compared with Scandinavia, Portugal is colored. To be sure Germanic types predominate strongly but its high rough features are often tanned and burned and in its midst here and there, the practiced eye sees the shadow of Africa in a sweet brown that is not tan, in the great beautiful eye of sorrow, the hair sleek black and waving and the sharp features delicately toned and rounded, even made full and curved.

Between the Portuguese and the African and near African there is naturally no "racial" antipathy - no accumulated, historical hatreds, dislikes, despisings. Not that you would likely find a black man married to a Portuguese of family and wealth, but on the other hand it seemed quite natural for Portugal to make all the blacks of her African empire citizens of Portugal with the rights of the European born. This the last Portuguese Colonial Code did, but it did not mean as much as it sounds for alas! the native Portuguese citizen has little of real political rights along with his slavery to organized industry and to an illiteracy that reaches 75%. If he is herded and "voted" wholesale by home politicians, how much easier is complete serfdom accomplished in Angola and Mozambique by English and other industrial taskmasters.

37-2-29

But Magalhaes and another represent São Thomé. They are elected by black folk independent of party. Again and again I meet black folk from São Thomé - young students, well-dressed, well-bred, evidently sons of well-to-do, if not wealthy parents, studying in Portugal, which harbors annually a hundred such black students.

But São Thomé, I kept whispering - São Thomé? Surely I have heard of this tiny island before - is it not the land of cocoa slavery? How strange that here of all places Portugese Negro democracy should flourish!

by black folk independent of party. Again and again I meet black folk from Sao Thome - young students, well dressed, well-bred, evidently sons of well-to-do, if not wealthy parents, studying in Portugal, which harbors annually a hundred such black students.

Sao Thome illustrates some phases of European imperialism in Africa. This industrial rule involves cheap land and labor in Africa and large manufacturing capital in Europe with the resultant power from home investors and the periodical press. Once in a while - not often, a feud between capitalists and manufacturers at home throws sudden light on Africa. For instance; in the Boer war the "cocoa" press backed by the anti-war Liberals attacked the Unionists and exposed labor constitutions in South Africa. In retaliation after the war and when the Liberals were in power the Unionists attacked labor conditions in the Portuguese cocoa colonies.

37-2-30

For a long time the cocoa industry flourished on the islands of Sao Thome and Principe, on large plantations run by Portuguese and backed by English capital. Here under a system of recruiting and indentures which amounted to slavery these little islands led the world in cocoa production and here the basis of the great English and American cocoa industry. When this system was attacked, immediately there arose the situation which is characteristic of modern industrial imperialism: differentiate it from past imperialism. Modern expansion has to use democracy at home as its central authority. This democracy is strangely curbed by industrial organization but it does help select officials and public opinion once aroused rules. Thus with a democratic face at home modern imperialism turns a visage of stern and unyielding autocracy toward its darker colonies. This double-faced attitude is difficult to maintain and puts hard strain on the national soul that tries.

Thus in England the attack of the Unionists on the Liberals and the "cocoa-press", proving slavery on the Sao Thome plantations, led to a demand for drastic labor reform in Portuguese Africa. Now the profits of the great Portuguese plantation owners could not afford this nor could they understand this sudden virtue on the part of capitalists who had known all along how labor was "recruited". They charged "hypocrisy" not understanding that English capital had an inconvenient democracy at home that often cracked its whip over them. The cocoa industry was forced by public opinion to boycott Portuguese cocoa; the Portuguese great proprietors were forced to give place to smaller Negro and mulatto cultivators who could afford smaller profits. At the same time the center of cocoa raising crossed the straits and seated itself in the English colonies of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, formerly the ancient kingdoms of Ashanti, Yoruba, Haussaland and others. Thus in this part of Portuguese Africa the worst aspects of slavery melted away and colonial proprietors with smaller holdings could afford to compete with the great planters; wherefore democracy both industrially and politically took new life in black Portugal. Intelligent black deputies appeared in the Portuguese parliaments, a hundred black students studied in the Portuguese universities and a new colonial code made black men citizens of Portugal with full rights.

But in Portugal, Alas! no adequate democrats control has been

37-2-31

Behanzin - that king of Dahomey who fought France so bitterly for his native soil. The Prince is a young black man, polished, speaking both English and French; and he came to notoriety because certain Americans demanded his ejection from a Montmartre cabaret where he had gone with a white advocate and was dancing with a white woman after winning a difficult court case. He is a significant figure - perhaps, in time, historical. With him there is now associated in a new journal, Las Continents, René Maran, the young Negro who won the Goncourt prize with his novel, "Batouala". This bitter attack by a black man on the French administration of black Africa is the beginning of a new era.

37-2-37a

France's attitude toward black and colored folk is peculiar. England knows Negroes chiefly as colonial "natives" or as occasional curiosities on London streets. America knows Negroes mainly as freedmen and servants. But for nearly two centuries France has known educated and well-bred persons of Negro descent; they filtered in from the French West-Indies - sons and relatives of French families and recognized as such under the Code Napoleon, while under English law similar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known many and the fine arts a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to say in France as elsewhere that Negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated Negroes as such, they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual natural personal appearance.

Then came the war and France needed black men. She recruited them by every method, by appeal, by deceit, by half-concealed force. She threw them ruthlessly into horrible slaughter. She made them "Shock"

37-2-51

troops. They walked from the tall palms of Guinea and looked into the mouths of Krupp guns, without hesitation, with scarcely a tremor. France watched them offer the blood sacrifice for their adopted Mother land with splendid sang-froid, often with utter abandon.

Without Black Africa Germany would have overwhelmed France before American help was in sight. A tremendous wave of sentiment toward black folk welled up in the French heart. And back of this sentiment came fear for the future; not simply fear of Germany reborn but fear of changing English interests, fear of unstable America. What Africa did for France in military protection she could easily repeat on a vaster scale; wherefore France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using half a million or more of trained troops from yellow, brown and black Africa. France has 40,000,000 Frenchmen and 60,000,000 Colonials. Of these Colonials, 845,000 served in France during the war of whom 535,000 were soldiers and 310,000 labor contingents. Of the soldiers, 440,000 came from North and West Africa. The peace footing of the French army is now 660,000 to whom must be added 189,000 Colonial troops. With three years service and seven years reserve, France hopes in ten years time to have 400,000 trained Colonialstroops and 450,000 more ready to be trained and these Colonial troops will serve part of their time in France.

This program brings France face to face with the problem of

A sore spot - a point of bitter controversy still remains. The greatest port of South Africa after Cape Town, and the natural outlet of Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal is Laurenco Marques. And this magnificent port is Portuguese. Now already a great English Corporation dominates Mozambique, ignores Portuguese laws with Portuguese consent and furnishes more slaves for South African mines than South Africa itself. Even more: for years South Africa has actually had joint control with the Portuguese government over the port. Just now a re-arrangement of this control is being negotiated and one of the jobs of Jan Smuts in his late journey to England was the re-drafting of this treaty and he found Portugal disconcertingly stubborn.

37-2-35

Jan Smuts is today, in his world aspects, the greatest protagonist of the white race. He is fighting to take control of Laurenco Marques from a nation that recognizes, even though it does not realize, the equality of black folk. He is fighting to keep India from political and social equality in the empire, he is fighting to insure the continued and eternal subordination of black to white in Africa and he is fighting for peace and good will in a white Europe which can by its union present a united front to the yellow, brown and black worlds. In all this he expresses bluntly and yet not without finesse what a powerful host of white folk believe but do not as plainly say, in Melbourne, New Orleans, San Francisco, Hongkong, Berlin and London.

Smuts said in the recent Imperial Conference:--"The tendencies in South Africa, just as else where, were all democratic. If there was to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the whites would be swamped by the blacks--a distinction could not be made between Indians and Africans. They would be impelled by the inevitable force of logic to go the whole hog, and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped in Natal by the Indians but the whites would be swamped all

developed a new antithesis to English imperialism where blacks and browns and yellows subdued, cajoled and governed by white men form a laboring proletariat subject to a European white democracy which industry controls; suppose that contrary to this Latin Europe should evolve political control with black men and the Asiatics having a real voice in Colonial government while both at home and in the colonies democracy in industry continued to progress, what would this cost? It would mean, of course, nothing less than the giving up of the idea of an exclusive White Man's World. It would be a revolt and a tremendous revolt against the solidarity of the West in opposition to the South and East. France moving along this line would perforce carry Italy, Portugal and Spain with it and it is the fear of such a possible idea that explains the deep seat of resentment against France on the part of England and America. It is not so much the attitude of France toward Germany as her apparent flaunting of the white fetish that frightens white Europe. The plans of those who would build a world of white men have always assumed the ultimate acquiescence of the colored world before their military power and industrial efficiency, despite present world wide unrest in the darker world and because of its lack of unity and babel of tongues and wide cleft of religious difference: but if now one part of the white world bids for dark support by gifts of at least partial manhood rights, the remainder of the white world scents treason and remains grim and unmoved and unyielding in its heart. But is it certain that France is going to follow this program?

I walked through the native market at St.Louis in French Senegal - a busy, colorful scene, There was wonderful work in gold filigree and in leather, all kinds of beads and bracelets and food, and food, and foods. Mohammedans salaamed at sunset, black veiled Moorish women

37-2-41

glided like sombre ghosts with living eyes, mighty black men in pale burnooses strode by - it was all curious, exotic, alluring. And yet I could not see quite the new thing that I was looking for. There was no color line particularly visible and yet there was all the raw material for it. Most of the white people were in command holding government office and getting a large income. Most of the colored and black folk were laborers with small income. In the fashionable cafes you seldom saw colored folk, but you did see them now and then and no one seemed to object. There were schools and good schools but they fall short of anything like universal education for the natives. White and colored school children ran and played together but the great mass of children were not in the school. As I look more narrowly what seemed to be happening was this: the white Frenchmen were exploiting black Africans in practically the same way as white Englishmen but they had not yet erected or tried to erect caste lines. Consequently into the ranks of the exploiters there arose continually black men and mulattoes but these dark men were also exploiters. They had the psychology of the exploiters. They looked upon the mass of people as means of wealth. The mass therefore had no leadership. There was no one in the colony except the unrisen and undeveloped blacks who thought of the colony as developing and being developed for its own sake and for the sake of the mass of the people there. Everyone of intelligence thought that Senegal was being developed for the sake of France and inevitably they tended to measure its development by the amount of profit.

37-2-42

If this sort of thing goes on will not France find herself in the same profit-taking colonial industry as England? Indeed unless she follows English methods in African colonies can she compete with England in the amount of profit made and if she does not make profit out of her colonies how long will her industrial masters submit without tremendous industrial returns? Or if these industrial returns come what will be the plight of black French Africa? Batouala voices it. In the depths of the French Congo one finds the same economic exploitation of black folk as in the

Belgian Congo or English West Africa. The only mitigation is that here and there in the Civil Service are black Frenchmen like Rene Maran who can speak out; but they seldom speak.

For the most part as I have said, in French Africa educated Africans are Europeans. If however education goes far and develops in Africa a change in this respect must come. For this France has a complete theoretical system of education beginning with the African village and going up to the colleges and technical schools at Goree. But it is, of course, at present only a plan and the merest skeleton of accomplishment. On the picturesque island of Goree whose ancient ramparts face modern and commercial Dakar I saw two or three hundred fine black boys of high school rank gathered in from all Senegal by competitive tests and taught thoroughly by excellent French teachers following a curriculum which as far as it went was equal to that of any European school and graduates could enter the higher schools of France. A few hundred students out of a black population of nineteen millions is certainly but a start. This development will call for money and trained guidance and will interfere with industry. It is not likely that the path will be followed and followed fast unless black French leaders encourage and push France, unless they see the pitfalls of American and English race leadership and bring the black apostle to devote himself to race uplift not by the compulsion of outer hate but by the lure of inner vision. As yet I see few signs of this. I have walked in Paris with Diagne who represents Senegal - all Senegal white and black - in the French parliament. But Diagne is a Frenchman who is accidentally black. I suspect Diagne rather despises his own black Wolofs. I have talked with Candace, black deputy of Guadaloupe. Candace is virulently French. He has no conception of Negro uplift, as apart from French development. One black deputy alone, Boisneuf of Martinique has the vision. His voice rings in Parliament. He made the American soldiers hold their hands from

37-2-43

the Senegalese. He made the governor of Congo apologize and explain, he made Poincare issue that extraordinary warning against American prejudice. Is Boisneuf an exception or a prophecy?

One looks then on present France and her African shadow as standing at the parting of tremendous ways; one way leads toward democracy for black as well as white--a thorny way made more difficult by the organized greed of the imperial profit-takers within and without the nation; the other road is the way of the white world and of its contradictions and dangers English colonies may tell.

37-2-44

The Shadow of England

I landed in Sierre Leone last January. The great mountain of the Lion crouched above us, its green sides trimmed with the pretty white villas of the whites while black town sweltered below. Despite my diplomatic status I was haled before the police and in the same room where criminals were examined and advertised for I was put through the sharpest grilling I ever met in a presumably civilized land. Why? I was a black American and the English fear black folk who have even tasted freedom. Everything that America has done crudely and shamelessly to suppress the Negro the English in Sierra Leone have done legally and suavely so that the Negroes themselves sometimes doubt the evidence of their own senses: segregation, disfranchisement, trial without jury, over-taxation, "Jim Crow" cars, neglect of education, economic serfdom. Yet all this can be and is technically denied. Segregation? "O, no," says the colonial official, "anyone can live where he will--only that beautiful and cool side of the mountain with fine roads, golf and tennis and bungalows is assigned to government officials. Are there black officials? O, yes, and they can be assigned residences there too." But they never have been! The Negroes vote and hold office in Freetown--I met the comely black and cultured mayor--but Freetown has almost no revenues and its powers have been gradually absorbed by the autocratic white colonial government which has five million dollars a year to spend. Any government prosecution can

abolish trial by jury in any case with the consent of the judge and all judges are white. White officials ride in special railway carriages and I am morally certain - I cannot prove it - that more is spent by the government on tennis and golf in the colony than on popular education.

These things and powerful efforts of English industry to reap every penny of profit for England in colonial trade, leaving the black inhabitants in helpless serfdom has aroused West Africa. And aroused it at this time because of two things - the War and cocoa in Nigeria. The burden of war fell hard on black and British West Africa. Their troops conquered German Africa for England and France at bitter cost and helped hold back the Turk. Yet there was not a single black officer in the British army or a single real reward save citations and new and drastic taxation even on exports.

37-2-45

But English West Africa had certain advantages. After the decline of the slave trade and before the discovery that slavery and serfdom in Africa could be made to pay more than the removal of the laboring forces to other parts of the world there was a disposition to give over the black colonies on the fever coast into their own hands and the government announced this intention of gradually preparing West Africans for self-government. Missionary education and the sending of black students to England raised a small Negro intelligentsia which long struggled to place itself at the head of affairs and had some success but lacked economic foundation. When the new industrial imperialism swept Africa with England in the lead the presence of these educated black leaders was a thorn in the flesh of the new English industrial leaders. Their method was to crowd these leaders aside into narrower and narrower confines as we have seen in Sierra Leone. But the Negroes in the older colonies retained possession of their land and suddenly when the cocoa industry was transferred from Portuguese Africa they gained in one or two colonies a new and undreamed of economic foundation. Instead of the large plantation industry cocoa became the product of the small individual native farm and in 1891 a native sold eighty pounds of the first cocoa raised on the Gold Coast. In 1911 this had increased

to 45,000 tons and in 1916 to 72,000 tons. In Nigeria there has also been a large increase making these colonies the greatest cocoa producing countries in the world.

37-2-48

Moreover this progress showed again the new democratic problems of colonization, since it began and was fostered by a certain type of white colonial official who was interested in the black man and wanted him to develop. But this official was interested in the primitive black and not in the educated black. He feared and despised the educated West African and did not believe him capable of leading his primitive brother. He sowed seeds of dissension between the two. On the other hand the educated West African hated the white colonial leader as a supplanter and deceiver whose ultimate aims must be selfish and wrong; and as ever, between these two, the English exploiting company worked gradually his perfect will.

Determined effort was thus made by the English, both merchants and philanthropists, to cut the natives off from any union of forces or of interests with the educated West Africans. "Protectorates" under autocratic white rule were attached to the colonies and the natives in the protectorates were threatened with loss of land, given almost no education and left to the mercy of the white colonial staff whose chief duty gradually came to be the encouragement of profitable industry for the great companies. These companies were represented in the governing councils, they influenced appointments at home and especially they spread in England a carefully prepared propaganda which represented the educated "nigger" as a bumptious, unreasoning fool in a silk hat, while the untutored and unspoiled native under white control was nature's original nobleman. Also they suggested that this "white" control must not admit too many visionaries and idealists.

This policy has not been altogether successful for the educated Negro is appealing to English democracy and the native is beginning to

seek his leadership. After many vicissitudes, in 1920 a Congress of West Africa was assembled on the Gold Coast, and from this a delegation was sent to London "to lay before his majesty the King in consul through the colonial ministry certain grievances". This was an epoch-making effort and as was natural the Colonial Office where Imperial Industry is entrenched refused to recognize the delegation claiming that they did not really represent black West Africa. Nevertheless through the League of Nations Union and the public press this delegation succeeded in putting its case before the world. They said in a series of speeches and papers:

37-2-49

"For many years many of the thinking minds of British West Africa have been engaged in exchanging thoughts on the rapidly cincreasing political disabilities that West Africa has been experiencing, and, time after time, suggestions have been mooted out by these leaders of the race as to how best these disabilities could be removed."

"They are of that particular class of peaceful citizens who apprehensive of the culminating danger resulting from the present political unrest in West Africa--an unrest which is silently moving throughout the length and breadth of that continent--and who also appreciating the fact that the present system of administration will inevitably lead to a serious deadlock between the "Government and the Governed", decided to set themselves to the task of ameliorating this pending disaster by putting forward constitutionally a programme, the carrying of which into operation will alleviate all pains and misgivings."

The final resolutions of the Congress said: "That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for a change in the Constitution of several British West African colonies, so as to give the people an effective voice in their affairs both in the Legislative and Municipal Governments, and that the Conference pledges itself to submit proposals for such reforms."

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The reasons for this demand are thus set forth:-

"In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several families. Similarly in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns and so with the Provincial Council, until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief."

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he his duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will of the people."

"From the foregoing it is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied."

And finally comes this clear warning:

"You have difficulties at present in India. You have tried to give satisfaction to Egypt and Ceylong, which are not as old British Colonies as West Africa, you have at present troubles in Ireland, but believe me, when I tell you with all seriousness that if this political unrest does not come to a standstill in West Africa, you will have greater difficulties

~~attitude toward England is far from complacent.~~ ~~They want Home Rule and~~ they are demanding it. They asked after the war: Why was it that no black man sat in the Imperial Conference? Why was it that one of the oldest parts of the empire lingered in political serfdom to England and industrial bondage to America? Why was there not a great British West Indian Federation stretching from Bermuda to Honduras and Guiana and ranking with the free dominions? The answer was clear and concise-color.

37-2-58

In 1916 a new agitation for representative government began in Grenada. The fire spread to all the West Indies and in 1921 a delagation was received by the Colonial Office in London at the same time that the Second Pan-African Congress was in session.

Here are unusual appeals to English democracy--appeals that not even commerical propaganda could wholly hush. But there was a force that curiously counteracted them. Liberal England, wanting world peace and fearing French militarism, backed by the English thrift that is interested in the restored economic equilibrium, found as one of its most prominent spokesmen, Jan Smuts of South Africa and Jan Smuts stands for the suppression of the blacks.

Jan Smuts is today, in his world aspects, the greatest protagonist of the white race. He is fighting to take control of LaurencoMarques from a nation that recognizes, even though it does not realize, the equality of black folk. He is fighting to keep India from political and social equality in the empire, he is fighting to insure the continued and eternal subordination of black to white in Africa and he is fighting for peace and good will in a white Europe which can by its union present a united front to the yellow, brown and black worlds. In all this he expresses bluntly and yet not without finesse, what a powerful host of white folk believe but do not plainly say in Melbourne, New Orleans, San Francisco, Hongkong, Berlin and London.

Smuts said in the recent Imperial Conference:--"The tendencies in

South Africa, just as elsewhere, were all democratic. If there was to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the whites would be swamped by the blacks--a distinction could not be made between Indians and Africans. They would be impelled by the inevitable force of logic to go the whole hog, and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped in Natal by the Indians but the whites would be swamped all over South Africa, by the blacks and the whole position for which the whites had striven for two hundred years or more now would be given up. So far as South Africa was concerned therefore, it was a question of impossibility. For white South Africa it was not a question of dignity but a question of existence."

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This almost naive setting of the darker races beyond the pale of democracy and of modern humanity was listened to with sympathetic attention in England. It is without doubt today the dominant policy of the British Empire. Can this policy be carried out? It involves two things; acquiescence of the darker peoples and agreement between capital and labor in white democracies.

This agreement between capital and labor in regard to colored folk cannot be depended on. First of all no sooner is colored labor duly subordinate, voiceless in government, efficient for the purpose and cheap, than the division of the resultant profit is a matter of dispute. This is the case in South Africa and it came as a singular answer to Smuts. In South Africa white labor is highly paid, can vote, and by a system of black helpers occupies an easy and powerful position. This position can only be maintained by vigorously excluding blacks from certain occupations and by beating their wages down to the lowest point even when as helper they are really doing the prohibited work. It is to the manifest interest of capitalist, investors and employees to breech if not overthrow this caste wall and thus secure higher profits by cheaper and more pliable labor. Already South African courts are slowly moving toward mitigating the law of labor caste and in re-

taliation the white labor unions joined Smuts' political enemies, the English-hating Boer party of independence and overthrow the great premier.

37-2-15

But how curious are these bed fellows, English capital and African black labor against Dutch home rulers and the trades unions. The combinations are as illogical as they are thought-producing for after all if South Africa is really bent on independence she must make economic and political peace with the blacks; and if she hates Negroes more than she hates low wages she must submit even more than now to English rule.

What now is English rule over colored folk destined to be. Here comes the second puzzling result of the Smuts philosophy. I was in London on the night of the Guild Hall banquet when the Prime Minister spoke on "Empire Policy and World Peace" and gave a sort of summing up of the work of the Imperial Conference. It was significant that in the forefront of his words cheek by jowl with Imperial "foreign policy" stood the "intensity of feeling in India on the question of the status of British Indians in the Empire." What indeed could be more fundamental than this in the building of world Peace? Are the brown Indians men to share equally in the ruling of the British empire or are they an inferior race? And curiously enough, the battle on this point is impending not simply in the unchecked movement toward "swaraj" in India but in Africa - in the Union of South Africa and in Kenya. In South Africa, despite all Imperial explanations and smoothings Smuts and the Boers have taken firm ground: Indians are to be classed with Negroes in their social and political exclusion. South Africa is to be ruled by its minority of whites.

But if this is blunt and unswerving, how much more startling is Kenya. Kenya is the British East Africa of pre-war days and extends from the Indian Ocean to the Victoria Nyanza and from German East Africa to Ethiopia. It is that great roof of the African world where beneath the silver heads of the Mountains of the Moon, came down in ancient days those waters and races who founded Egypt. The descending races still live there with fine

physique and noble heads - the Masai warriors whom Schweinfurth heralded, the herdsmen and primitive artisans of the beautiful highlands. Here was a land largely untainted by the fevers of the tropics and here England proposed to send her sick and impoverished soldiers of the war. Following the lead of South Africa, she took over five million acres of the best lands from the natives, herded them gradually in the swamps and gave them even there no sure title; then taxed and forced sixty percent of the adults into working for the ten thousand white owners for the lowest wage. Here was opportunity not simply for the great land-holder and slave-driver but also for the small trader and twenty-four thousand Indians came. India claimed the rights of free subjects of the empire - a right to buy land, a right to exploit labor, a right to a voice in the government now confined to a handful of whites.

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Suddenly a great race conflict swept East Africa; orient and occident, white, brown and black, landlord, trader and landless serf. When the Indians asked rights the whites replied that this would injure the rights of the natives. Immediately the natives began to awake. Few of them were educated but they began to form societies and formulate grievances. A black political consciousness arose for the first time in Kenya. Immediately the Indians made a bid for the support of this new force and asked rights and privileges for all British subjects - white, brown and black. As the Indian pressed his case, white South Africa rose in alarm. If the Indian became a recognized man, landholder and voter in Kenya, what of Natal?

The British government speculated and procrastinated and then announced its decision: East Africa was primarily a trusteeship for the Africans and not for the Indians. The Indians then must be satisfied with limited industrial and political rights while for the black native--the white Englishman spoke! A conservative Indian leader speaking in England after this decision said: "If the Indian problem in South Africa

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was allowed to fester much longer it would pass beyond the bounds of domestic issue and would become a question of foreign policy upon which the unity of the Empire might founder irretrievably. The Empire could never keep its colored races within it by force, but only by preserving and safeguarding their sentiments."

Perhaps this shrewd Kenya decision was too shrewd. It preserved white control of Kenya but it said in effect: "Africa for the Africans!" What then about Uganda and the Sudan where a black leadership exists under ancient forms; and above all what about the educated black leadership in the West Indies and West Africa? Why should black West Africa with its industrial triumphs like Nigeria be content forever with Crown Government if Africa is for the Africans?

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The result has been a yielding by England to the darker world--not a yielding of much, but yielding. India is to have a revision of the impossible "diarchy"; all West Africa is to have a small elective element in its governing councils; and even to the far West Indies a colonial undersecretary and parliamentary committee, "the first of its kind in the long history of the West Indies" has visited the islands. Their report is worth quoting in part:

"Several reasons combine to make it likely that the common demand for a measure of representative government will in the long run prove irresistable. The wave of democratic sentiment has been powerfully stimulated by the war. Education is rapidly spreading and tending to produce a colored and black intelligentsia of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions and return from travel abroad with minds emancipated and enlarged, ready to devote time and energy to propaganda among their own people."

The report favors some yielding to this demand before the concession "has been robbed by delay of most of its usefulness and all of its grace."

If now England is literally forced to yield some measure of self

government to her darker colonies; if France remains steadfast in the way in which her feet seem to be tending; if Asia arises from the dead and can no longer be rendered impotent by the opium of international finance, what will happen to Imperial world industry as exemplified in the great expansion of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Labor in the Shadows

This is the question that faces the New Labor parties of the world--the new political organizations which are determined to force a larger measure of democracy in industry than now obtains. The trade union labor movement dominant in Australia, South Africa and the United States has been hitherto autocratic and at heart capitalistic, believing in profit-making industry and wishing only to secure a larger share of profits for particular guilds. But the larger labor movement following the war envisages through democratic political action real democratic power of the mass of workers in industry and commerce. Two questions here arise: will the new labor parties welcome the darker race to industrial democracy and if they do how will this affect industry?

The attitude of the white laborer toward colored folk is largely a matter of long continued propaganda and gossip. The white laborers can read and write but beyond this their education and experience are li ited and they live in a world of color prejudice. The curious, most childish propaganda dominates us by which good and earnest, even intelligent men by millions have come to believe almost religiously that white folk are a peculiar and chosen people such as the world never saw before, whose one great accomplishment is civilization and that this civilization must be protected from the rest of the world by cheating, stealing, lying and murder.

The propaganda, the terrible, ceaseless propaganda that buttresses this belief day by day, the propaganda of poet and novelist and painter, the uncanny welter of romance, the half knowledge of scientists, the pseudo-science of statesmen, all these united in the myth of mass inferiority of most men and built a wall which many centuries will not break down.

37-2-67

Born into such a spiritual world, the average white worker is absolutely at the mercy of its beliefs and prejudices. Color hate easily assumes the form of a religion and the laborer becomes the blind executive of the decrees of the white world; he votes armies and navies for "punitive" expeditions; he sends his sons as soldiers and sailors; he composes the Negro-hating mob, demands Japanese exclusion and lynches untried prisoners. What hope is there that such a mass of dimly thinking and misled men will every demand universal democracy for all men?

37-2-68

The chief hope lies in the gradual but inevitable spread of the knowledge that the denial of democracy in Asia and Africa hinders its complete realization in Europe. It is this that makes the Color and Labor problem to so great an extent two sides of the same human tangle. How far does white labor see this? Not far, as yet. Its attitude toward colored labor varies from the Russian extreme to the extreme in South Africa and Australia. Russia on the other hand has been seeking a rapprochement with colored labor. She is making her peace with China and Japan. Her leaders have come in close touch with the leaders of India and Claude McKay, an American Negro poet travelling in Russia declares:

"Lenin himself grappled with the question of the American Negroes and spoke on the subject before the Second Congress of the Third International. He consulted with John Reed, the American journalist, and dwelt on the urgent necessity of propaganda and organization work among the Negroes of the South."

Between these extremes waver the white workers of the rest of the world. On the whole they still lean rather toward the attitude of South Africa than that of Russia. They exclude colored labor from empty Australia. They sit in armed truce against them in America where the Negroes are forcing their way into ranks of union labor by breaking strikes and under-bidding them in wage.

It is, however, precisely by these tactics and by hindering the natural flow of labor toward the highest wage and the best conditions in the world that white labor is segregating colored labor in just those parts of the world where it can be most easily exploited by white capital and thus give white capital the power to rule all labor, white and black, in the rest of the world.

37-2-69

White labor is beginning dimly to see this. Colored labor knows it and as colored labor becomes more organized and more intelligent it is going to spread this grievance through the white world.

The Shadow of Shadows

How much intelligent organization is there for this purpose on the part of the colored world? So far there is very little. For while the colored people of today are common victims of white culture, there is a vast gulf between the red-black South and the yellow-brown East. Eastward the world long since, centuries ago, mastered a technique and philosophy which still stand among the greatest the world has known; and the black and African South beginning in the dim dawn of time when beginnings were everything, have evolved a physique and an art, a will to be and to enjoy which the world has never done without and never can. But these cultures have little in common either today or yesterday, and are bing pounded together artificially and not attracting each other naturally. And yet quickened India, the South and West African Congresses, the Pan-African movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people in America, together with rising China and risen Japan --- all these at no distant day may come to dommon consciousness of aim and be able to give to the labor parties of the world a message that they will understand.

37-2-70

Meantime however there is in the background this problem of labor efficiency. We moderns have built an astonishing, an overwhelming industrial machine, world wide, heaven-high. Does not the new labor demand for an effective voice in the management and direction of this machine as well as a voice in the division of the profits threaten its very existence as a system? And if to the effective voice of white laboring Europe is added "lazy" Africa and "sleepy" Asia is not the demand mere industrial suicide?

To answer this let us return to Lisbon. Lisbon is a happy city.

37-2-72

It is planted in singular beauty surrounded by mighty memories and isolated from its enemies. Its aristocrats by birth and money awaken to conscious life scarcely before eleven, rest and east two hours at mid-day, laugh, talk and lounge from four until seven, dine at eight and amuse themselves in theatre, ball and gambling place from nine until morning. Its mass of workers toil with the hardiest and in every discomfort but with long hours of rest, with laughing dirt and poverty, with dolce far niente. Lisbon is without doubt inefficient, unbusinesslike, medieval. And what Lisbon and Portugal foreshadow of sloth and carelessness, great silent Africa carries to its logical end. It is a land of sleep and laziness rising triumphant over toil. And yet as these lands darken toward the South, as the sun grows golden and the stars languorous, men are happier. O there can be no doubt - England is not happy and Portugal is. It is the efficient lords, the lords of punctuality and business acumen, the lords that lead the industrial organization of our day, where civilization gathers the miraculous comforts and gifts and devices of its vast world-embracing power - it is precisely here that poverty stalks in its most hateful form even under tight roofs and with running water; where life is stripped to its ugliest, where primitive hate, envy, deceit and murder are commonest and where the problem of the world - the worth-whileness of living is most puzzling to answer. On the other hand in the industrially half-organized and unorganized lands and among the peoples poorest in accumulated capital and weakest in coordinated mass production, it is here that life with all its sordidness, discomfort, sickness and dishonesty is, for this earth, happiest and most natural.

Despite this the West or the leadership of the European West, is unwavering in its determination to subdue the world to modern industrial organization. A world with modern standardized comfort, mechanical mass production, ruled by forms of democracy under the monarchial rule of those that control invested capital and the flow of goods under time production - this is the ideal of present civilization not because it appears perfect but because it can conceive nothing more perfect.

37-2-33

That the teeming East, Black Africa and Latin Europe "enjoy" poverty is nothing to dominant Germanic and Anglo-Saxon Europe because their ideal is a world organized for a minority with a regular and endless supply of hotels and trained service, smooth motor cars, carefully organized food supply, pure water piped to kitchen and bedroom, electric light and power, carefully tailored clothing, spacious and beautiful buildings, artificial warmth and coolness, wide parks and streets, schools where children learn what to believe and organized amusement of the best approved pattern. This they are determined must speall the civilized world.

There are certain historical precedents in the ~~history of the~~ world which shows that white domination in Africa is leaning on a stave that may break.

And finally China. China's work will in the end be decisive for the white world, the yellow and the black. No country save Africa itself has so suffered from European domination, insult and aggression; Hongkong, the Opium Wars, the Box indemnity, international loans and concessions, coolie labor - all these are but a few of the landmarks of a blood filled shameful past. And now this sleeping colossus rolls and gibbers in its drunken sleep beneath the poppy's subtle spell- half rises, opens unseeing eyes, falls back again. The world watches amazed and still. Is this awakening or dissolution and death. For if it is awakening, the dream of a white man's whorl is gone and forever.

37-2-32

But all these forces of domination, revolt, hatred and subordination are themselves stirred by vaster currents which I have already indicated

Can one conceive stranger bed fellows?

Politically however these black folk of Nigeria have to deal with England and not Portugal; and England thus far has never given political freedom to black folk or brown. There has resulted a bitter controversy which spread to all British West Africa.

37-7-55

How long can all British Negrodom be held as crown colonies with no real voice in government? If present England has her way the apparent answer is Forever. For present England has a double contempt for Portugal and her ilk. Portugal, says England, is weak, inefficient, and lazy and one cause or symptom of this is her mistaken treatment of "niggers". Secondly, the industrial exploitation of Portugal and her colonies by England proceeds apace under cover of this very contempt. Have you ever seen Funchal of a sun-lit morning rising like jade and ivory out of an emerald sea? This old Madeira "belongs" to Portugal; but England own its industries, its hotels, its stores, its land, everything but the empty form of its government. Even more so in far off Mozambique, East Africa, which, with Angola in the West represents the end of the Portuguese world empire of Henry, the Navigator, Vasco da Gama and Cabral. Greater Portugal has been whittled down by Spain, England and Germany and we all know now with what sang-froid the remainder was to be divided between the last two countries, just before the Great War.

The reason for this seems plausible: colored labor will compete for white laborers' jobs and reduce the standard of living; and yet this in a world where there is too much and not too little work to share and too few and not too many workers and where competition of black labor is only to be feared when it is enslaved. Of such is the Kingdom of Industrial Ignorance. And yet there lies the world's salvation in the joining of forces of voting white laborers in Europe and voteless dark serfs in Asia and Africa, for they both today feed the vanity and extravagance of the same task masters.

37-2-73

The main clustering movements then are of the white workers to themselves and more slowly of the colored worlds to themselves. The international white Labor movement nearly died in the war but it is recovering and despite the temporary set back of Fascismo will ultimately rise and rule. There are labor parties in every land and knowledge of industrial democracy is spreading; but there is but sporadic and local appreciation of the part the dark world must play in any emancipation of the modern worker. So long as there are serfs in Africa there can be no real freemen in England.

Meantime the conscious motives drawing the colored world together today are in themselves smaller things. They rest on the fact that today in most of the white world Color connotes insult--brazen personal insult of a kind to which white men boast that they never submit. They do of course, at times: they have submitted often in the past but today that personal disdain which nobles used to fling at white peasants and freemen at white serfs, is hoarded by the white world for colored folk.

This story comes to me from South Africa: A Japanese warship put in at Cape Town on its way home. There was on board a high Japanese official and for him a box was obtained at the theatre. When he went to occupy it, he was refused admission: "Niggers" could not enter that

theatre! Add to this, California adds a curious phase of industrial complications: the Japanese are the best farmers of California. I have seen but last year, their fields of vegetables nursed and tended like flowers. They are first on the streets of Los Angeles and Pasadena, Berkeley and San Francisco with their succulent, fresh and beautiful food. They work like slaves but they work for themselves. If they were part of the white industrial machine and gave their profits to whites they would have strong defenders in California, but because they are land-holders with their own cooperative distribution of products, their very right to hold or lease land has been legally taken away. Long hours I talked with the editor of the Los Angeles Japanese daily. Japan realizes the common insult toward colored folk emphasized in the last immigration bill; India despite inconceivable poverty, despite the tearing and rending centrifugal forces of religion, caste and climate, despite the most cunningly conceived military, social and industrial despotism the modern world has known, despite a systematic distribution of bribes,- bribes of wealth, of dominion, of title, of social splendor - despite all this, India is in revolt against foreign rule and the color bar. Africa in Egypt has followed and even in black Africa the tremor of unrest against this world wide color slavery is felt like a great wave beating the barriers in Addis-Ababa and Mombasa, in Uganda and Dar-es-Salaam, in Mozambique and Bulawayo, in Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town; in Khama's country and on the great curve of Congo; at St. Paul de Loanda, São Thomé and Lagos, in Accra and Freetown.

37-2-74

London on the night of the Guild Hall banquet when the Prime Minister spoke on "Empire Policy and World Peace" and gave a sort of official summing up of the work of the conference. It was significant that in the forefront of his words cheek by jowl with Imperial "foreign policy" stood the "intensity of feeling in India on the question fo the status of British Indians in the Empire". What indeed could be more fundamental than this in the building of world Peace? Are the brown Indians, men to share equally in the ruling of the British empire or are they an inferior race? And curiously enough, the battle on this point is impending not simply in the unchecked movement toward "swaraj" in India but in Africa - in the Union of South Africa and in Kenya. In South Africa, despite all Imperial explanations and smoothings; Smuts and the Boers have taken firm ground: Indians are to be classed with Negroes in their social and political exclusion. South Africa is to be ruled by its minority of whites.

37-2-75

But if this is blunt and unswerving, how much more startling is Kenya. Kenya is the British East Africa of pre-war days and extends from the Indian Ocean to the Victoria Nyanza and from German East Africa to Ethiopia. It is that great roof of the African world where beneath

the silver heads of the Mountains of the Moon, came down in ancient days those waters and races who founded Egypt. The descending races still live there with fine physique and noble heads - the Masai warriors whom Schweinfurth heralded, the herdsmen and primitive artisans of the beautiful highlands. Here was a land largely untainted by the fevers of the tropics and here England proposed to send her sick and impoverished soldiers of the war. Following the lead of South Africa, she took the best lands from the natives, herded them gradually in the swamps and gave them EVEN THERE no sure title; then taxed and forced them into working for the whites for the lowest wage. Here was opportunity not simply for the great landholder and slave-driver but also for the small trader; and India came. India claimed the rights of free subjects of the empire - a right to buy land, a right to exploit labor, a right to a voice in the government now confined to a handful of whites. Suddenly a great race conflict swept East Africa; orient and occident, white, brown and black, landlord and landless serf. Only the serf was dumb. The black man had had no schools, no contact with modern culture; he had developed no common language or understanding between his leadership and modern leadership and his ancient organization was swept into voiceless oblivion. But the Indian was vocal and as he pressed his case; white South Africa rose in alarm. If the Indian became a recognized man, landholder and voter in Kenya, what of Natal, ~~the Union of South Africa~~? The British government speculated and procrastinated and then announced its decision: East Africa was primarily for the Africans and not for the Indians. The Indians then must be satisfied with limited industrial and political rights while for the black native — the white Englichman spoke! A conservative Indian leader speaking in England after this decision said: "If the Indian problem in South Africa was allowed to fester much longer, he said it would pass beyond the bounds of a domestic issue, and would become a question of foreign po-

37-2-36

licy upon which the unity of the Empire might founder irretrievably. The Empire could never keep its coloured races within it by force, but only by preserving and safeguarding their sentiments."

Perhaps this shrewd Kenya decision was too shrewd. It preserved white control for Kenya but what about Uganda and the Sudan where a black leadership exists under ancient forms; and above all what about educated black leadership in the West Indies and West Africa? Why should Black West Africa with its industrial triumphs like Nigeria be content forever with Crown Government if Africa is for the Africans. The Congress of British West Africa even before the Kenya decision set forth its claims in statesmanlike phrase and although its representative character was elaborately denied by the Colonial office, yet its logic was unanswered and unanswerable. Black West Africa is today demanding Home Rule and its voice is clear and logical.

37-2-37

The final resolutions of the Congress said: "That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for a change in the Constitution of the several British West African Colonies, so as to give the people an effective voice in their affairs both in the Legislative and Municipal Governments, and that the Conference pledges itself to submit proposals for such reforms."

The reasons for this demand are thus set forth--

"In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several

37-2-38

families. Similarly in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provicial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief.

"Again, according to the African System no Headman, Chief, or Paramount Ruler has any inherent right to exercise jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to so represent them. This, coupled with the facts in the preceding paragraph stated, makes the African system essentially a democratic one, and the appointment to political office depends entirely upon the election and the will fo the people.

"From the foregoing it is obvious that a system by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people is considered by them as a great anomaly and constitutes a grievance and a disability which they now request should be remedied. Hence the constitutional agitation in the past, as in the present, for a change in the constitution of British West Africa so as to enable the people in the future to elect their own representatives to the Legislative Councils of the different colonies." * [Memorandum of the Case of the National Congress of British West Africa.]

And finally comes this clear warning:

"You have difficulties at present in India. You have tried to give satisfaction to Egypt and Ceylon, which are not as old British Colonies as West Africa, you have at present troubles in Ireland; but believe me, when I tell you with all seriousness that if this political unrest does not come to a standstill, in West Africa, you will have greater difficulties with West Africa than you are having with any of these Dependencies named, and it is because we do not want to encourage such unrest, it is because we want to live under a peaceful government that we who

represent the intelligentsia and the heterogenious mass of the populace, have come to this Country with the object of educating public opinion to our condition by placing our grievances before you and at the same time seeking for the necessary reforms!"

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So far the result of this agitation has been charactically English. Rule in West Africa has hitherto been autocratic. Today it is slightly changed.

In Nigeria for instance, a new legislative council has been established with forty-two members. Of these twenty-six are officials, twelve are appointed by the Governor, four only are elected.

This is a beginning of democracy if you will, but a precious small beginning.

Overseas in the British West Indies predominantly African by blood, similar demands are being voiced. They asked after the war: Why was it that no black man sat in the Imperial Conference? Why was it that one of the oldest parts of the empire lingered in political serfdom to England and industrial bondage to America? Why was there not a great British West Indian Federation stretching from Bermuda to Honduras, and Guiana and ranking with the free dominions? The answer was clear and concise - color.

In the West Indies, ~~friction takes another form~~. ever since the abolition of slavery the English attitude has been to find a way of re-establishing prosperity without admitting the black man to political power, or to industrial control. For the white exploiter every facility in easy law complacent officials ~~and~~ ,land and industrial monopoly has been open, and industrial monopoly has entered, but not curiously enough in English hands, rather in American. So that the English in the West Indies find themselves "hoist by their own petard"; to take one instance, the American United Fruit Company rules Jamaica in all but name as Lord Burnham lecturing lately before the Royal Society of Arts complains:

"The exportation and marketing of bananas was almost exclusively in American hands. Jamaican growers of bananas could not get their produce to the European markets, because the regular line of communications was controlled by the United Fruit Company, and they carried no bananas but their own. That seemed a strong argument in favour of a subsidized service between the Mother Country and the West Indian Colonies. Meanwhile, after holding the Caribbean Sea within the folds of the Red Ensign for 200 years and more, we were now dependent to a large extent on tramps and tourist pleasure boats."

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In all this, note no thought of the realipeople of British West Indies--the mass of colored and black workers. Where are their interests in this rivalry of world capitalists? Manifestly they seek political power and fear America because of her treatment of blacks. But their attitude toward England is far from complacent. They want Home Rule and they are demanding it.

In 1916 a new agitation for representative government began in Grenada. The fire spread to all the West Indies and in 1921 a delagation was received byythe Colonial Office in London, at the same time that the Second Pan-African Congress was in session.

As a result, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, E. F. L. Wood, and a small delagation visited Jamaica, St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, Grenada, Trinadad, and British Guiana, from December, 1921, to February, 1922, and presented a report to the British Parliament in June, 1922. The report says: "It must also be remembered that this tour was the first of its kind in the long history of the West Indies!" It adds:

"At the present time, with the exception of Jamica, all these colonies are administered under a system of pure Crown Colony Government-i.e., by a legislature composed of:

(1) An official majority controlled by the Governor and responsible to the Secretary of State, and

(2) An unofficial element nominated by the Governor.

37-2-52

"Several reasons combine to make it likely that the common demand for a measure of representative government will in the long run prove irresistible. The wave of democratic sentiment has been powerfully stimulated by the war. Education is rapidly spreading and tending to produce a colored and black intelligentsia of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions and return from travel abroad with minds emancipated and enlarged, ready to devote time and energy to propaganda among their own people."

The report favors some yielding to this demand before the concession "has been robbed by delay of most of its usefulness and all of its grace."

Turning now from the Black West to the Dark East we note that Kenya was but another bitter drop in the cup of the East. Gradually the colored East saw the opportunities of the world closed in its face. They have been told in America and Australia and South Africa: This

I once saw (at the Paris exhibition of 1900), a wonderful mirror. Sitting within one could look out on the street. But walking without one saw only oneself,- the sitter within was hidden. And so these modern walls against the ancient colored world are to keep back the overflowing and expanding East, while the West claims not only the right to invade the East but to dominate it, to rule it, to exploit its wealth, to dishonor its women, to rape its arts, to blaspheme and overthrow its religion.

37-2-53

And here again rises the anomaly. It is the working people of the white world who demand the exclusion of colored labor from the world's best industrial opportunities. It thus helps to keep colored labor segregated where white capital can best exploit it and by the resultant power rule all labor, white and black.

It would be a silly misinterpretation of motives and misreading of history to see in this developemnt of relationships between the yellow, brown, black and white worlds a mere development of callous deviltry— indifference and greed on the part of the whites, envy and sullen hate on the part of colored people. It is far more subtle than this and it has its strong philosophy of reason compellint today to many distressed but honest minds.

The curious almost childish propaganda dominates us by which good and earnest, even intelligent men by millions have come to believe almost religiously that white folk are a peculiar and chosen people such as the world never saw before, whose one great accomplishment is civilization and that this civilization must be protected from the rest of the world by cheating, stealing, lying and murder.

The propaganda, the terrible, ceaseless, uncanny propaganda that buttresses this belief day by day, the propaganda of poet and novelist and painter, the uncanny welter of romance, the half knowledge of scientists, the pseudo-science of statesmen, all these unite in the myth of mass inferiority of most men, AND build a wall which many centur-

ies will not break down. Think of every crime on the calendar, every sordid passion, every ungenerous and nasty act and see it inhaloed for the uses of propaganda. Does a man in cold blood murder the weak and helpless? It is the Strength of the Strong. Does he steal a heathen's land and living? It is the glorious Spread of Empire. Does he outrage and blaspheme the most high God of hundreds of millions? It is the Spirit of Christianity. Does he put to shame wives and rape daughters? Alas! These unmoral black women. Does he reduce men to servitude, keep them enslaved and spit in their tortured faces? Behold, the White Man's World. Do they crush a people until its individuals despise, themselves and mocks themselves and murder and slander each other. The "brave" Gourkas and the "faithful old darkies", the "loyal" Sudani.

"You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din!"

On the other hand all this theoretical union of colored folk is a highly artificial thing. For while the colored people of today are common victims of white culture, there is a vast gulf between the red-black South and the yellow-brown East. Eastward, the world long since, centuries ago, mastered a technique and philosophy which still stand among the greatest the world has known; and the black and African South beginning in the dim dawn of time when beginnings were everything, have evolved a physique and an art, a will to be and to enjoy which the world has never done without and never can. But these cultures have little in common either today or yesterday. And are being hounded together artificially and not attracting each other naturally.

What now is the meaning and end of this.

To explain it let us return to Lisbon. Lisbon is a happy city. It is planted in singular beauty surrounded by mighty memories and isolated from its enemies. Its aristocrats by birth and money awaken to conscious life scarcely before eleven, rest and eat two hours at midday, laugh, talk and lounge from four until seven, dineaat eight and amuse themselves in theatre, ball and gambling from nine until

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37-2-46

Africa is happy. The masses of its black folk are calmly contented save where what is called "European" civilization has touched and uprooted them. They have a philosophy of life logical and realizable. Their children are carefully educated for the life they are to lead. There are no prostitutes, there is no poverty. In Asia too (although here I speak by hearsay, knowing Asiatics but not Asia) there is, over vast spiritual areas, peace and self-realization; a certain completeness of individual life; a worship of beauty even among masses, technical

handling of matter for certain personal ends and satisfactions and a religious spirit which is neither hypocritical nor unbelievable. On the other hand Africa and Asia have no command of technique or mastery of physical force that can compare with that of the West; they know practically nothing of mass-time production and their knowledge of the facts of the universe is far behind modern knowledge. Although all these things are for the mass of European peoples almost as far from real knowledge as they are from Asia and Africa.

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Despite this the West, or the leadership of the European West, is unwavering in its determination to subdue the world to modern industrial organization. A world with modern standardized comfort, mechanical massproduction, ruled by forms of democracy under the monarchical rule of those that control invested capital and the flow of goods under time production - this is the ideal of present civilization not because it appears perfect but because it can conceive nothing more perfect.

That the teeming East, Black Africa and Latin Europe "enjoy" poverty is nothing to dominant Germanic and Anglo-Saxon Europe because their ideal is a world with a regular and endless supply of hotels and trained service, smooth motor cars, carefully organized food supply, pure water piped to kitchen and bedroom, electric light and power, carefully tailored clothing, spacious and beautiful buildings, artificial warmth and coolness, wide parks and streets, schools where children learn what to believe and organized amusement of the best approved pattern. This they are determined must spell the civilized world.

That comfort is necessary to complete human happiness, who can for a moment doubt. But what shall the world pay for this completeness- what is it paying now? First of all it has in the heyday of its triumph been able or willing to supply comfort but to a minority of its own population. The majority of the whole people of Europe, have poor

food, inadequate clothing, bad shelter, inadequate amusement and misleading education. They are more comfortable than the African savages only in their water supply, their foods and their opportunity to look at brilliantly lighted streets.

The effort of the white laborers to change this and disseminate wealth and comfort more widely by raising wages and shortening hours of work threatens the present industrial machine, threatens its efficiency, its machine-like precision, its breadth of empire and thus the foundations of modern civilization; for let no man doubt - the success of any socialistic scheme of redistributing wealth in smaller sums to more people and devoluting industrial power to foremen means the passing of the Rolls-Royce motor car and the palatial hotel, the disappearance of the modern wonder-city.

37-2-56

To save then this efficient organization of work, this synchronization of human industrial effort the like of which the world never before saw - to save this, and led by the idea that at all hazards it must be saved, white Western Europe has long been united in a determination to make the colored worlds contribute to its comfort, subordinate themselves to its interests, become part of its machine. It argues that on this path alone lies salvation for the lazy South and sleepy East, that here then lies the salvation of the world; and they ignore with perfect ignorance the possibility that lazy enjoyment and silent contemplation of life, without a surplus or even a sufficiency of modern comfort may for a moment be held an end and ideal of existence; or that the efficient West and North can learn of the lazy South and sleepy East.

At the head of this movement to make an efficient industrial world of all men stand the "Anglo Saxons" or "Nordics". With the lead of England and Germany and followed fast by France, Austria, Russia, Italy and North America the white world was one Imperial industrial and commercial thought before the War. Perhaps the Infinite mind knows

that only by universal catyclysm -- by murder, tempest and sorrow, could this Union of the West be broken. Today it is broken. Today it lies in three great riven pieces, Anglo-Saxondom, France and Russia. England and America alone seek to keep up the old tradition of a white world dominated by white men for the benefit of white peoples. This was Lloyd George's insistent and reiterated message on his American visit. This is the reason that the greatest names of Liberal England could not last year be summoned to a protest against American lynching. A young professor of the London School of Economics told me that two hindred letters of appeal failed to get a single English name of first rank. So too with the Labor party, of England now new come to power. Its appeal during the War for decent treatment of native labor was a trumpet call; but after the war and at its last great conference both Arthur Henderson and Ramsay McDonald united to kill a mild appeal for native races. And on the other hand the intransigent stand of Smuts has been met in England by an admiration accorded to few great Englishmen.

37-2-57

Why?

I had letters to Prince Touvalou in Paris. He is a nephew of Behanzin - that king of Dahomey who fought so bitterly for his native soil which France took. The Prince is a young black man, polished, speaking both English and French; and he came to notoriety because certain Americans demanded his ejection from a Montmartre cabaret where he had gone with a white advocate after winning a difficult court case. He is a significant figure - perhaps, in time, historical. France's attitude toward black and colored folk is peculiar. For nearly two centuries she has known educated and well-bred persons of Negro descent; they filtered in from the French West Indies--sons and relatives of French families under the Code Napoleon, while under English law simi-

lar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to saynin France as elsewhere that Negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated Negroes as such; they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual but not unnatural personal appearance.

37-2-76

Then came the War and France needed black men. She threw them ruthlessly into horrible slaughter. She watched them offer the blood sacrifice for their adopted Mother land with splendid sang-froid and utter abandon. This made the sentimental foundation of a change in world policy.

In the new policy of France toward the colored world there are both political and economic considerations. The political considerations rest upon the fact that France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using half a million or more of trained troops from brown and black Africa. France has 40,000,000 Frenchmen and 60,000,000 Colonials. Of these Colonials, 845,000 served in France during the war of whom 535,000 were soldiers and 310,000 labor contingents. Of the soldiers, 440,000 came from North and West Africa. The peace footing of the French army is 660,000 to whom must be added 189,000 Colonial troops. With three years service and seven years reserve, France hopes in ten years time to have 400,000 trained Colonial troops and 450,000 more ready to be trained and these Colonial troops will serve part of their time in France. A very large proportion of them will be black Africans. In persuance of this policy she is already incorporating the Arab and Negroid elements of north Africa into her body politic. The French are inter-marrying with the Algerians. They are represented in the French parliament and their representation is

going to increase. No hindrances to a similar incorporation of black Africa into France have been raised. Already five deputies of Negro descent sit in the French parliament, one of whom represents French Senegal. But the future development of French black Africa depends upon economic rather than purely political considerations. France has a tremendous African empire with raw material sufficient ot lay the foundation of a vast insustrial development. Her military invasion of the Ruhr but veils her economic domination of the great industrial centers of Germany. Here then are the possible beginnings of the industrial hegemony of France in Europe.

37-2-77

If the Negro race ever rises again to power and influence then the France which keeps her plow in the furrow through which it is now moving will inherit Africa; and on the other hand if present England inherits Africa, the Negro race will disappear.

I speak of present tendencies only and present tendencies may change. England led by Labor may envisage Democracy for black and brown as well as white. France dominated by capitalism may turn, may make her exploitation of Africa dominant over social incorporation. These things are possible but today they do not look probable.

The probabilities are that the future spread of the Industrial Imperialism of the West will be largely under French leadership unless present signs fail. What of it? ~~Her~~ A French and Latin Imperialism of Industry must and will depend on alliance with Arabia and black Africa- a political and social alliance, an alliance which (as someone has phrased it) makes the Congo and not the Mediterranean the southern boundary of France. In this new French imperialism emerging from the great War there can be no parallelism to English imperialism where blacks and browns and yellows cowed and subdued by white English emigrants form but the laboring proletariat of new white communities. Here in France

must be more of alliance and less of subjection; something of political co-control and voice. Has France counted the cost of this? It is nothing less than giving up the idea of an exclusive White Man's World. It is a revolt and a tremendous revolt against the solidarity of the West against the South and East. Moreover it is a revolt that threatens to carry others in its wake! Already Italy depending on black Eritrean troops to keep Tripolitania and Italian Africa is ranged beside France. Portugal has long been French in sympathy and culture and English only by economic compulsion and the situation at Delagoa Bay is increasing this tendency. Spain has drawn closer to Italy, so that the white West faces a Latin revolt and union with Turk and Arab and Negro. What may this not mean eventually in India and China, for both Portugal and France are eastern powers.

37-2-71

Here is apparent the deep resentment of England and America against France. It is not her treatment of Germany, it is her flouting of the white fetish that frightens them. The plans of those who would build a world of white men has always assumed the ultimate acquiescence of the colored world before their military power and industrial efficiency, despite present world wide unrest in the darker world, and because of its lack of unity and babel of tongues and wide cleft of religious difference; but if now one part of the white world bids for dark support by gifts of at least partial manhood rights, the remainder of the white world scents treason and remains grim and unmoved and unyielding in its heart.

Then too there is and must be in the Anglo-Saxon hegemony internal friction of no mean order. One of its most astounding examples is in Smuts' own South Africa. Here the white artisan has lifted his wage to a point where capital and even capital backed by gold, diamond and copper mines, cannot meet its demands without such a lowering of profit as

would overthrow or seriously check England's industrial empire and unhorse the magnates who rule it. This rise of white wage has been accomplished at the expense not simply of profits but even more by the pitiful holding of the wage of black labor down, despite the rise in the cost of living and in ideals of living. But black labor is day by day increasingly able to replace white labor and is only kept from doing so by its own disfranchisement and the white laborers' political power and their threat of war even to the disruption of the Empire. One reads with astonished curiosity an "important decision" November thirteenth at Pretoria, upholding a refusal to apply the color bar in work:

37-2-78

The matter arose on an application by the Attorney-General for a ruling on a question of law in a case in which a mine manager was acquitted by a magistrate of contravention of the Mines Works Machinery Regulations by permitting a native to be in charge of a locomotive, on the ground that the regulation was ultra vires, mainly on account of its unreasonableness and because it did not apply to all classes alike.

Precisely because of this diversity of interest between white labor and white capital, Jan Smuts power is tottering if not already fallen. And in the fight against him, again are the strangest bed fellows. The separatist Boers who have declared in their constitution "There shall never be any equality between white and black" have united with the Trade Unions whose racial creed is the industrial slavery of the blacks to overthrow Jan Smuts who represents the white domination of the world by the power of capital.

At the same time political self determination is actually beginning in Asia and Africa. Beyond the rise and development of Japan comes new Turkey and Egypt. Certain smaller European nations born of the war have interests which may be indentical with these. It was Mr. Fitz-

gerald of the Irish Free State who said in the British Imperial Conference that if the Irish had any voice in the question of India "they would have to protest very strongly against any racial distinctions being made. They who were not Anglo Saxons had suffered a good deal in the past from being treated as inferior races." Among the other smaller European nations whose interests are not the interests of European imperialism are Roumania, as large as Spain: the state of the Jugo-slavs half the size of France; Czecho Slovakia, larger than England; not to speak of Bulgaria and Poland. If these states maintain themselves they cannot always be merely tails to the European kite. If they fall in dissolution Europe will be too busy picking their bones to maintain strong hand in Africa and Asia.

37-2-61

Beside these problems and more important in a sense, comes the inner industrial problem in white countries - the problem of capital and labor. The war brought a surging forward of industrial rebels - of those who hated with perfect hatred the results of modern capitalistic imperialism. All have thus far failed to establish industry on a fairer basis save Russia and Russia has not yet succeeded. The cause is clear: ignorance. Everywhere the white worker has political power but does not know how to use it. The modern white worker can vote. But he does not know for what to vote. He is chiefly interested in earning a living. But how shall he vote to make his work easier and his wage high. He can put men in office but they know less than he or no more; or, worse, they betray him. Yet in all this lies a certain vast simplicity. Work is personal service - no more, no less. Trade, industry, commerce is an exchange of personal services. It is not mechanical, it does not follow mere physical law, it is a series of spiritual services done by one man to another directly and immediately or indirectly and in time by means of goods and tools. The

making of goods and tools follows undeviating physical law, but the efforts that make them and the satisfaction they supply are spiritual. Industry is personal judgment and decision and not mechanical law and whenever we forget that all industrial life is personal service we go mentally a-whoring. These services run from the fundamental necessities of life and service to the wildest heights of luxury and fancy and the exchange of these services is and must always be a matter of individual judgment and mutual agreement. Without this economic equality,—without an approximately equal removal of the bargainers from the sheer necessities of life—there can be no democracy; and with economic equality industrial despotism within the land, and imperial freeborty and piracy without, will pass forever. Industrial democracy, to which no great modern industrial state has attained, means free, equal and fraternal voice of all parties to this exchange of services and the terms of the exchange. But through colossal ignorance of the industrial process, through bestial poverty which takes away all choice and through legalized monopoly of tools and goods we have a kind of industrial chaos which accomplishes tremendous results but results in which the mass of workers share but scantily, while the few gain the legal right to the services of so vast an army of workers that they become satraps of unheard of power and extend their rule over the earth to the hurt of their own nation and of the world. This is modern white industry and the revolt against it - be it ever so blind and ignorant, be it Socialism or Bolshevism or frank Revolution—it is the effort to rationalize and equalize and guide for the general good this vast exchange of humen services - this vast industrial cooperation.

Can this be done? No, scream the industrial monarchs, not without overthrowing civilization. Yes, cry the thoughtful, even though the greater triumps of industry go, so long as there is bread and clothing,

37-2-62

education, and shelter, art and science sufficient to the health of men. It is now to the inner battle which shakes white industry toward which the darker world ought logically to turn. And it is with the dark industrial slaves of Africa, India and China that white European union labor should logically join hands.

37-2-63

I remember - shall I ever forget? - the high caste Hindoo whom I met at the great Races Congress in London, 1911. "Can not you Indians" I suggested, "seek political alliance with the English laborers?" forcasting an English Labor Party then not yet born. He stiffened and replied in his precise, and beautiful English - "I donnot think we should care for alliance with dirty English laborers." And yet today the rule of Labor in England and Russia forcasts beginnings of this approachment. Lord Oliver in the Indian office beginning with a gesture like the release of Ghandhi has a fighting chance to end with Indian Home Rule.

Claude McKay, anNegro poet travelling in Russia writes:

"When the Russian workers overturned their infamous government in 1917, one of the first acts of the new Premier, Lenin, was a proclamation greeting all the oppressed peoples throughout the world, exhorting them to organize and unite against the common international oppressor--Private Capitalism. Later on in Moscow, Lenin himself grappled with the question of the American Negroes and spoke onthe subject before the Second Congress of the Third International. He consulted with John Reed, the American journalist, and dwelt on the urgent necessity of propaganda and organizational work among the Negroes of the South. The subject was not allowed to drop. When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia."

37-2-24

"With the mammoth country securely under their con trol, and despite the great energy and thought that are being poured into the revival of the national industry, the vanguard of the Russian workers and the national minorities, now set free from imperial oppression, are thinking seriously about the fate of the oppressed classes, the suppressed national and racial minorities in the rest of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. They feel themselves kin in spirit to these people. They want to help make them free. And not the least of the oppressed that fill the thoughts of the new Russia are the Negroes of America and Africa. If we look back two decades to recall how the Czarist persecution of the Russian Jews agitated Democratic America, we will get some idea of the mind of Liberated Russia towards the Negroes of America. The Russian people are reading the terrible history of their own recent past in the tragic position of the American Negro today. Indeed, the Southern States can well serve the purpose of showing what has happened in Russia. For if the exploited poor whites of the South could ever transform themselves into making common cause with the persecuted and plundered Negroes, overcome the oppressive oligarchy,--the political crackers and robber landlords--and deprive it of all political privileges, the situation would be very similar to that of Soviet Russia today."

On the other hand the propaganda of "white superiority" has led most white laborers the world over to be the bitterest and blindest enemies of colored workers; to trample on them as in South Africa; to exclude them from the chances of opportunity as in Australia, to riot against them and murder them as in America. On the Panama Canal Zone it was white union labor that beat colored union labor back into cowed submission to common task masters. In the United States, colored "scabs" in economic revenge defeated the efforts to organize the steel workers.

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FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Dakar is impressive from the sea, a modern port in its public buildings, its shipping, its coal loading machinery. One discries the beautiful palace of the governor, the well built city hall, the business blocks and homes. On land, however, one is a bit disappointed; the city is hardly beautiful for Dakar fights with the desert sands. It is a dusty place, busy, with little real charm. It has an artificial made-to-order air which is dispersed only when one penetrates the miles of native suburbs - put and compound, strange clothing, dark jewelled hands and burdened heads. St. Louis on the other hand, a hundred miles north is far more charming and individual while Goree is a strange old dream.

38-12-128

The journey from Dakar to St.Louis is impressive. I went on a cool, sunshiny morning, with fleecy clouds over low, flat, sandy land covered with palm trees and huts. The depot swarmed with Natives and there was a group of beautiful mulattoes; the husband of one, evidently a civil servant, is departing. A tall black nurse holds a pretty red-haired baby. A black man comes down to speed the going, tall and finely dressed with white helmet and the ribbon of an order in his buttonhole. An old black man hobbles by with the croix de guerre and chevrons. The black natives gaily kerchiefed with burdens on their heads parade by; brown Moors stalk on and little black boys fly as porters. We thread low, leaden waters with here a camel loaded with wood, there a black man with a horse and always women with burdens on their heads. There are seas of sand, long horned, lean cattle, black and cream colored shepherds running, crying, saluting.

Nothing can be more lovable and intelligent than these African children, lively, happy, bright of eye and usually perfect in build. The affection between parent and child is always evident: fathers carrying children, children walking with fathers in deep conversation,

children kissing an greeting children.

The women of Senegal are quite different from those further south. The lovely brown nakedness and perfect physique of Liberia and Sierra Leone is gone. They are clothed from neck to instep with white flowing overdress and embroidered chemisette. Nearly all wear a concealed ceinture which often bulks and often deforms their figure. Yet the African beauty of body often shines through, despite.their hair is usually twisted about quills and strings and hangs in clinking ringlets. Then the Moorish women appear like dark ghosts veoiled in one long blue or black garment. Usually they carry no burdens and their faces, veiled and unveiled are high-bred black and brown and yellow. One senses in this passing north a melange of races, a mixing of long histories, of many kinds and sorts of people veiled in dark skins but as different as the white peoples of Europe and their differences by no means measurable by color. One sees superior and inferior classes; men slauching and dirty; men clothed in flowing white, taller than usual, and striding finely. They are not laborers and they have traditions. I walked by a mosque in St.Louis. The sun was setting, the wild chant was rising and swinging within; or again the street a mass of men kneel and cry facing Mecca.

St. Louis sits on the great swift flood of the Senegal. It is old French and Spanish, with blank walled streets, tiny shops and court yards; it is Morrish and north African in its customs. Across the broad river and in Mauritania one finds daily the great native market along the Avenue Dodds, named after the mulatto general of France. All day long the market is full of natives trading meat and bread and cloth, matting and shoes, fish and jewelry. To trade effectively one would best speak Woloff, for knowledge of French is rare.

In a sense there is no racial problem in French West Africa; but there are germs of one. Most of the rulers and the large merchants, -

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most of the rich are white. All of the servants and laborers, all of the poor are black. On the other hand the Deputy who represents Senegal and in a sense all of black French Africa in the Parliament at Paris is black. The Mayor of St. Louis and the Vice-mayor of Dakar are black. The overwhelming majority of the voters in the four small enfranchised communes, Dakar, St.Louis, Refisque and Goree, are black, although the overwhelming mass of ten million black West Africans have n no vote. There are black and white and yellow children in the same schools and black and white and brown folk in the Civil Service. Most of the clerks in all the stores and all the clerks in the small stores are black. A few of the large merchants are black; most of them are white.

38-12-140

The relations between black and white seem pleasant; one sees individuals of different race talking together much more often than in Freetown. In social circles, cafes and hotels usually one sees only white people; yet now and then a mulatto or a black man and this causes no comment. The white Portuguese consul gave me a dinner in the center of the leading restaurant. Some, I presume, asked who the brown stranger was; otherwise there was no ripple of excitement at an occurrence which would have caused a flurry in New York, a riot in New Orleans, and a murder in Johannesburg. As our great ship drew up to the dock in Dakar a mulatto health officer followed by a white assisting customs clerk boarded us. There was no comment on the fact; no one seemed to notice it.

In other words there is nothing here in French West Africa like the open race repulsion, the studied separation that one sees in British West Africa. The French are careful even of their bastards. There are special schools for them if abandoned and cases like that of a West African white official who married a French woman and brought his mulatto baby into the family with the wife's consent. On the other

hand there is no large number of mulattoes and those there range almost entirely with the whites, but here again for tribal, not for racial reasons.

From all this one might conclude that racial difficulties have no place in French West Africa. This is not true. Today the French feel an unusual sense of gratitude for the blacks. These great black masses unselfishly rescued France. Today they protect her, in a sense they are a vast life insurance for her future. Two beautiful war memorials to the black soldiers have been dedicated, at Dakar on the coast and 700 miles upland on the Niger at Bamako. The statue to a former governor at Conakry is a magnificent memorial of the sort that one sees no where else in the world where black and white folk mingle: the dignity of the native figures, their abandon and poise, the unity of ideal between them and the white governor who in a sense founded the colony, - all this astonishes the American Negro.

38-12-141

On the other hand a modern African colony is an economic development first of all. The French are pushing the cultural and sentimental element in the colony to the fore more than other nations, but even here their ability to do this and to an extent their will is dominated by the economic motif. French colonies, in the long run, must pay and while at present France is willing to and must take part of this pay in protection and military preparedness, yet sooner or later the amount of money which the thrifty French peasant and the shrewd French business man can make out of Africa is bound to be set up as the criterion of the success of this African empire. This means, as "Batoula" has shown us, that in some parts of French Africa already the exploitation of the natives has rivaled that of Belgium, and while that novel is a picture of equatorial Africa 1200 miles from the outposts of Dakar yet even in French West Africa, in Senegal and Guinea and the ivory coast, the economic motif pushes itself to the front.

French Africa must be made to pay. This is aphorism. Does not British Africa pay, and Belgian? Is not this the ultimate meaning of colonial imperialism?

There is one great modifying influence to the colonial profit ideal and that is native education. Today black French West Africa differentiates itself from the other European Africas chiefly in its educational programe. French West Africa has an educational system. It is not complete, it is not well established; but it is a system and it is begun. There is here a population of between ten and twelve million and of these perhaps 1,200,000 are of school age. Only one in every 57 of these youth, not counting the mission and Koranic schools, are in school. And yet there is growth. In 1902 there were only 70 schools in the state system; in 1920 there were 500. The schools consist of 225 village schools with about 10,000 pupils. They are in the chief villages and teach children from 6 to 12 years of age. The teachers are natives and give instruction in reading, writing and speaking French, in arithmetic and other elementary subjects. Among the Nomad tribes there are camping or Nomad schools which follow the tribes about.

From these primary schools the most intelligent and progressive of the pupils are directed to the regional schools. Each of the six divisions composing French West Africa is subdivided into regions and in each region there is planned a school with a white European instructor and native assistants. About 50 of these schools have been established so far and they have about 1500 pupils. The white head instructor acts as general school superintendent of the region and selects from the village schools the best pupils for the regional school. The regional schools have both a primary and secondary course and the selected students are entered as boarders with all expenses

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paid by the colony. At the end of two years study these students, by examination, may pass to the superior primary town school, while those who do not pass are sent back to their parents. There are ten primary town schools with about 300 students.

In important centers where there is a demand there are also schools for adults; of these there were in 1922 186 with 7,400 pupils, and with classes held three times a week. There are superior primary schools in the towns with students recruited from the regional schools and their expenses are paid by the colony if they come from a distance. There are some 400 students in schools like this. These schools train students for the government higher schools, for the lower ranks of the Civil Service and for commerce and industry.

38-12-143

The whole educational system is capped by the schools of the Government General at Dakar and on the Island of Goree. Here are five superior schools whose students in these schools are selected from the superior primary schools of the whole colony. These schools train teachers, higher artisans, and medical assistants and two high schools in St.Louis and Dakar fit for higher training. The Ponty school with 300 students and a three year course fits for the Civil Service and for clerkships in commercial houses. The Lamprade School has 100 students and trains in technical work such as printing, book-binding, helpers in government public works, etc. The Marine Technical School trains 25 students as native machinists for the merchant marine. The school of medicine trains 150 students as assistants in medicine, pharmacy, veterinary surgery, etc. There are schools of agriculture and forestry planned. The two secondary schools have courses of study the same as in France leading to the French University and professional schools. These two schools have accommodations for 100 students.

Over this system is an instructor general holding a French license as university professor and assisted by an inspector of

primary education. There are also at least two inspectors in each colony chosen by competitive examination. There are 66 white men and 54 white women in the system. Native teachers trained at the normal school at Goree are, in the case of the most promising, granted scholarships to enter the normal school at Aix-en-Province, France, where they study for diplomas which make them eligible on the general list for appointments just as Europeans. There are 400 of these registered during the last school year.

38-12-144

Nearly all the schools mentioned are attended by boys. There are, however, 10 special schools for girls with a registration of 300 in 1922 and 4 orphanages caring for about 200 children. To sum up there are 314 schools for young people in French West Africa with 21,000 pupils and 186 schools for adults.

In addition to this there is some work by Catholic missions but mostly social rather than educational on account of French legal restrictions. There are, however, a large number of Koranic schools, or schools conducted by the Mohammedans. In all there are some 600 of these schools with 40,000 pupils. They are under state control and the teachers must be licensed but they do little beside teaching the Koran by heart and studying a little Arabic. Some 200 students are enrolled in Mohammedan high schools; for the most part these are sons of chiefs and are prepared to serve as interpretors, judges, and secretaries in the Mohammedan courts. The professors in these schools must hold diplomas from the High School of letters in Algiers.

It must be remembered, however, that while French Africa has an educational program, it has very few educated Negroes. British Africa has almost no educational program - but it has educated Negroes and they are the source of revolt and protest and trouble. Belgian Africa has in practice neither educational program nor educated natives. It

lies silent, inert, blooding with profit flowing out to whites. South Africa has a carefully restricted educational program and a small educated class of blacks. These blacks are beginning to writhe and protest. What now will happen in Black France when her educational program begins to pour black university men into Dakar and St.Louis? We do not know. But we do know that the crisis and test will come then for this class must and will first make itself felt by curtailing the rate of direct profit flowing from Africa to France. At the present the blacks have no educated leadership. There is no racial feeling against them, but there is on their part no racial consciousness, no esprit du corps, no ideals of advancement. Mohammedan fatalism holds many of them haughtily apart from all modern progress. A black man in America is born as part of an organized fighting machine determined to push himself forward as a black man. The machine is not perfect, it is not always efficient, but it is accomplishing really increasingly tremendous results. In British West Africa the black man is born in a somewhat similar environment save that instead of being born as a black man in a white country he is born as a black man in a black country where whites are usurping the power and where he is more and more determined to win back control over himself and his country. But in French West Africa the colored man is born French. The educated Frenchmen there consist of numbers of whites, a few mulattoes and West Indians and very few natives and blacks. They meet and mix according to their education and interests and these interests, as far as they are conscious, are French. The attitude of these educated people toward the black millions beneath is the ordinary European attitude of the classes toward the masses. They lead them in the sense that they employ them and care in certain ways for their well being. They care for their health, for instance, with sanitary laws and hospitals. When a colored

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United States minister to Liberia was stricken fatally and rushed from Monrovia to Sierra Leone, he was not allowed a bed in the perfectly equipped nursing home and only after prolonged negotiations was he brought in from the native sheds in the yard and laid in the general hospital, where he quickly died. In French West Africa such an occurrence would be unthinkable. If a colored man or native enters the Civil Service his treatment and chance of promotion is quite regardless of color. But on the other hand very few natives have the slightest chance to enter the Civil Service. This means that the raising and civilizing of the natives is being left to the chance of modern economic development assisted and somewhat hastened by French public opinion, by military consideration and by some education. This is a dangerously slow set of forces and liable to fatal haltings and especially is this true when world public opinion and especially the public opinion of the white masses of Africa continually look upon an African colony as a means of enriching a European mother country. Unless special care is given the French black native and unusual economic protection thrown around him he is going to become in West Africa a modern economic slave; and when the race hatred of English, Belgians and Boers adds pressure there is going to be every temptation for France to protect this profitable slavery by the color line in industry and politics. As yet France has no political solution for West Africa. Colonial representation in Paris is confusing and contradictory. Devolution of power to the colonies is a serious step and weakens military concentration and economic profit. There is danger ahead but how great none can fortell.

The best solvent naturally would be enlightened leadership of the Negroes. This is not only lacking in French Africa but if mentioned the reaction is instant and one can sympathize with this point of view.

38-12-146

A young black editor in Dakar talked to me. He was French. He said there was no organization of black Frenchmen because black Frenchmen were just as much French as white Frenchmen and yet he said something was needed. Modern economic forces, especially in colonial lands, do not tend to raise the masses. With grudging bits of education the mass raises itself fighting against the politically powerful bourgeoisie in the home land. Any such fight in French Africa would be in the main a color line fight. How can this raising of the issue of color by colored folk be avoided? It can be avoided only by a social uplift that outruns consideration of profits and this today seems scarcely probable. French Africa is organized for profit. Great corporations, great banks, great shipping agencies, great railroads, all unite in well0known and stereotyped ways to overthrow native industry, to prostitute native art, to make economic development in French West Africa mechanical and methodical. The great excesses of the past in land grabbing and serfdom are guarded against, but the retail profiteer and the wholesale price-manipulator is here in his glory. "The Assyrian has come down like a wolf in the fold" and he is underbidding and displacing the native merchants by methods which the natives cannot meet. The native, to live, must raise what the world makes him raise and raise it at the world's price and white world business determines the natives share of the profit.

38-12-147

Yet Black France is the most hopeful meeting place of black and white in the world. If education quickly supplies black leadership; if that leadership unseduced by the present economic organization of Europe reorganizes black Africa along the magnificent vista of ancient African lines; if political power commensurate with this task comes down from Paris and shocks that domination of the vote by monied interests which is common in France and a by-word in the tiny enfranchised communes of Senegal, if all this happens the salvation of Africa will be the Gift of France.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Conakry, capitol of French Guiana, is French; which is saying that it is beautiful, quiet, complete. The streets are shaded by mighty mango trees planted regularly; in one avenue they stand four abreast and the shade there at tropical noontide is sweet and thick and cool. I passed a school with a lovely big yard and heard the low hum of busy black and white teachers and black pupils. There is the Bellay monument, a fine and noble thing in its types of Negro: a French governor stands with his hand on a straight, naked black boy; a Sudanese chief sits proudly below looking toward the rising sun; a mother lies at ease nursing her black baby; but oh the eyes of her and the far-off dream within them.

32-15-11

Conakry is a young thing, only twenty five years old and yet, with road and railroad and commerce. It is the gateway to ancient Timbuktu a thousand miles within. The best hospital of all the black west coast is here and open to all; the native quarter looks cared for and not unattractive. Low lies the city along the sea- mango and palm and yellow government house with beautiful guardian islands.

Five hundred miles northward and in French Senegal, Dakar is impressive from the sea, a modern port in its public buildings, its shipping, its coal-loading machinery. One descries the beautiful palace of the governor, the well-built city hall, the business blocks and homes. On land, however, there is some disappointment; the city is hardly beautiful for Dakar fights with the desert sands. It is a dusty place, busy, with little real charm. It has an artificial made-to-order air which is dispersed only when one penetrates the miles of native suburbs, — hut and compound, with strange clothing, dark jewelled hands and burdened heads. St. Louis on the other hand, a hundred miles north, is far more charming and individual while Goree

is a strange old dream.

The journey from Dakar to St. Louis is fascinating. I went on a cool, sunshiny morning, with fleecy clouds over low, flat, sandy land covered with palm trees and huts. The depot swarmed with Natives and there was a group of beautiful mulattoes; the husband, evidently a civil servant, is departing. A tall black nurse holds a pretty red-haired baby. A black man comes down to speed the going, tall and finely dressed with white helmet and the ribbon of an order in his buttonhole. An old black man hobbles by with the croix-de-guerre and chevrons. The black natives, gaily kerchiefed, with burdens on their heads, parade by; brown Moors stalk on and little black boys fly as porters. We thread low, leaden waters with here a camel loaded with wood, there a black man with a horse and always women with burdens. There are seas of sand, long-horned lean cattle, black and cream colored shepherds running, crying, saluting.

38-15-12

Nothing can be more lovable and intelligent than these African children, lively, happy, bright of eye and usually perfect in build. The affection between parent and child is always evident; fathers carrying children, children walking with fathers in deep conversation, children kissing and greeting children.

The women of Senegal are quite different from those further south. The lovely brown nakedness and perfect physique of Liberia and Sierra Leone are gone. These are clothed from neck to instep with white flowing overdress and embroidered chemisette. Nearly all wear a concealed ceinture which bulks and deforms their figure. Yet the African beauty of body often shines through, despite. Their hair is usually twisted about quills and strings and hangs in clicking ringlets. Then the Moorish women appear like dark ghosts veiled in one long blue or black garment. Usually they carry no burdens and

their faces, veiled and unveiled, are high-bred, black and brown or yellow. One senses in this passing north a mélange of races, a mixing of long histories, of many kinds and sorts of people veiled in dark skins but as different as the white peoples of Europe and their differences by no means measurable by color. One sees superior and inferior classes; men slouching and dirty; men clothed in flowing white, taller than usual, and striding finely. They are not laborers and they have traditions. I walked by a mosque in St. Louis. The sun was setting! the wild chant was rising and swinging within; or again in the street a mass of men kneel and cry, facing Mecca.

33-15-13

St. Louis sits on the broad, swift flood of Senegal. It is old French and Spanish, with blank walled streets, tiny shops and court yards; it is Moorish and north African in its customs. Across the broad river and in Mauritania one finds daily the great native market along the Avenue Dodds, named after the mulatto general of France. All day long the market is full of natives trading meat and bread and cloth, matting and shoes, fish and jewelry. To trade effectively one would best speak Woloff, for knowledge of French is rare.

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And Goree: There lies a little island in the seas, yellow, old; with rocky shore and ancient frowning forts above. There are palms and old buildings with here and there a new white wall. Opposite is new Dakar; beyond, Rufisque, and far northward, St. Louis. But Goree is the oldest of all. Goree! Isle of the slave trade, once center of teaming marts of stolen black men. There are narrow winding streets in Goree and the winding, changing shore. On the slave mart was built the ancient Spanish-like town, yellow and cream and red, with the palace of the governor and the great stone and moss-covered fortifica-

tion and all about the beautiful blue sea. And now atop all this, is the new dream, a bit vague perhaps and hesitant, but it is now an island of schools with two or three hundred students, young black men in blue and buff khaki, like overalls, but with coats and cloth caps.

In the former palace of the governor-general is the printing office; electric, with two linotypes, great presses and apprentices and other type-setters. In the left wing is the black mayor; an old man, black, simple, with dignity but without assumption, probably with only elementary training but courteous and kindly; and a methodical black secretary.

38-15-14

In the great square beneath the forts, facing the sea and backing Dakar—in the curve of the inlet where the slave ships stood and sailed—are schools; an industrial school working in copper, tin, iron, steel and wood with singular French completeness and precision, with some mathematics, careful writing, planning of roads and ditches and walls and wagons and wheels and machines. There is a three years course of study after eight primary years; a hundred and twenty black boys here are training to be mechanics. Next is a normal school with a hundred good-looking young black men; then there is a hospital near in the quiet old town with pre-medical students and nurses. Some day here may rise a great university of West Africa. It is a fine, a tickling dream.

We swim out of the harbour; to the left is the low brick fort with palm rising like a sentinel north. Athwart a big canoe arrives, packed with chickens, charcoal and eggs. We are out in the bay. Behold Dakar, imperial. The governor's palace rises in pale gold. Well-dressed mulattoes board us dressed in white, people of old Goree.

To the right is a grizzled sea wall and behind, the great hulk of another and perhaps older fort with serried buildings almost battlements. In the center the crimson flowers of the old palace, three

great palms, a pictured dream of old sweet beauty. Cape Verde is to the left, a long tongue of land with a few houses hugging the light-house; then homes and palace, government and business, the spars of the harbor, the low coast of Rufisque.

We swing about a great bastion of living rock while the little island drops like a dream to little orange homes and palms—a strange historic jewel on the sea.

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38-15-15

In a sense there is no racial problem in French West Africa; but there are germs of one. Most of the rulers and the large merchants,—most of the rich, are white. All of the servants and laborers, all of the poor, are black. On the other hand the Deputy who represents Senegal, and in a sense all of black French Africa, in the Parliament at Paris, is black. The Mayor of St. Louis and the Vice-Mayor of Dakar are black. The overwhelming majority of the voters in the four small enfranchised communes, Dakar, St. Louis, Rufisque and Goree, are black; but the overwhelming mass of ten million black French West Africans have no vote. There are black and white and yellow children in the same schools and black and white and brown folk in the Civil Service. Most of the clerks in all the stores and all of the clerks in the small stores are black. A few of the large merchants are black; most of them are white.

The relations between black and white seem pleasant; one sees individuals of different races talking together much more often than in Freetown. In social circles, cafes and hotels usually one sees only white people; yet now and then a mulatto or a black man appears and this causes no comment. The white Portuguese consul gave me a dinner in the center of the leading reastaurant. Some, I presume, asked who the brown stranger was, otherwise there was no ripple of excitement

at an occurrence which would have caused a flurry in New York, a riot in New Orleans, and a murder in Johannesburg. As our great ship drew up to the dock in Dakar a mulatto health officer followed by a white assisting customs clerk boarded us. There was no comment on the fact; no one seemed to notice it.

In other words there is nothing here in French West Africa like the open race repulsion, the studied separation that one sees in British West Africa. The French are careful even of their bastards. There are special schools for them if abandoned; and there are cases like that of the West African white official who married a French woman and brought his mulatto baby into the family with the wife's consent. On the other hand, there is no large number of mulattoes and those there range almost entirely with the whites; but here again for tribal, not for racial reasons.

38-15-16

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From all this one might conclude that racial difficulties have no place in French West Africa. This is not true. Today the French feel an unusual sense of gratitude for the blacks. These great black masses unselfishly rescued France. Today they protect her; in a sense they are a vast life insurance for her national future. Two beautiful war memorials to the black soldiers have been dedicated, at Dakar on the coast and 700 miles upland on the Niger at Bamako. The statue to a former governor at Conakry is a magnificent memorial of the sort that one sees nowhere else in the world where black and white folk mingle; - all this astonishes the American Negro.

On the other hand, a modern African colony is an economic development first of all. The French are pushing the cultural and sentimental element in the colony to the fore more than other nations, but even here their ability to do this and to an extent their will is

dominated by the economic motif. French colonies, in the long run, must pay and while at present France is willing to and must take part of this pay in protection and military preparedness, yet sooner or later the amount of money which the thrifty French peasant and the shrewd French business man can make out of Africa seems bound to be set up as the criterion of the success of this African empire.

This means, as the Goncourt price novel, "Batoula" has shown us, that in some parts of French Africa already the exploitation of the natives has rivaled that of Belgium, and while that novel is a picture of equatorial Africa, 1200 miles from the outposts of Dakar, yet even in French West Africa, in Senegal and Guinea and the ivory coast, profit is the raison d' être of this little world. French Africa must be made to pay. This is an aphorism. Does not British Africa pay, and Belgian? Is not this the ultimate meaning of colonial imperialism?

There is one great modifying influence to the colonial profit ideal and that is native education. Today black French West Africa differentiates itself from the other European Africas chiefly in its educational program. French West Africa has an educational system. It is not complete; it is not even well-established; but it is a system and it is begun. There is here a population of between ten and twelve million and of these perhaps 1,200,000 are of school age. Only one in every 57 of these youth, not counting the mission and Koranic schools, is in school. And yet there is growth. In 1902 there were only 70 schools in the state system; in 1920 there were 500.

The schools consist of 225 village schools with about 10,000 pupils. They are in the chief villages and teach children from 6 to 12 years of age. The teachers are natives and give instruction in reading, writing and speaking French, in arithmetic and other elementary subjects. Among the Nomad tribes there are camping or Nomad schools which follow the tribes about.

From these primary schools the most intelligent and progressive of the pupils are directed to the regional schools. Each of the six divisions composing French West Africa is subdivided into regions and in each region there is planned a school with a white European instructor and native assistants. About fifty of these schools have been established so far and they have fifteen hundred pupils. The white head instructor acts as general school superintendent of the region and selects from the village schools the best pupils for the regional school. The regional schools have both a primary and secondary course and the selected students are entered as boarders with all expenses paid by the colony. At the end of two years study these students, by examination, may pass to the superior primary town school, while those who do not pass are sent back to their parents. There are ten primary town schools with about three hundred students.

38-15-12

In important centers where there is a demand there are also schools for adults; of these there were in 1922, 186 with 7,400 pupils, and with classes held three times a week. There are superior primary schools in the towns with students recruited from the regional schools and their expenses are paid by the colony if they come from a distance. There are some 400 students in schools like this. These schools train students for the government higher schools, for the lower ranks of the Civil Service and for commerce and industry.

The whole educational system is capped by the schools of the Government General at Dakar and on the island of Goree. Here are five superior schools whose students are selected from the superior primary schools of the whole colony. These schools train teachers, higher artisans, and medical assistants and two high schools in St. Louis and Dakar fit for higher training. The Ponty School with 300 students and a three year course fits for the Civil Service and for

clerkships in commercial houses. The Lamprade School has 100 students and trains in technical work such as printing, book-binding, helpers in government public works, etc. The Marine Technical School trains 25 students as native machinists for the merchant marine. The School of Medicine trains 150 students as assistants in medicine, pharmacy, veterinary surgery, etc. There are schools of agriculture and forestry planned. The two secondary schools, with 100 students, have courses of study similar to schools in France leading to the French university and professional courses.

38-151-19

Over this system is an instructor-general holding a French license as university professor and assisted by an inspector of primary education. There are also at least two inspectors in each colony chosen by competitive examination. There are 66 white men and 54 white women in the system. Native teachers trained at the normal school at Goree are, in the case of the most promising, granted scholarships to enter the normal school at Aix-en-Province, France, where they study for diplomas which make them eligible on the general list for appointments just as Europeans.

Nearly all the schools mentioned are attended by boys. There are, however, 10 special schools for girls with a registration of 300 in 1922 and 4 orphanages caring for about 200 children. To sum up there are 314 schools for young people in French West Africa with 21,000 pupils and 186 schools for adults.

In addition to this there is some work by Catholic missions but mostly social rather than educational on account of French legal restrictions. There are, however, a large number of Koranic schools, or schools conducted by the Mohammedans. In all there are some 600 of these schools with 40,000 pupils. They are under state control and the teachers must be licensed, but they do little beside teaching the

Koran by heart and studying a little Arabic. Some 200 students are enrolled in Mohammedan high schools; for the most part these are sons of chiefs and are prepared to serve as interpreters, judges, and secretaries in the Mohammedan courts. The professors in these schools must hold diplomas from the High School of Letters in Algiers.

It must be remembered, however, that while French Africa has an educational program, it has as yet very few educated Negroes. British Africa has almost no educational program - but it has educated Negroes and they are the source of revolt and protest and trouble. Belgian Africa has in practice almost no educational program and very few educated natives. It lies silent, inert, flooded with the profit that is flowing out to white Europe. South Africa has a carefully restricted educational program and a small educated class of blacks. These blacks are beginning to writhe and protest.

38-15-20

What now will happen in black France when her educational program begins to pour black university men into Dakar and St. Louis? We do not know. But we do know that the crisis and test will come then for this class must and will first make itself felt by curtailing the rate of direct profit flowing from Africa to France. Afterward if Negroes are modern men and education educates, France may face the world with a new black democracy in industry and politics, as an integral part of a great French empire. But in this case France itself must tend to become mulatto; certainly in thought, to some extent in blood.

At the present time the blacks have no educated leadership. There is no racial feeling against them and there is on their part no racial consciousness, no <u>esprit du corps</u>, no ideals of advancement. Mohammedan fatalism holds most of them haughtily apart from most modern progress. A black man in America is born as part of an organized fighting machine determined to push himself forward as a black man. The machine is not

perfect, it is not always efficient, but it is accomplishing really increasingly tremendous results. And it is fighting a marvellously efficient counter-propaganda on the part of certain whites with organized open and secret intention to keep Black folk below the line of democratic freedom.

In British West Africa the black man is born in a somewhat similar environment save that instead of being born as a black man in a white country he is born a black man in a black country where whites are usurping the power and using him and the land for their own profit; and where he is more and more determined to win back control over himself and his country. But in French West Africa the colored man is born French. The educated Frenchmen there consist of numbers of whites, a few mulattoes and West Indians and very few natives and blacks. They meet and mix according to their education and interests and these interest, as far as they are conscious, are French. The attitude of these educated people toward the black millions beneath is the ordinary European attitude of the classes toward the masses. They lead them in the sense that they employ them and care in certain ways for their well being. They care for their health, for instance, with sanitary laws and hospitals. When a colored United States minister to Liberia was stricken fatally and rushed from Monrovia to Freetown, he was not allowed a bed in the perfectly equipped nursing home and only after prolonged negotiations was he brought in from the native sheds in the yard and laid in the general hospital where he quickly died. In French West Africa such an occurrence would be unthinkable. If a colored man or native enters the French Colonial Civil Service his treatment and chance of promotion is usually quite regardless of color. But on the other hand very few natives have the slightest chance to enter the Civil Service, and this very thing makes race distinction negligible.

32-15-21

All this means that the raising and civilizing of the natives is being left to the chance of modern economic development assisted and somewhat hastened by French public opinion, by military considerations and by some education. This is a dangerously slow set of forces and liable to fatal haltings; and especially is this true when world public opinion and above all, the public opinion of the white voters of Europe continually look upon an African colony as a means of enriching a European mother country.

The best solvent naturally would be enlightened leadership of the Negroes. This is not only lacking in French Africa but if mentioned the reaction is instant and one can sympathize with this point of view. A young black editor in Dakar talked to me. He was French. He said there was no organization of black Frenchmen because black Frenchmen were just as much French as white Frenchmen and yet he said something was needed. Modern economic forces in colonial lands do not tend to raise the masses. With grudging bits of education the mass raises itself fighting against the politically powerful bourgeoisie in the home land. Any such fight in French Africa would be in the main a color line fight.

39-15-22.

How can this raising of the issue of color by colored folk be avoided? It can be avoided only by a social uplift that outruns consideration of profits and this today seems scarcely probable. French Africa is organized for profit. Great corporations, great banks, great shipping agencies, great railroads, all unite in well-known and stereotyped ways to overthrow native industry, to prostitute native art, to make economic development in French West Africa mechanical and methodical and above all, profitable. The great excesses of the past in land grabbing and serfdom are guarded against, but the retail profiteer and the wholesale price-manipulator is here in his glory. The modern Assyrian also "has come down like a wolf on the fold" and he is under-bidding and displacing the native merchants by

for V.F. Calverton?
undated

# THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF AMERICAN NEGRO ART

by

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Is there any body of artistic expression which can be fairly called American Negro art? There have been, of course, a great many American artists of Negro descent. In the case of some the Negro blood has been well known and recognized. In the case of others it has been either unknown or unrecognized. So far as these people worked simply as Americans or as human beings it is not fair to call their art American Negro. Our great painter, Henry O. Tanner, has in no sense contributed to American Negro art. He is a painter of biblical subjects, a great American painter or more truly he ought to be classed as a great French painter or a cosmopolite. Charles W. Chesnutt and William Stanley Braithwaite are both American Negroes who have done fine artistic work in the novel and poetry, but they could hardly be classed as contributing to any particular group expression.

On the other hand there is without doubt a certain group expression of art which can be called American Negro. It consists of biographies written by former slaves and colored men of achievement, of poetry portraying Negro life and aspirations and activities, of essays on the "Negro problem" and novels about the "Color Line". There are pictures and sculptures meant to portray Negro features and characteristics, plays to dramatize the tremendous situation of the Negro in America, and of course, above all, the group has expressed itself in music.

38-13-147

Whence did this art come? The art instinct is naturally and primarily individualistic. It is the cry of some caged soul yearning for expression and this individual impulse is of course back of

Negro art. But while in some cases this artistic impulse resulted in an expression which was simply individualistic or which might become national or even universal, in most cases individual impulse was combined with a certain group compulsion, as we usually say, meaning that the wishes, thoughts and experiences of thousands of individuals influence consciously and unconsciously the message of the one who speaks for all. That social compulsion in this case was built on the sorrow and strain inherent in American slavery, on the difficulties that sprung from Emancipation, on the feelings of revenge, despair, aspiration and hatred which arose as the Negro struggled and fought his way upward. Whenever a great mass of millions of men have such common memories and experiences they are bound sooner or later to express them. If allowed enough of intellectual freedom and economic wealth they will in time almost inevitably found a school of art and will in this way contribute to the great artistic wealth of the world. They may not bring anything particularly new in method, but the content of such an art contribution must always be new because as every individual differs from another so every group and set of group experiences differs and the truth about them has something fundamentally new and different from anything else in the world. If this truth then is beautifully expressed and transformed from sordid fact into art it becomes, from its very origin, new, unusual, splendid.

38-13-148

The fact that there is, therefore, a real Negro art expressing the thoughts, experiences and aspirations of the twelve million colored people in the United States is not nearly as extraordinary as it would be if no such self-expression had arisen. If the drama of the transplantation of the millions of Africans to the United States and their emancipation could have been accomplished without a gift of emotion and beauty to the world it would have been an eternal proof that the Negro was different from other human beings.

Already this art expression is showing its peculiarities, its unique content. Lately this is being ~~considered~~, acknowledged widely so far as Negro music is concerned. After all has been said about imitation of white music and transmission of the songs of white folk and the like we all know that the Negro has given the world new music, new rhythm, new melody and poignant, even terrible expression of joy sorrow and despair. The world dances and weeps at the beating of the black man's baton.

It is not so clear to most people how the same thing is happening in literature. To black people it is clearer because they are beginning to feed themselves upon a mass of literature which deals with themselves and their experiences in a particular way. Peculiarly and quite apart from Negro dialect, new phases, new uses of words, experiences, unthought of and unknown to the average white person, are coming to furnish the content of the New Negro literature and this literature is expressing itself not simply in the unconscious ~~news~~ methods of the weekly newspaper but also in the more conscious forms of writing. The new and younger Negro poets and novelists are finding a distinct norm and a new set of human problems. They are hindered as yet somewhat by their audiences, - their white audience which does not understand, their black audience which wants no art that is not propaganda. Despite this, however, they are pushing and pulling through. On the stage ~~they~~ we are even more hampered. We are not used to seeing black players and even the black parts in plays are "made-up" so light that most folk do not realize that Aida was an Ethiopian princess or Othello a black Moor. But the black play is coming with the black problem makers and problem solvers as the "Emperor Jones" and "Granee Maumee" warn us. In drawing, painting, and sculpture the modern Negro artist is beginning rather late and half shamefacedly to paint himself and find himself not simply humanly

38-13:149

beautiful but tremendously interesting in the dark and infinitely varied new types of this much mixed American Negro race. And in this he differentiates himself from white artists only in point of departure and object and ideal.

Whither now is all this art impulse pointing? Manifestly as it has come out of the social conditions under which Negroes have found themselves in America so those same social conditions are going to determine its future very largely. Art expression in the day of slavery had to be very limited, a matter of wild strains of music with still wilder laughter and dancing. But as the Negro rises more and more toward economic freedom he is going on the one hand to say more clearly what he wants to say and do and realize what the ends and methods of expression may be. A more studied and purposeful restraint is going to change his method of art expression and yet the grim truth burning through will not for generations permit the mere stylist and dilettante. We have with this generation just come to the time where there is a very small but very real group of American Negroes with minds enlightened enough and with sufficient fine carelessness concerning their mere bread and butter to be about to be real artists. And their names and works are beginning to appear and to compell recognition.

38-13-150

To these two things may happen: on the one hand the walls of race class and economic hate and prejudice may grow more strait and dark so as to shut out the light from these prophets and makers of the Word; and on the other hand this same stone may crumble away before reason and decency and the spreading of real civilization so that the very blaze of coming light may illuminate the former darkness and make the intricate path over which this group has come all the more thrilling for its shadows turns and twists. The American who wants to serve the world has unusual opportunity here.

1926(?)

54 LIBERIA

~~W. E. Burghardt DuBois~~

I stood in an enchanted forest at Christmas of 1923. On one side was a black man, United States Minister to Liberia. On the other hand was a white man representing the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which is today father of the Firestone Plantations Company which is ~~about~~ to invest one hundred million dollars in one million acres of rubber trees in Liberia. We all saw thin, straight, gray trees stretching endlessly about us and we all saw more than this. The minister saw industry and revenue for Liberia for which he had worked faithfully for years. The expert saw a chance to challenge the rubber monopoly of England which today controls ninety seven percent of the rubber production. Something of both these things I saw, but I saw more than this. To me this hot, clean forest was enchanted with the past of this little land.

34-2-92

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What is wrong with Liberia? It is significant that this is the form the question always takes in America. That there is something wrong is always assumed. Why? Liberia is not growing in size or population; it is not increasing remarkably in wealth; it wants to borrow money; it is not "developing". Now all citizens of the 20th century assume that unless a nation is growing in numbers and annexing territory, and increasing the amount of private profits, it is decadent. Moreover in the present organization of world industry one can pretty easily separate countries by these criteria. Whereupon the query arises: are small, poor countries the victims of present conditions or are they evidences of inferior ability?

That Liberia is an "inferior" country is easy for America to believe for two reasons: First, it is ruled and inhabited by Negroes. Second, nearly all books and magazine articles say so. The first, of course, is not proof. And in the case of the second one must note that most of the books on Liberia have been written by people with an axe to grind: Englishmen who believe that Liberia is a natural adjunct to British Sierra Leone; Germans who wanted Liberia to piece out German West Africa; Frenchmen who realize that Monrovia could be made a better port than Dakar, a port nearer to America on the one hand and to French Equatorial Africa on the other. Finally, nearly all white writers who are "patriotic" know that a successful and independent Negro government in Africa would be the beginning of the end of European imperialism in Africa. Therefore Liberia must not be successful. It must not even be thought to have any possibilities of ultimate success under its present management.

34-2-93

Liberia was established at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and just after the Napoleonic wars. It represented an attempt to transfer to Africa such of the American Negro problems as interfered with the growth of the cotton kingdom. The development of Liberia was coincident with the spread of the New World commerce during the 19th century and the rise of economic imperialism of Europe in Africa.

And yet Liberia is usually studied without the slightest reference to this economic back ground. She is looked upon as a self-steered craft, master of her own fate instead of being, as she has always been, a canoe tossed on raging economic currents which eddied out of the slave trade of the 18th century into the wild swirl of the World War in the 20th century. Liberia began as neither country, colony or protectorate. She had to declare her

independence because at that time nobody wanted her. Even England was expecting to cast off Sierre Leone with her other African interests after the death of the slave trade. She was, to be sure, warned even in these earlier days by imperialists like Lord Bathurst that her African interests were still valuable and that it was wrong to allow an independent Negro government in West Africa. But liberal England overpowered these arguments recognizing the independence of Liberia and promising independence to Sierra Leone. Gradually, however, the attitude of England and all Europe toward Africa changed and it was realized that black labor was valuable not only when forcibly transferred to new, rich land in the west, but when used in Africa itself to raise valuable raw material. Soon England, France and Germany closed in on little Liberia and an extraordinary series of events ensued. An English illicit slave trader complained of Liberian interference and as a result England seized a large part of Liberian soil which she had formerly sold to Liberia and retained most of the purchase price as indemnity for damages for interfering with Englishmen.

34-2-94

Immediately France turned to the task and claimed the whole French coast on the basis of treaties which she could not, or did not produce. She finally compromised by taking one hundred miles of coast up to the Cavallo River and both England and France drew the international boundary between their colonies and Liberia on the Liberian bank of the river as defined by the summer floods.

Liberia was neither invited to the conference of Berlin in 1885 nor were her just claims to the hinterland regarded. When she saw the pact sealed and England, France and Germany in full cry for her territory she appealed "to all the civilized nations of the world.....having been carried away into slavery and, by

the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own?"

Liberia's appeal was not only unheeded but unheard and her fate would have been sealed long since but for international jealousies. All Europe wanted Liberia and no country was sure of America's claims and attitude. Liberia early realized this and acted accordingly. Talent in any nation great or small is limited: Liberia has produced for her size an unusual number of exceptional men. But their whole genius has been needed to defend the political integrity of their land. She catered to German trade and made Germany a watchdog against any foreign aggression in which Germany had no part. France and England were skillfully played off against each other and America was always a shadow in the background. As a result, despite the loss of more than half her original territory Liberia still lives with forty three thousand square miles of the richest territory on the west coast - well-watered, with fine forests, mountain, plateau and plain; with harbors and rivers.

34-2-95

But surely Liberia's troubles did not end with sheer physical defense - they began there. White Imperialism today knows that conquest is only one method of domination. Economic onslaught with all its intricacies and propaganda is often much more profitable and it was that attack that Liberia had next to face and to face it only partially realizing its meaning and portent.

Liberia was and is "undeveloped". This is, of course, the severest charge that modern imperialism brings against a small independent country. To most folk it seems quite unanswerable. It connotes laziness, inefficiency, waste, inferiority. It was an ex-

cuse in the case of Liberia for wounding her sensibilities, insulting her and sneering at her. And yet "development" today means many things, from ordinary thrift and industry to being a cog in the great machine of world industry. Liberia is, for the most part, virgin, unexplored or half explored forest; she has no railroads, she does not feed herself, she is to some extent living on borrowed funds - a "Croesus feeding on crusts". There is no doubt that that the economic situation of Liberia is precarious but what is the reason for this?

34-2-96

The situation of Liberia is not simply a case of the difficulty of earning a living according to modern standards in a primitive world. To be sure she has a tropical climate to overcome, the scarcity of skilled labor, a problem of transportation and a problem of markets, but the trouble is that world public opinion today will not let a small country like Liberia which can furnish large quantities of palm oil, rubber, coffee, sugar, piassava and a dozen other world commodities, develop simply and slowly. They demand the production of these products quickly and cheaply and they assert the right to interfere if the products are not forthcoming. On the other hand of course this demand means a chance for a primitive country to get modern comforts more quickly than she could otherwise and thus from without and within she is forced in the turbulent currents of world commerce. Here is no particular problem of color or race, it is a world wide problem of private profit backed by the irresistable power of great empires and the unanswerable propaganda of religion and newspapers.

Liberia began early to venture into world trade. Her first effort came at the time of the American Civil War when the isolation of Louisiana sugar plantations led to a large demand for sugar.

Sugar plantations soon lined the St.Paul River and raw sugar was hurried across the waters in little sailing vessels which the Liberians built themselves. For ten years the trade went on. Liberia began to accumulate some wealth and confidence. A new college perched on the crowning heights of Cape Mesurado became a real center of education. Monrovia, the capital, was laid out in broad streets and Liberia sang a new national hymn:

Lb-2-43

"All hail Liberia. Hail!

"In union strong, success is sure.

"We cannot fail!"

Then came economic changes sudden and wide, over which Liberia had no control. Louisiana ~~Liberia~~ began again to raise sugar cane. The beet sugar industry arose, supported by bounties. The West Indian fields came more largely in to competition and the sugar refiners began to control machinery, process and price. Steam carriers succeeded the sailing vessels. The raw sugar industry of Liberia declined and the only way for her to meet the new competition was to secure large capital for transportation and machinery.

In 1870 Liberia tried to borrow five hundred thousand dollars in London. She was allowed to fall into the hands of loan sharks. "Then followed the system of charges, speculations and frauds unparalleled , I presume, in any public loan transactions of modern times" said President Roberts. Liberia actually realized from this loan about ninety thousand dollars and yet England demanded the payment of the five hundred thousand dollars with interest. For a generation Liberia protested, urging the unfairness and iniquity of this debt, while on the other hand England and the world held her failure to settle as proof of her shiftlessness and incapacity to govern and spread a propaganda against her which she has not lived down until this day. In sheer self-defense she was compelled to

acknowledge the debt and to start paying it with accumulated back interest. She is still paying today.

Failing in this effort to get foreign capital, Liberia nevertheless struggled on; with her coffee of fine quality but competing with Brazilian and Java fields and without hulling machinery, skilled labor and railroads; with palm oil and kernels which were more successful but again lacked methods and machinery. Camwood had temporary importance but was displaced by German synthetic dyes. Fibres like piassava sprang to favor and commanded high prices for a few years and then the trade was killed by the monopolists of the coast carrying trade who in a single season raised the freight charges five hundred percent.

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Thus the little black country writhed in the grip of Leviathan. If the masters of world commerce had willed her success there was no reason either economical, physical or mental that would not have let Liberia become an industrious, successful country. But so long as the imperial white world demanded the maximum of such profit from little lands, ~~with the minimum of wage and local taxation,~~ just so long Liberia was and will be at the world's mercy.

The crisis came in 1908. Apparently matters had been improving. The annual customs revenue had increased from $237,000 in 1890 to $375,000 in 1908, and that year Liberia exported $900,000 worth of materials. If she could keep on the right side of the market and perhaps save a little home capital or find honest lenders abroad all would yet be well. But there was one sinister fact: Germany was displacing England in Liberian trade and in 1908 had 55% of the tonnage. England saw a menace to her supremacy. France had had a series of understandings with England as to West Africa and was quiescent. Annexation and direct loan entanglements had not yet swamped Liberia and the method of concessions was next attempted. In 1904 and 1906, Sir Harry

Johnston, the English colonial servant and writer, visited Liberia and published two sumptuous volumes on her resources. Various English companies sought large concessions and finally one in which Johnston was a director received the prize. The "Liberian Development Company" was an English concern financed with a capital of $500,000 borrowed on the credit of the Liberian government. This capital was to be used under English direction for roads, mines and rubber plantations. In a few years the company failed miserably and completely and left Liberia with another vast debt.

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Immediately the English government planned to foreclose. Probably England had come to a full understanding with France and possibly with Germany and she assumed that America was not interested. In 1908 the English consul preemptorily notified Liberia that England did not consider the Liberian government "stable or effective". He demanded English control over the customs, revenues, over a gunboat to be placed in the harbor and over a frontier force on land. Colonel Mackay-Mackay who had already been active both in Africa and England against Liberia was put at the head of the frontier force and immediately planned to foment mutiny in Monrovia and seize the government. But the Liberians rose to the occasion. They pacified the soldiers, forced Mackay-Mackay to resign and appealed to the American Negroes.

The appeal was shrewdly timed. Roosevelt was about to boost Taft into the presidency and needed the colored vote. The Liberian commissioners appeared in America and Booker T. Washington sponsored them at the White House. The result was an American Commission of white and colored men went to Africa and said, as all men have said: Liberia is a rich country, it has patriotic and willing people of good intelligence. There is no reason but that with a chance this country should not develop as an independent self-supporting republic.[P] Through this commission a third loan was engineered to fund and make easier the previous loans and to

enable Liberia again to bid for foreign capital.

It happened that this capital was attracted by the Enchanted Forest for it was this forest of young rubber trees that the Liberian government, fostered by the English, had planted and started. If England had annexed Liberia this plantation would have been extended. As it was, it stood there, as a sort of grey and wistful failure until the Firestone expert looked upon it. Then began negotiations. The Firestone people at first practically proposed to take over the liberian government; that is they were going to furnish capital, buy land, control labor, develop the harbor, loan money to the government, etc. But Liberia balked. Her land could not be sold, but she was willing to make long leases which amounted to almost the same thing. She declined to borrow money of the Firestone Company, but wished to borrow in the open American market. She wanted to retain the power of labor legislation and to exercise the power of taxation. Negotiations went on for some time and were several times at the point of failing. Finally the Secretary of State of Liberia, Edwin Barclay, a shrewd and careful man, came to the United States and conferred with the Firestone Company and with bankers. Then the conclusion of the deal was announced. ~~Just what its terms are is not known.~~ Technically Liberia probably has won most of her points, but what difference does it make whether the Firestone Plantations Company loaned money for Liberian development or the bankers back of the company; whether the Plantations Company owns or leases the land; whether or not Liberia retains power of legislation and taxation; everything really depends upon the attitude of white capital in America. If they want to do a fine and unusual job in imperialism they have the opportunity here in Liberia. They can build up a local organization of control, without a rigid color line; they can allow in Liberia decent and increasing wages; they can yield to the Liberian government satisfactory revenue. This is possible, this is what Liberia and black

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America hopes. On the other hand if the Firestone Plantations Company wishes it can repeat in Liberia all the hell that white imperialism has perpetrated here before in Africa and Asia, and there is only one power that can curb this and that is the black American with his vote.

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That is the way we do in highly civilized lands and then wonder at poverty, unemployment and crime. In Liberia the same thing was possible only the ruin and sinking, would have been the part of black Liberians and the new wealth would have gone to the exploiting white capitalists in Europe. Liberia was a simple land. The results of monopoly, manipulation and improvement overseas were not observed here; the farmers could not meet the competition abroad without new methods, better transportation, machinery, faster and steam vessels. In other words they needed capital and they tried to borrow it. Now borrowing capital is to the simple minded in modern days, an easy matter. My friend who edits West Africa for London investors writes innocently:- "You go to the bank and explaining your resources get the necessary funds at the current rates." You may if you are free, white and twenty-one and then again you may not. And if you are a foreigner and of the "lesser breeds" you may be robbed shamelessly. Liberia was robbed. She tried in 1870 to borrow in London £500,000 at 7% for 15 years. One fourth of this was to pay current debts, a part was to stabilize her paper currency and £300,000 was an emergency fund for new enterprises especially roads to the interior. When the loan sharks got through with these guileless black financiers, Liberia received about $100,000 and this largely in over-priced goods while bonds to nearly the whole value of $500,000 were issued in England and quickly sold to maiden ladies, retired missionaries, small shopmen and others who form the investing public.

The scoundrels got off with a neat fortune while for thirty years, indignant investors urged the English government to make Liberia pay her just debts. The first and great commandment of Commercialism is "Pay" and the second is like unto it "Be Paid" and in the end Liberia paid. She had to. It was a very old imperialistic flim flam game that had caught her. She came nearer revolution than ever before or since and the president who negotiated the loan was drowned on the treacher-

§3 The Shape of Fear

~~by W. E. Burghardt DuBois~~

Faced by the fact of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan the United States ~~has~~ tried to get rid of it by laughing it off. We ~~have~~ talked of masquerading "in sheets and pillow cases"; we ~~have~~ caricatured the Klan upon the stage; we ~~have~~ exposed its silly methods, the dishonesty of some of its leaders, and the like. But we ~~have~~ did not succeeded in scaring it away by ridicule. It ~~is~~ was there. It ~~is~~ was a fact, and those who ~~do~~ did not wish to believe the sinister meaning of its existence ~~should~~ had only to go to the nearest movie and see that Washington parade, that tremendous outpouring of hosts, white-gowned and hooded if not masked. The face of its "Grand Cyclops" ~~is~~ was thrown "close-up" on the screen—flabby, uninteresting, blank. There ~~is~~ was from 1915 to 1928 in the United States a wide-spread popular movement known as the Ku Klux Klan and not the least sinister of its meanings ~~is~~ was the face of its national leader.

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It is quite beside the point to compare the ~~present~~ revival Ku Klux Klan with the Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction days. They ~~have~~ had nothing in common except their birthplace and their methods. The ~~present~~ revival Klan ~~is~~ was a different movement from the older Klan. It has simply made the older movement's name its ~~present~~ starting point.

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Until ~~last year~~ 1925 I was of those mildly amused at the K.K.K. It seemed to me incredible that ~~such~~ such a movement could attract any number of people or become really serious. And then at first hand and at second I saw the Klan and its workings in widely different places. I was lecturing in Akron, Ohio. Now Ohio is one of those states upon whose essential Americanism and devotion to the finer ideals of democracy I have long banked. Here in the middle West that finer flower of democracy, born in New England, and later choked by the industrialism of the East, had, to my mind, gone for replanting and renewal. I looked

for sanity in the United States to come from a democratic appeal to the middle West. And yet, here in Akron, in the land of John Brown and Joshua R. Giddings, in the Western Reserve, I found the Klan calmly and openly in the saddle. The leader of the local Klan was president of the Board of Education and had just been tremendously busied in driving a Jew out of the public schools. The Mayor, the secretary of the Y.M.C.A., prominent men in many walks of life, were either open klansmen or secret sympathizers. It was too astonished to talk. Throughout parts of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana I found a similar state of affairs.

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I am not saying that the Klan was triumphant everywhere but it was there; it was influential; it was recognized; it was important. Again and further west, the work of the Klan has been manifest. ~~Today~~ There lay Klan ~~are~~ in jail at Detroit, Michigan, a young colored physician, well-trained and successful; his wife, torn from her infant child, and several of his friends; and they ~~are~~ were there because they shot at the mob that tried to drive them out of their own homes and that had a few months before driven out another Negro, Sweet, and destroyed his furniture; and that mob was there because the Ku Klux Klan aroused it and sent it; and the Ku Klux Klan ~~is~~ was so tremendous a power in this city which is, in some ways, the most significant of American cities that the Mayor ~~is~~ was openly appealing against its activities.

Or again: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its annual meeting ~~last~~ in May, 1924, in Denver and there appeared before it two speakers; one, a little man, nervous with energy and shrill of speech. He was, without doubt, one of the dozen notable figures which America has given to the world, Ben Lindsay, the maker of the Children's Court. The other was one of the most successful and enlightened governors of Colorado. And yet they stood speaking in self-defense; defending themselves against this city and this state; and the great, dark, menacing thing that turned them from social uplift and political

reform was the Ku Klux Klan.

In the east, New England and New Jersey, the Klan ~~has been~~ was mobilized and need ~~one~~ not mention the South.

What is the cause of all this? There can be little doubt but that the Klan in its ~~present~~ revived form ~~is~~ was a legacy of the World War. Whatever there was of it before that great catastrophe was negligible and of little moment. The wages of War is Hate; and the End, and indeed the Beginning, of Hate is Fear. The civilized world today and the world half-civilized and uncivilized are desperately afraid. The Shape of Fear looms over them. Germany fears ~~the Jew~~ France, England fears ~~the Indian~~ India; America fears the Negro, the Christian fears the Moslem, Europe fears Asia, Protestant fears Catholic, Catholic fears Jew, Religion fears Science. These fears and others are ancient or at least long-standing fears. But they are renewed and revivified today because the world has at present a severe case of nerves; it feels it necessary to be nervous because the Unexpected has happened.

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For years we talked of the possibility of European war with bated breath; then we talked of it jauntily; and then we almost joked about it. While here was a Fear, it was one so far away that it did not seem possible for it ever to materialize, at least not in our day. And then suddenly it became a terrible fact, horrible beyond the dream of men. So that all our other fears today have become portentous. Abd-el Krim could have been ~~may be~~ the vanguard of the launching of Asia against Europe; Ghandi and Nehru ~~Bose~~ may be at the point of destroying the British Empire; the American Negro, despite all precautions, may force himself into a place where he will enter Congress, storm ~~Wall Street~~ the Trades Unions, and marry white women.

Now against such fears as these, there are three possible attitudes. One is the attitude of reason and examination. What does the ferment in the colored world mean and how far is our fear of it but a reflex of its fear of us? What do colored folk really want and do their wants inter-

fere and oppose the just desires of the white world? How far is free, scientific inquiry going to undermine religious sanction? What is there in the objects of the Bolsheviki which should not appear in the objects of American social reformers? These questions indicate one attitude, mental, moral and practical, toward great pending questions; but it is not the attitude which we are disposed to take today in the world.

On the contrary so imminent does our danger seem to some people that they turn to one of two other methods. They are both forms of Force; one an open appeal to force: Fascismo, either in its bold, physical form as it is appearing in Italy and Spain or in its more spiritual form as it appears in American Fundamentalism; in the determination to drive out of the Church every person who will not honestly or by perjury subscribe to a certain, narrow, outworn and partially false creed.

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The third method is the method of Force which hides itself in secrecy and that is the method of the Ku Klux Klan. It is a method as old as humanity. The kind of thing which men are afraid or ashamed to do openly and by day, they accomplish secretly, masked and at night. The method has certain advantages. It uses Fear to cast out Fear; it dares things at which open methods hesitate; it may with a certain impunity attack the high and the low; it need hesitate at no outrage of maiming or murder; it shields itself in the mob mind and then throws over all a veil of darkness which becomes glamour. It attracts people who otherwise could not be reached. It harnesses the mob.

How is it that men who want certain things done by brute force can so often depend upon the Mob? Total depravity, human hate and Shadenfreude do not explain fully the mob spirit in this land. Before the wide eyes of the mob is ever the Shape of Fear. Back of the writhing, yelling, cruel-eyed demons who break, destroy, maim and lynch and burn at the stake is a knot, large or small, of normal human beings and these

human beings at heart are desperately afraid of something. Of what? of many things but usually of losing their jobs, of being declassed, degraded or actually disgraced; of losing their hopes, their savings, their plans for their children; of the actual pangs of hunger; of dirt, of crime. And of all this, most ubiquitous in modern industrial society is that fear of unemployment.

It is this nucleus of ordinary men that continually gives the mob its initial and awful impetus. Around this nucleus, to be sure, gather snowball wise, all manner of flotsam, filth and human garbage and every inhibition of alcohol and current fashion. But all this is the horrible covering of this inner nucleus of Fear.

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How then is the mob to be met and quelled? If it represents public opinion, even passing, passionate public opinion, it cannot permanently be put down by the Police which public opinion appoints and pays. Three methods of quelling the mob are at hand (analagous to the three attitudes noted above): the first, by proving to its human, honest nucleus that the Fear is false, ill-grounded, unnecessary; or secondly, if its Fear is true or apparently (or partially) true, by attacking the fearful thing openly either by the organized police power or by frank Civil war ~~like~~ (as did) Mussolini and George Washington; or thirdly, by secret, hidden and underground ways, the method of the Ku Klux Klan.

Why do we not take the first way? Because this is a world that believes in War and Ignorance and has no hope in our day of realising an intelligent majority of men and Peace on Earth. There are many, many exceptions but in general it is true that there is scarcely a bishop in Christiandom, a priest ~~or minister~~ in New York, a president, governor, mayor or legislator in the United States, a college ~~faculty~~ professor or (public school) teacher that does not in the end stand by War and Ignorance as the main method for the settlement of our pressing human problems. And this despite the fact that they may deny it with their mouths every day.

But here again open civil war like Italy's is difficult, costly and

hard to guide. The Right toward which it aims must be made obvious even if it is Wrong. In 1918 in order to win the war we had to make Germans into Huns and rapists. Today we have to make Negroes into rapists and idiots. Tomorrow we must make Latins, South-Eastern Europeans, Turks and other Asiatics into actual "lesser breeds without the law". Some seem to see today anti-Christ in Catholicism, and in Jews international plotters of the Protocol. ~~If~~ even if these things be true it is difficult to bring the truth clearly before the ignorant mob and guide it toward the overthrow of evil. But if ~~they are~~ there be half true or wholly false, the mob can only be stirred by wholesale lying, and this is costly; or by secret underground whispering, the methods of night and mask, the psychology of vague and unknown ill, by the innuendo that cannot be answered.

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Now there are two things that stand out in this explanation of the mob ~~x~~ of the Klan First, the double tongues of our leaders in religion and social uplift; and secondly, this fear of losing jobs. Dayton, Tennessee brought the first vividly to our minds. We heard of a sudden, people talking a religious patois which educated folk had well nigh forgotten: Biblical Truth; the Plan of Salvation; the Blood of Christ. And suddenly we began to see what results widespread ignorance of modern science not only had ~~done~~ brought but could ~~be~~ bring under the leadership of the demagogue. It sent a thrill of fear through us.

But whom had we to blame? Manifestly, not the farmers and shop-keepers of Tennessee, but those intellectual leaders of the United States who have been willing to subscribe to a religious dogma that they did not honestly believe and yet which they were willing that the mass of people should think they were believing. Was there any surer way of destroying the ability of the Man of the Street to think straight and argue logically? And to stop even his endeavor to think, comes the Fundamentalist; and his answer to Science is Dogma; and his reason for bringing it forward is again, not perverse hatred of the truth, but the Shape of Fear. The

protagonist of today sees the sanctions of moral conduct being swept and battered away, laughed at and caricatured. How shall he meet this wicked thing? He can do it by intelligence and argument and persuasion or he can do it by dogma which is spiritual mob-violence; today he is choosing the mob.

Or again: why is it that in a rich country like the United States, in many respects the richest and most prosperous organization of men in the world, we continually have mobs fighting and doing unutterable things because at bottom men are afraid of being unable to earn a respectable living? The answer is that our post-war prosperity is built ~~more on~~ as much on gambling ~~than~~ as on honest productive industry. Gambling was the result of war, born in war-time and coming from the sudden demand for technique machinery and goods, which paid those who happened to hold them enormous marginal rents. The chance to the gambler, the promoter and the manipulator of industry has come ~~in~~ during the reconstruction since the war, in the monopoly of land and homes, in the manipulation of industrial power, in the use of new inventions and discoveries, in the reorganization of corporate ownership.

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We have today in the United States, cheek by jowl, Prosperity and Depression. Depression among those who are selling their services, raising raw material and manufacturing goods; prosperity among those who are manipulating prices, monopolizing land and mortgaging ability and output.

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How shall we meet this situation? Again we revert to the three paths:- ~~there are several ways:~~ first and foremost by the spread of wider and deeper understanding among the masses of men of the modern industrial process and the method of distributing income, so that intelligently we may attack Production and Distribution and re-make industrial society. Or, a second method, ~~is~~ by hue and cry and propaganda to stop all criticism and desire for change by dubbing every reformer "Bolshevik" and by frightening the wage earner with loss of for the very foundation of his wages. And this is the kind of attack that again easily sinks to the whispering ~~campaign~~ underground and attempts to save modern industry through mobs engineered by the secret Ku Klux Klan.

I can no better illustrate my meaning than by an actual case. The world has forgotten Mer Rouge - the Red Sea of Louisiana where a few years ago a terrible series of murders was laid at the doors of the Ku Klux Klan. It was so horrible a tale that we hastened to forget it before we really understood it. But it deserved thought and intelligent comprehension.

The cotton and sugar soil of the Mississippi and Red River valleys form a junction in Louisiana. It is a section bounded on the south by the scene of Uncle Tom's Cabin and on the north by the Helena riots and on the east by that bit of hell which is sometimes called the Mississippi Delta. In the center of this district, in northeastern Louisiana, is Morehouse Parish and in the midst of Morehouse Parish is Mer Rouge. Mer Rouge has the peculiar problems of a little town in the Black Belt. It is ruled by the whites and since the whites must stand united as rulers there is among them a rather extreme sense of social equality which even wealth and education cannot wholly break down. They go to the same churches and there their social life centers. They send their children to the same schools except the few that go away to boarding school. All this works out fairly well as long as the character of the ruling class of whites is essentially homologous. But today a change has taken place in Morehouse Parish. There are about 20,000 inhabitants there. The white population increased from five to six thousand in the 1910-20 years while the Negro population decreased from fourteen to thirteen thousand. This was because of the migration of Negro laborers to the city and north; so that instead of being a county three fourths black it is today less than two thirds black. To replace these migrating Negroes the poor whites from the neighborhood have been pressing in. They stream in especially from one poor county directly toward the east where there is a majority of poor whites and these new comers bring problems, problems of unrest, of drink, of gambling, of wayward women.

Now Mer Rouge has traditions of the time when its white folk were great land owners protecting their women in elaborate homes

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and having a pretentious social code. These newer and poorer whites coming in not only brought a lower moral tone but a new economic condition. They have become tenant farmers so that between 1900 and 1920 there was an increase of nearly one third in the number of tenants. [P] But the great land owners are still in the ascendancy, two hundred and fifty of them with farms of one hundred to more than a thousand acres with crops valued at two and one half million dollars a year, chiefly cotton, corn and sugar cane. In addition to this the value of the land is rapidly increasing. It has doubled every ten years since 1900. Then too, to further complicate the situation there are a number of small Negro farmers who own their own land, some 231 in all as compared with the 250 large white land owners and 119 small white owners. One can easily scent here tremendous and bitter rivalry between the rich and poor white owners, between the owners and tenants, between the white and black owners, and crushed under all of it lie the mass of black tenants. These tenants are ignorant, 40% of them acknowledge that they cannot read or write and in truth this number should probably be 60 or 70%. There is no modern wage system but nearly all is barter and debt peonage. The county reported only one hundred dollars a year in wages for each worker and this included the white workers as well as the colored.

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Here then we have the setting. Here is the little town of Mer Rouge which proposes to stop the growing lawlessness among the whites and the breaking down of social conventions. Shall it openly appeal to the ballot? Certainly not. There are 6,524 Negroes of voting age and only 3,000 whites; but of course there is no question in Mer Rouge of the black man's voting. A thousand or more Negroes are land owners and able to read and write, but they cannot vote. The white women too are disfranchised despite the law,

so that the voting population consists of about 1,500 white man and among these the new white tenants, shop-keepers, artisans and small land owners, or in other words the lawless and easy going new-comers could out vote the whole aristocracy.

Mer Rouge, therefore, turns to the Ku Klux Klan and when afterward the matter came out, it defended itself and claimed with undoubted truth that the Ku Klux Klan was an organization of the best elements in the community and that they were trying to put down the worst, believing that they could do by secrecy and force what they could not do openly at the polls. It was natural for them to come to this conclusion. Secrecy, force and murder has been part of the Black Belt social economy for fifty years. The landlords lived with their hands on the trigger. Formerly this was because of the fear of servile revolt or the hint of it. That fear is still there; but in addition to that there is another fear and these men did not hesitate. They were used to taking the law in their hands. They face baffling social problems. A white face is no longer a badge of aristocracy. A white woman may be rival to a black concubine. Formerly the relations of white men and colored women were open and complacent. The sheriff's son ~~recently~~ not long ago was killed in a colored woman's cabin. Then too the sex distribution is illuminating: More colored women than colored men and eleven per cent more white men than white women. To this is added the bootleggers and the loose white women. There is no place, no treatment for them. Colored women however decent can always be treated like prostitutes; but unless white prostitutes are treated like ladies the whole scheme of white supremacy fails.

All this led logically, as Mer Rouge thought, to one solution: bootleggers, gamblers and bad women were to be driven out by the Ku Klux Klan. But they miscalculated. The new whites fought back.

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They were not scared by hoods and night gowns. The result was appalling. Kidnapping, whipping, murder almost wholesale, torture that would shame the Middle Age, an atmosphere of terror, hatred and feud that attracted the attention of the world. And in the midst of it all the black driven cattle who form 68% of the population were dumb.

Here were white men afraid of degradation; here were white men afraid of hunger; here were black men afraid of hunger and black men afraid of death. And here was secret midnight oath and murder seeking to right it all.

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~~Here we have still~~ the elements that make for secret mob law: economic rivalry, race hatred, class hatred, sex rivalry, religious dogmatism and before all the Shape of Fear. For years and centuries this method of organized secrecy, sworn to unlimited and ruthless action, has been used to accomplish certain things. Strong arguments have been brought to defend it and it may be admitted that one can easily see circumstances when the only way to make the survival of certain ideas and ideals certain, would be to force them through by secrecy and stealth.

But are we ready to say that this is the case in the first half of the 20th century? Can we for a moment admit this? Is not the very thought a monstrous attack upon all that civilization and religion have accomplished?

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What is then after all, of Truth back of what the Klan attacks? And perhaps first, what does the Klan attack? I will not stop to argue this. I simply quote from their own blank application for membership 7 of their 20 questions: "7. Were your parents born in the United States of America?" "8. Are you a Gentile or Jew?" "9. Are you of the white race or of a colored race?" "13. Do you believe in White Supremacy?" "15. What is your religious faith?" "17. Of what religious faith are your parents?" "20. Do you owe ANY KIND of allegiance to any foreign nation, government, institution, sect, people, ruler or person?"

Here then is clearly the ground work for opposition to the foreign-born, the Jew, the colored races and the Catholic Church. I am not the one to defend Catholic or Jew. The Catholic Church and modern European civilization are largely synonymous and to attack the one is to accuse the other. For the alleged followers of Jesus Christ and worshipers of the Old Testament to revile Hebrew culture is too impudent for words. But in this crazy combination of hates fathered by the Ku Klux Klan (and so illogical that in any intelligent country it would be laughed out of

court), is included the American Negro. What is the indictment against him? He was a slave. He is ignorant. He is poor. He has the stigmata of poverty and ignorance - that is crime. He laughs and sings and dances. He is black. He isn't all black." The very statement of such a bill of indictment is like accusing ashes of fire. The real arraignment of the Negro is the fear that white America with its present machinery is not going to be able to keep black folk down. They are achieving equality with startling swiftness. Neither caricature nor contempt, rape of women or insult of children, murder or burning at the stake have succeeded in daunting this extraordinary group.

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Against it, open reasoning and argument has been employed but it has failed to convince even those who employed it. This was followed by civil war and propaganda (for the open southern lynching mob is simply a method of civil war), and the propaganda of emphasizing "race", "racial" characteristics, "racial" inferiority is a propaganda which according to all modern scientific dicta is unreliable and untrue. Yet these terms flourish and these things are taught in school and college; they appear in books and lectures and they are used because they accomplish what men want them to accomplish, the continual fear and hate of black folk instead of that natural rebound of sympathy and admiration which their work in ~~the~~ a half century deserves.

But as I have said even this propaganda has not been successful. What next then? Next ~~comes~~ came the Ku Klux Klan. Next ~~comes~~ came the leadership of mob and perpetration of outrage by forces, secret, hidden and underground. And the danger and shame ~~is~~ was not in the movement itself, so much as in the wide tolerance and sympathy which its methods evoked among educated and decent Americans. These people ~~see~~ saw for a time in the Ku Klux Klan a way of doing and saying that which they themselves are ashamed to do and say. ~~Go~~ One could a few years back go into any western town from Pittsburgh to Kansas City. The Klan? Silly - but! - You see these Catholics, rich, powerful, silent, organized.

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It is not merely secrecy — we can have secrets from mechanisms & Elensinian Mysteries without essential harm. But it is secrecy for social reforms based on deliberate untruths that ~~[illegible]~~ is sound sensible. And such secret reforms must

Got all the foreigners corraled - I don't know! And Jews - the Jews own the country. They are trying to rule the world. They are too smart, pushing, impudent. And niggers! And that isn't all. Dagoes, Japs; and then Russia! I tell you we gotta do something. The Klan? - silly of course - but - !

Thus the Ku Klux Klan ~~to doing~~ attempted to do a job which the American people, or certainly a considerable portion of them, want done; and they want it done because as a nation they ~~have~~ had fear of the Jew, the immigrant, the Negro. They realize that the American of English descent is not holding his own physically or spiritually in this country; that America survives and flourishes because of the alien immigrant with his strong arm, his simple life, his faith and hope. They realize that no group in the United States is working harder to push themselves forward and upward than the Negroes; and over all this rises the Shape of Fear.

41-9-389

The worst aspect of all this is that when we resort to the underground method for a moment reform it involves a conscious surrender of Truth. ~~It~~ must base itself upon lies. One of the greatest difficulties in estimating the power and spread of the Ku Klux Klan ~~is~~ was that its members ~~are~~ were evidently sworn to lie. They ~~were~~ ordered to deny their membership in the Klan, they ~~are~~ were ordered to deny their participation in certain of its deeds, they ~~are~~ were ordered above all to keep at least partially secret its real objects and desires. Now the lie has often been used to advance human culture but it is an extremely dangerous weapon and surely we have lived beyond the need of it today.

Consequently the greatest thing that we have to fear in any such underground movement as the Ku Klux Klan, a thing that makes it much more fearful than anything that has been alleged of Bolshevism or Fascism, is the danger and ease of it being used for exactly the opposite of the things for which it is established or, which the thoughts or ideals which its leaders

profess. If it is possible to establish a widespread underground movement against Jews, Negroes and Catholics, why isn't it just as easy to establish similar movements against millionaires, machinery and foreign commerce, or against "Anglo-Saxons", Protestants and Germans, or against any set of people or set of ideas which any particular group of people dislike, hate or fear? It may be said that at present it is possible to mobilize larger numbers of people in a common hatred against the Jewish Race, the black face, and the Catholic church than against any similar things, but this is not necessarily true and it certainly is not true in all places and will not be true at all times.

41-9-390

Without doubt, of all the dangerous weapons that civilized man has attempted to use in order to advance human culture the secret mass lie is the most dangerous and the most apt to prove a boomerang. This is the real thing that we had to fear in the Ku Klux Klan. We did need not fear its logic. It had no logic. Whatever there was of truth in its hatred of three groups of Americans could be discussed openly and fearlessly by civilized men. If Negroes are ignorant underbidders of labor, unhealthy and lazy aspirants to undeserved equality there are plain and well-known social restraints and remedies: first, to improve the condition of Negroes so far as it is improvable; secondly, to teach them the reason behind the objections to their rise so far as there are reasons, and above all to examine thoroughly and honestly what the real questions at issue are. If the hierarchy of the Catholic church is in any way threatening democracy in America there is a chance for perfectly open and honest investigation and conference between this young democracy and that old ~~and honorable~~ government of the spirit of men. In fine, unless we are willing to give up human civilization in order to preserve civilization we cannot for a moment contemplate turning to secret, underground methods

If the Jew in self-defense against age-long persecution has closed his fist against the world there is more than a chance to clasp that human hand.

as a cure for anything, and the appearance of such a movement was not a case where we could stop to ask whether the movement in itself had at present laudable objects or not. It does not make any difference what the Ku Klux Klan was fighting for or against. Its method is wrong and dangerous and uncivilized and those who oppose it, whether they be its victims like the Jews, Catholics and Negroes or whether it be those who are lauded as its moral sponsors like the white Southerners, the American Legion and the "Anglo-Saxons", it was the duty of all these people to join together in solemn phalanx against a method which is an eternal menace to human culture.

41-9-391

34-4-33

# The Shape of Fear

Laughing at all

The laughing stiller

~~Adam~~ The Past

Adam

Savannah

New Orleans

Birmingham

Staten Island

Detroit

The Future

Why

The Image of War is Hate.

The End + Beginning of Hate is Fear

~~The~~ The Civilized World is afraid

Germany fears the Jew

~~England fears the Chinese~~ England fears the Chinese

Christian fears the Moslem

Protestant fears the Catholic

American fears the Negro

Religion fears free agency

The Ancient Nerves"

Fascism; Appeal to force of Fascism of Militarism

Mob law

KKK - Power Secrecy

The Underground Medium

Guardian of Innocence - lies

To danger.

~~To~~

**FISK UNIVERSITY**
**NASHVILLE, TENN.**

34-4-35

I am not the one to defend Catholics or Jews. Nor do they need defense. The Catholic Church & Modern Civilization are synonymous To attack one is to accuse the other. And for the alleged followers of Jesus Christ & crucifixion of the Noble & gallant Hebrews Cultures in the unfounded fore Crimes. But in the Crazy Quilt work of Condemnation of Hates, fathered by the Klan (an illogic which no any intelligent country would stretch it and my Comrade) is included the American Negro who is the indictment against him?

He was a slave
He is ignorant
He is ~~formerly~~ poor
He bears the stigmata of poverty & ignorance — Crime
He carries arms & slaves
He is Black.

The very articulate of which are indictment is like accusing ~~the victim of murder of~~ the darkness of Rembrandt & ashes of fire

---

The real argument is to Fear, that you are not going to be able with the present machinery to keep Black folk down. They are achieving economic stature. Neither Conscience or Credit, reduction of their women & morals of their children ~~enlarge~~ keeps, ~~by propaganda~~ words expressing surrender & bowing at the altar have daunted this ever increasing people. There is another method known as rogue & race as emphasis & that is lying propaganda. "Race", "racial characteristics", "race" inherently

~~have to~~ are taking unscientific terms, yet they think they are taught in school & college, they attend lectures because they accomplish what their mind accomplish — The continual fear & trade of black felt instead of the respect of sympathy & admiration what the work in 50 years decennies. What next? When the propaganda of hatred, enmity & dishonesty he does not accomplish it end? Next the K.K.K. — Next the leadership of mind & courage they have send hidden & underground. And the danger & shame is found in the K. Klans, it is in the mind, behaviour & sympathy with the intellect young educated people who see in it a way of glory that which they themselves are ashamed & shy & they get with any means from home, Pulitzer & ~~Lodge~~ Lodge, from Lowell & Chase? The Klan? Silly — but — you Race Riddles — Jews — homestead — Colonel — organized — I don't know! And Jews — Klan a few months. And niggers! And Christ around all — days, Jesus, Christ! I tell you we gotta do something. The Klan? Silly of course — but!

and then — Russia!

The KKK is doing a job

The Americans little understand about

Negroes afraid — afraid of the Jews the immigrants the Negro — they are afraid of the organization that made the Jews & is among the Italians & the Poles

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENN.

34-4-34

IN HIGH HARLEM

The K. P. L. N. T.

I have finished a little job which I set myself in 1925. It was the job of starting a Little Theatre movement in High Harlem. The movement has been auspiciously begun. I leave it with fondest benediction to those better able than I to conduct its growth.

36-1-36

I believe that outside one's general bread-and-butter work, one owes a special and local duty to one's neighborhood. In my 6 years residence in High Harlem I have often wondered just what I could do for the Negro world between 125th Street and 145th Street which others could not do better.

Finally, I tried a Little Theatre. We had often discussed it. We had held a meeting or two, but nothing came of it. I am no theatrical man, though I love the theatre. But I got Burroughs. Charles Burroughs is a great dramatic student and leader. Four times under greatest difficulties he had staged my pagent, "The Star of Ethiopia", using from 300 to 1,200 actors. Burroughs promised and gave unstinted aid. The movement began August 14, 1925 in the Renaissance Casino. Thence it was moved to the basement of the 135th Street Library. The Library officials had long urged such a movement. They gave us use of the basement and put in a stage. Louise Latimer planned curtain and scenery and Aaron Douglas decorated the walls. The name was finally K — P — L — N — T —.

We worked two years. What did we do? We gathered a group of some 50 persons who expressed interest, of whom 25 or more actually helped as actors, boosters, ticket sellers and whatnot. We produced the following plays:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Richardson | The Broken Banjo | ~~Library~~ Repertoire Circuit | August 14, 1925. |
| Richardson<br>Gaines-Shelton<br>Richardson | Compromise<br>The Church Fight<br>The Broken Banjo | Library | May 3, 10 and 17th, 1926. |
| Jefferson<br>Spence | Mandy<br>Foreign Mail | International House | October 25, 1926. |
| Amend<br>Jefferson<br>Spence<br>Spence | Pandora's Box<br>Mandy<br>Foreign Mail<br>Her | Library | January 17, 19 and 24, 1927. |
| Richardson<br>Richardson<br>Johnson<br>Spence<br>Spence | Compromise<br>Broken Banjo<br>Blueblood<br>Her<br>Fool's Errand | Library | April 20, 25 and 27th, 1927 |
| Spence | Fool's Errand | Little Theatre Tournament, Frolic Theater, | May 2, 7, 1927. |

36-1-37

As a grand finale, we entered the Little Theatre Tournament for the Belasco Cup. It is held annually in New York and participated in by Little Theater groups from all over the United States and even last year from England.

To our gratification we were among the four prize winners, entitling us to play at the final gala night and giving us $200 cash. With these laurels won by Burroughs and the faithful players I am resting from my labors and giving the task to other eager hands.

Our financial success has been small but we have paid our debts. None of the players or workers have received any compensation.

Income

| | |
|---|---|
| First Season | $245.21 |
| Second Season | |
| 1st Program | 205.45 |
| 2nd " and Frolic Theatre tickets. | 256.38 |
| Prize check | 200.00 |
| | $907.04 |

Expense

| | |
|---|---|
| First Season | $165.64 |
| Second Season | |
| 1st Program | 210.09 |
| 2nd " and Tournament | 366.31 |

Tournament fee 165.00
$907.04

Our difficulties have been the following:

1. Getting over our ideas to the actors and to the public.
2. Opposing the "ante-room to Broadway" idea.
3. Discipline.
4. Voluntary help.

Our idea of a Little Theatre was based on plays by Negroes, about Negroes, for Negro audiences in Negro districts. Now this was strong medicine for young folk trained to think that no Negroes could write good plays; that they would get away from the merely racial to the unusual and that they would show white folks what they could do. Many of our young people are still arguing this matter and are not yet convinced that Negroes are already writing excellent plays: that our life is full of drama of the highest interest and that while white visitors are always welcome, the Negro audience must be the norm and object of a Negro theater. It is going to take some little time for these ideas to take deep root.

The public was not properly apprised of the object of our effort and our publicity was very poor. I knew what was needed but had neither time nor money: we needed a series of public meetings with talks on the drama: we needed a large number of volunteer workers to talk and tell the world. We needed advertisement and posters. I was disappointed at the small number of volunteer workers who offered, and many who came to work were disappointed because there was no specific work laid out for them.

A third difficulty was the number of young people who came to us with the idea that we were training actors for Broadway. They were looking to a career and earning a living on the stage and wanted to begin with us. This idea was encouraged when two or three stepped from our stage to work downtown. This was legitimate and laudable

but it was not our main object. Acting is a fine career and we must all earn a living, but the object of a Little Theater is Art not Money--it is to do a beautiful complete thing for the sake of the Thing itself and not for its utility. It was difficult for many of the young folk to see this. They were a bit impatient at Art for Art's Sake.

Very critical was the matter of the inner discipline of the group. Plays must be chosen; parts assigned; dates set for rehearsals and renditions. This involved authority, discipline. Our group was ostensibly democratic and yet we all know that many matters could not be left to chance majority vote. With a noble respect for age and reputation, the group was willing to put a good deal of power in my hands and those of Mr. Burroughs, but we tried to continually refer matters back to them. For the most part the spirit and team work was excellent, but there was some open contempt for authority, bickering, jealousy and back-biting. Indeed, our tournament play was nearly ruined by this spirit but the prevailing loyalty came to the rescue manfully and made the malcontents play the game. They capitulated with good grace and although the bickering made our play less smooth and finished than it should have been, it proved a work of art as well as a proof of self government.

Our greatest and final difficulty was a lack of a large enough number of voluntary workers, able and willing to give the requisite amount of time. A dozen of us did all the work and four or five bore the brunt. I was disappointed at this. I thought that 20 or 30 interested folk could give 3 and 5 hours a week to the cause. This proved not true. Perhaps we need to wait a few years for more intelligent voluntary folk who can afford the leisure.

The future is bright for the Little Theatre idea in Harlem. But the seed sown needs a period of incubation. We must make up our minds

36-1-42a

to certain things.

Is Negro life dramatic and interesting?
Do we want profit or art?
Will we subordinate ourselves to authority?

When these things are settled we can build a real Little Theatre movement.

I feel that personally I have done all I can at present. I have presented an idea to the black public, not perfectly, not adequately, but with fair clearness and some success. I have asked and received an amount of unselfish co-operation which was remarkable. I cannot ask Charles Burroughs to do more without adequate ~~co-operation~~ compensation. He has given time, money, heart and strength. He has poured out his knowledge, keen critical ability and magnificent artistic sense, even when it was received with ~~sneers and insult~~ apprehension. Well—that's life. It was an beautiful venture. We loved it even when we dispaired of it.

I let it go now with regretful thanks to all who helped. I withdraw the name Krigwa, which is my own copyrighted property, but I hand on the idea, the experience, the hope to others, stronger, abler and more willing.

36-1-39

(9/10/1928)

Nation Nov. 2, 1929.

# THE HAMPTON STRIKE

The same wave of revolt against impossible conditions that has already aroused Negro students at Fisk, Howard, Lincoln, Shaw, Johnson Smith and other institutions has at last reached Hampton Institute where it has been long overdue.

Hampton is beautifully situated, adequately endowed, and has a fine tradition of human service. Its President is a white man, and while most of its teachers are white, there are several Negroes on the faculty. For many years the Hampton students have been a selected group coming, for the most part, from the best homes of black Virginia. They have been self-respecting, good-looking, healthy and eager young folk, obedient and patient by nature and by Hampton training.

36-1-40

The "Hampton idea" of education has been long and tirelessly exploited. It was based on a program of industrial training for Negroes, the discouraging of college work and the exploitation of certain methods of "learning by doing". This program has recently broken down by its own weight. The South began to demand Hampton graduates as teachers because they were thought to be docile, to "know their place" and not to be contaminated by college "ideals". At the same time the South began to recognize certain required standards of education in their teachers, both white and colored, and even demanded in some cases a college degree.

Despite her "new" educational idea Hampton was compelled to meet modern educational standards. A survey by a Harvard Professor showed that her educational system was not working and above all Hampton graduates were becoming teachers, physicians, and lawyers, instead of cooks, carpenters and farmers. Consequently Hampton was compelled to raise her standards and to establish college courses. She now offers

the degree of Batchelor of Art in Agriculture and Teaching and has nearly 400 college students. But this very yielding to the demands of standard education brought internal difficulties. Hampton was no longer dealing with docile and half-grown elementary students, regimented to strict discipline by the strict military system which she compells all her men students to take, but she had to deal with older college men who were doing some thinking for themselves.

Lately the growing dissatisfaction among these students, has led repeatedly petitions which have been laid before various departments and the President and administrative officers. But usually these petitions have been ignored. There has been a Student Council, but it is dominated by the faculty. In 1923 the students struck for a characteristic cause. The Hampton "idea" was that a student was especially honored if he was made servant to a teacher. One such student chauffeur failed to appear for work and was suspended. The whole student chorus struck and a public concert had to be "postponed". The students today state their grievances briefly thus:

36-1-41

They want their educational system so revised at Hampton that "we shall no longer be subjected to instruction from teachers whose education is below that of the average student." "All teachers in the trade school should have at least high school training". They ask that the whole educational system be improved especially "in the academy, the trade school, and the school of agriculture".

They declare that the institution live up to the courses prescribed in the catalogue, especially in trade school, and in the matter of electives, which they claim are electives today only in name.

Secondly, the students object to the present regime of discipline at Hampton; men are required to dress in uniform and to be members of the military cadet body. They ask that they can be at least allowed to lay aside their uniforms "from Saturday noon until Sunday morning

inspection", and they want the cadet officers chosen hereafter by competitive examination and not by official favor.

They complain about the food. Despite increased payment for board this year the food is just as bad: they still have beans and molasses four times a week. They complain about the laundry: clothes are lost and torn without compensation to the students.

Hampton is a co-educational school. The boys and girls want to associate with each other and the authorities at Hampton seem to regard this as inherently vicious and wrong. It was this spirt that precipitated the present strike. The students want increased social privileges; the right to dance with the girls which is now allowed only to Seniors and then once a year; they want ten days instead of six days at Christmas.

36-1-42

About two years ago college students and Senior High School students were granted the privilege to take young ladies to certain evening exercises at the school; among these, the Saturday night cinema. The plan has seemed to work well. At any rate, the students declare that during the two years no complaint has been made to the student body either through the Student Council where there are six faculty members or otherwise of the conduct of students on these occasions. It is probably true that there was love-making and "necking", but if there is any institution in the United States, white, black or green where such things do not occur we have yet to hear of it.

Nevertheless, on Saturday night, October 8th, during the movie show, the lights suddenly went on at full blast, the authorities merely informing the students that this was necessary "to insure the greater decorum of the escorting parties.

The students were angry. They felt that proper order had been maintained and they regarded the incident as a "direct insult to the student body and especially to the womanhood of the Negro race". They showed their resentment on Sunday by refraining from singing during

church services and by refusing to submit to military inspection. They organized the men and appointed a Student Protest Committee to lay their grievances before the faculty.

Then began one of those silly games of stalemate which colleges are so fond of staging.

Students (Monday morning) Here our complaints.

Faculty (Monday noon) First go back to classes.

Students (Monday afternoon) We'll go but hear our complaints and promise no punishment for this protest.

Faculty (Monday night) We will hear the complaint but we promise no immunity to the men; we will not, however, blame the women or new students.

Thereupon, the faculty on Wednesday proceeded to suspend the ring-leaders and on Thursday the whole school, men and women, new and old, struck again.

The Administrative Board then closed Hampton Institute "until further notice".

Three hundred students left. Letters were then sent to parents and guardians asking that students return: "We shall require all those wishing to return to apply in writing to the Vice Principal for re-admission. This application must be accompanied by a pledge of loyalty and obdience".

Slowly the students are drifting back. Their parents for the most part have joined with Dr. Gregg and the Hampton faculty to beat them into submission. The strike has thus failed and the compelling forces at Hampton are free to proceed with the Hampton "idea".

The faculty is riding high in the saddle. Dr. Gregg has warned the colored teachers who sympathize with the students that they are not wanted at Hampton. An onlooker writes me:

36-1-43

"Very much depends on public opinion in this affair. The authorities are crediting this strike as the work of disobedient boys and girls who were led on to do what they did. On the other hand, each student I have talked with has impressed me with the serious attitude he has taken in the matter—with each one of them it became a holy cause. The strike to them was not a prank, in fact it was partly forced on them; but when they found themselves too deeply involved to back out, they went straight ahead with great religious fervor. Previous petitions have always been ignored; their student council has six faculty members; and they felt drastic action was necessary if they were to be heard this time. Many are arguing that the students went about their strike in the wrong manner; but be that as it may, they carried it through in an orderly and manly fashion that brought commendation on every side.

36-1-44

Through my own observations and experiences, and what I have learned from others in position to know whatthey are talking about, I have become keenly aware of the state of hypocrisy, racial prejudice, and backwardness into which Hampton has fallen."

1928

# SILENT AL

## W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Alfred Smith is not the first American politician for whom the Negroes of the United States have proven a most embarrassing stumbling block. But seldom if ever before have the results and implications of this situation been so clear to all Americans who are willing to think.

Mr. Smith is posing as Liberal. His attitude toward Super-power; toward non-partisan appointments to office; and toward Prohibition, give him some color of right to this definition. Toward the greater and ever more pressing problems of the disfribution of income and ownership of property, he is making tentative approach by noting the economic distress of the American farmer. But all this does not prove his case, and does not make his appeal to American Liberals by any means clear; for he has also made desperate effort to reassure entrenched American capital that he cannot be counted as its enemy; that he will be considerate of corporations like General Motors; and that he will take care of the interests intrenched behind the tariff. All this would make liberal support of Mr. Smith debatable. But there is another matter where there can be no debate.

Mr. Smith is silent about the Negro. Why? Certainly it is not because he has no need of the Negro vote. Migration from South to North, and from country to city, has increased the effective vote which Negroes cast very appreciably over 1916, and considerably over 1920 and 1924. We must, of course, depend upon estimates instead of actual figures, but in states where the real battles of this campaign are apparently being fought, there is a large Negro vote: in New York, 150,000; in New Jersey, 75,000; in Ohio, 125,000; in Indiana, 70,000; in Illinois, 175,000; in West Virginia, 50,000; in Kentucky,

125,000; in Tennessee, 225,000; in North Carolina, 25,000; in California, 40,000. Even Massachusetts has 21,000 Negro voters, and Connecticut, 15,000. There are probably 60,000 Negro voters in Michigan and 125,000 in Missouri. Kansas has 35,000, Delaware, 15,000, and Maryland, 140,000. Of course, in the Southern hinterland, there is little chance that any appreciable Negro vote will be cast or counted. And yet, in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas and Oklahoma, the Negro vote of 100,000 might conceivably be of importance if any real rift was made in the governing oligarchy.

This is an asset that no astute politician—and no one has accused Mr. Smith of not being astute—would ordinarily neglect. Moreover, the Negroes are incensed against the Republican Party and against Mr. Hoover as never before. Some defection from the ranks of Negro Republicans was felt as early as 1912, and Woodrow Wilson went out of his way to encourage it. He openly promised Negroes "Justice and not mere grudging Justice." Led by the late Bishop Alexander Walters, a Negro bureau was established at Democratic headquarters and a considerable Negro vote was cast for Woodrow Wilson. But the Wilson Administration disappointed Negroes even more than it disappointed other people. Wilson refused to appoint the Fact-Finding Commission which he had promised to Oswald Garrison Villard; he refused to recognize the Negro in any important appointments; his whole Negro program succumbered to the Southern oligarchy, except during the war scare. By 1916, the revolt was well over, and Negroes went back and voted with docility for Mr. Hughes.

In 1920, Cox made no appeal to the colored vote and it went almost solidily for Harding. In 1924, however, revolt began again. Davis was a favorite among West Virginia Negroes, and led by William H. Lewis, the Boston lawyer, many colored votes bolted Coolidge.

But all this revolt was as nothing to that which was brewing among Negroes in 1928. If Al Smith had raised a finger to assure American Negroes that, while he was not necessarily a warm friend, at least he could not be classed as an enemy, he would have received more Negro votes than any Democrat has ever received. For the first time in the history of colored Republican politics, leading colored politicians, like R. R. Church, of Tennessee, refused to serve upon the colored Advisory Committee; the head of the Negro Elks openly pledged his organization against Hoover, and there was every sign that the defection thus began was going to reach large proportions.

36-1-79

Nor were the reasons for this far to see. If leading Negroes repudiated Coolidge in 1924, they were even more estranged in 1928. Moreover, Hoover's silence on them and their problems has been nearly as great as Smith's. He has said not a single public word against lynching or disfranchisement or for Negro education and uplift. When it was brought to his attention that the Red Cross was discriminating outrageously against Negroes suffering from the Mississippi flood, Hoover at first denied vehemently; after he had named a Negro committee of his friends, headed by R. R. Moton of Tuskegee, and when this committee confirmed the evidences of discrimination and cruelty, he refused to let the committee publish its findings. Moreover, it was too late then to undo the evil already accomplished.

In addition to this, Hoover has joined openly with the Lily Whites of the South. That is, with those active Southern politicians who propose, not simply to keep the Southern Negro disfranchised, but to prevent the organization of any effective minority party in which the Negro has representation. Hoover knows perfectly well that the disfranchisement of the better class Negroes in the South delivers them into the hands of venal politicians, black and white. Hoover, Coolidge, Hughes, Harding and all Republican candidates receive gladly the

political support of these men in the national conventions. After the convention, Mr. Hoover proceeds to recognize only the white politicans who have supported him. It was very easy to find evidence for accusing Southern Negro politicans of traffic in public office. But the same accusations have been made and proven against white politicians. There is no reason to think that the accusations were any more true in the case of the colored Perry Howard, than in that of the white Bascom Slemp, once Secretary to President Coolidge. But under Hoover's political organization Howard was kicked out and prosecuted while Slemp was put in charge of his Southern campaign! Every Negro political leader in the South regardless of his standing—and there are some who are honest and brave—have been ousted by Hoover and his lieutenants. The result of this on Negro public opinion can be imagined.

36-1-80

Here then, was a chance and an unusual chance for Al Smith, and not simply a chance for political maneuvering. It was a chance to attack in its stronghold the central danger of American democracy. The thing that makes it impossible for the American people today to vote logically or coherently on any subject whatsoever, and that incubus is the bloc of 114 to 139 electoral votes which are out of politics in the sense that no political discussion, no appeal to intelligence, no matter of right or wrong, has any influence upon them.

This was the time for a really great statement. The Governor of New York might have stepped into the arena and said: "I believe in Democracy. I believe that no one is good enough to cast a vote for his neighbor. I believe that poverty and misfortune, even if coupled with slavery and color, are in themselves no reason for caste and disfranchisement. If in spite of misfortune, poverty and handicap, a man meets the qualifications laid down for voting, he ought to vote and to be protected in his vote. He and his ought not to be interfered with by lawlessness and lynching. Education and encouragement ought freely to be offered, and every opportunity for development placed before such people."

Is there any reason in the world why any American citizen, Democrat, Republican or Socialist, should not subscribe to such a creed and publicly announce it? If there is, then American democracy is already a failure. If there is not, then Alfred Smith ought to have made such a statement. Moreover, I violate no confidence in saying that he was asked and urged to do it and refused.

30-1-81

A number of enthuiastic colored folk and friends of colored people put before the advisors of Mr. Smith several modified proposed statements which he might make to show that at least he was not an enemy of the American Negro. He refused to say a single word. He refused to let even indirectly anything go out from his headquarters which should seem to represent him as even friendly to black men. Negro Democratic headquarters were indeed established but they were not allowed to have offices in the regular Democratic headquarters but were given a small "Jim Crow" annex where they exist without real authority, without explicit recognition, and without the slighest initiative.

On the other hand, explicit and repeated anti-Negro propaganda is being sent out by Democratic headquarters. When the Klan accused Governor Smith as having as his private stenographer "a Negro wench", Democratic headquarters at Washington on September 8th sent out the following release:

"Governor Smith does not have, and never has had, a Negro stenographer, and in the employment of Negroes by the State of New York under his administration this has been done only to fill such jobs as they are given in the South, to wit: porters, janitors, charwomen, etc."

The interesting thing about this statement is that it is perfectly true. In all Governor Smith's long career, he has sedulously avoided recognizing Negroes in any way or manner. He has twice vetoed bills which would have given a colored Magistrate to Harlem. He has never given a Negro any major appointment. He has seldom been willing to receive a Negro delegation and it is doubtful if he has met personally in all his career a half-dozen of the 150,000 Negroes of his state.

30-1-82

At one time the leaders of his party in New York City recommended that the late Colonel Charles Young be made head of the new Negro regiment authorized under the direction of the Democratic Governor Sulzer. This regiment had not been organized because of the question of colored officers. The State National Guard was determined that there should be no colored officers, and gave as an excuse that none were qualified. But Charles Young, then a Major in the regular army and a West Point graduate, was a man not only of stainless personal character, but of well-known military ability. The army would have been perfectly willing to loan him to the National Guard. Governor Smith was asked to appoint him. He peremptorily refused and placed a white man at the head of the colored 15th Regiment. Indirectly, but certainly, this refusal led to the ultimate death of Colonel Young in fever-stricken West Africa.

Why now should a man otherwise in many respects liberal and likeable, who has himself come up from the common people, show him so illiberal and petty toward the American Negro?

It is because, of course, that Smith has been afraid of the South, and is today literally panic-stricken. He probably first ignored the Negro because, with East Side ignorance, he knew nothing about him, and shared their economic dislike of Negro labor competition; a dislike which was back of the Irish anti-Negro riots before and during

the war, in Philadelphia and New York. As Smith began to develop in political power and ambition, he recognized that if he wanted to carry the South he must be orthodox on the Negro according to Southern traditions. He has been so, according to Congressman Hill of Alabama: "Governor Smith says he will let us handle the Negro problem as we see fit. What more could we ask?" Then, again, his liquor program and his religion have stirred up trouble and revolt South of the Mason and Dixon Line. He is determined, therefore, not to say a single word that will enable his enemies and the Ku Klux Klan to fasten the title "Nigger Lover" upon him.

36-1-83

This is unfortunate for the Negro. But it is far more unfortunate for the American people. It means that no attempt to liberalize either the Republican or the Democratic Parties, or to start a new Third Party movement, can succeed as long as the present disfranchisement of the Negro supports a Solid South.

Few Americans yet realize this. Many simple souls have a distinct hope that the Democratic Party may yet figure as a liberal party. They have an additional hope that it will never be necessary in the future as it has not seemed necessary to these liberals in the past, to take any stand or attitude with regard to the so-called Negro problem. They propose to go on, ignoring the fact that the 11 Southern states, with an increase of population of over 200% since 1870, and with a theoretical doubling of the electorate by woman suffrage, did not, between the election of 1872 and that of 1924, increase its voting population more than 131%, and that in 5 states of the Southern South, the voting population has actually decreased in 50 years. In other words, a rotten borough system has been built up in the South which has disfranchised 5,000,000 voters and put the political power of a third of the nation in the hands of less than a million voters!

36-1-84

The political power of this rump electorate is astonishing. They send 45 Congressmen to Washington, while a million voters on the Pacific Coast send but 12! They keep their congressmen in office for long periods, thus enabling the South to monopolize a large number of the chief committee appointments. What chance is there that this political power will become radical or even liberal? Not the slightest. Now and then we may get some wild talk from Tillman or Jeff Davis or Caraway. You may get gestures from Carter Glass and taunts from Pat Harrison and solemn rhodomontades from Swanson of Virginia. But when it comes to votes, in every single case the Solid South will be found to be the tail of the conservative reactionary North, and not a single reform movement, no punishment of swindlers, no real investigation of political evils, can depend upon Southern support. The Solid South cannot be liberal. It is built upon the disfranchisement, not only of 2,000,000 Negroes, but of more than 2,000,000 whites. It is built on wide-spread ignorance and intolerance; crime and lynching; provincialism and intolerance; poenage and slavery. Its business is to choke off all discussion among liberal whites in the South; stop all political independence; social freedom or religious liberalism; it strains every faculty to maintain an organized orligarchy based on race hatred, political power and economic privilege. For any sane liberal in the United States to think that this body of death is going to be permeated by liberal opinions, is clear evidence of incipient softening of the brain. And every silent liberal who allows unrebuked this crucifixion of intelligence and growth in the South is blood guilty of the failure of democracy in this union.

If now the Southern Democratic bloc cannot become liberal, what chance is there that the Northern Democrats will become liberal? None at all. In Northern states they may temporarily follow liberal

principles. But nationall they must do as Smith has done: make peace with plutocracy and repudiate the simplest principles of democracy.

Most people do not realize this. They have distinct hopes that the Democratic Party may yet figure as a Liberal Party. But this is impossible. The bourbon elements which give the Democratic Party 114 electoral votes and possibly 25 others, are not only open to no liberal appeal, but are the settled enemies, not simply of Negro voters, but of any voters who would disturb the present established order. They are much more illiberal than any similar body behind the electoral votes of Republican states. This means that whatever flashes of liberal and radical revolt the South may show now and then in state legislatures and in Congress, in the long run they are going to be found supporting primarily the same reactionary policies that the Republican Party supports.

But there are a number of hopeful and happy souls who continue to believe that this very incapability on the part of the two old parties is going to lead, one of these days, to a triumphant Third Party. These dreamers insist that this already would have happened, if Third Party advocates could only "agree". This is nonsense. When and where in the wide wide world have liberal reformers ever agreed in advance on main matters of reform? Certainly not at the birth of the Republican Party in the United States nor at the birth of the Liberal or Labor parties in England. Widely divergent liberal panaceas are slowly pounded into shape at successive elections as certain of them gain popular support. In the United States nothing of the sort is taking place. Everything is muddled. We have not voted on clear political issue for a quarter of a century. And we are not likely to for another quarter of the century until we face the facts.

By a slow process of selection and elimination, the program of a Third Party is clarified and solidified and slowly one of the old parties dies. This program is impossible in the United States because the one political party, the Democrats, which is nearest moribourd in its ideas,

cannot die; it uses the political power of disfranchised Negroes and disfranchised whites to keep itself, so large a minority party, that any diversion of liberals from the Republican Party simply throws this more reactionary party into power. That was the clear case in the celebrated election of 1912. It was the largest influence in the election of Coolidge, when at the last moment voters became convinced that a vote for La Folletee was practically a vote for the Democrats; that with the intrenched and unshakable electoral power of the Solid South, there was not the slighest chance in the world for La Follette to get a single electoral vote save in his own state.

36-1-86

The same situation is before us today. Liberals may, if they will vote for Al Smith. But a vote for Al Smith is a vote for the Bourbon South, and that reactionary bloc will not let Smith take a single really liberal step. They will stand with the Republicans for Super-power; for high Protection; for Disfranchisement; and for War made by an army and navey which they overwhelming dominate.

On the other hand, if the Liberals turn and vote for Norman Thomas they throw their vote away just as surely as when they voted for Robert La Follette. Under the present distribution of electoral votes Normal Thomas has not the slighest chance of carrying a single state even if he should receive six million popular votes.

All of which goes to show that the problem of Negro disfranchisement it not a problem of the Negroes; it is a problem of Democratic Government in the United States.

Max Eastman

c 1927

RUSSIA

There are certain things about the Russian Revolution which, as it seems to me, no one can deny.

First, that revolution had to come in Russia. The government of Czars was indefensible and every attempt at moderate reform was ruthlessly put down with the help of funds and moral support from Europe and America.

36-1-66

I remember as a boy reading of the orgies of Russian Siberian atrocities published in the Century Magazine. I have seen in Russia pictures and exhibits showing the way in which the Russian Government has dealt with attempted reform for hundreds of years. Revolution was due in Russia and it came.

Second. The Russian revolutionary government has attempted to face the greatest problem of modern times: the equitable production and distribution of wealth. Other nations have not dared face it. It is possible that we cannot settle this question by the methods which Russia is today employing or by methods suggested by other reformers and thinkers. But that is no excuse for doing nothing or for withholding our meed of admiration for a country which is at least trying to organize industry for the sake of the workers and to distribute income on some reasonable basis.

Third. The greatest international gesture made by any country in modern times it the Russian proposal for universal disarmment. I have seen the Russian army. It is a tremendous military machine. I know, as everyone knows, that this army was brought into being because of the determination of England

France and America to stop the Russian experiment by force. It is, therefore, a defensive army. Russia proposes to abolish this army if other nations will do the same thing. It is no proper answer to say that the Russians do not mean this; that it is a trick; that the project is impossible. The civilized world realizes today that its greatest threat and incubus is the habit of war. It is nothing more than a habit; a wretched murderous state of mind. It can be abolished if the will to Peace triumphs. Russia proposes this and the assembled nations of the world laugh at her.

36-1-67

I have seen a bit of Russia; just a two months' glimpse of this tremendous land. But what I saw convinced me of certain things: that Russia is in earnest; that Russia is the victim of a determined propaganda of lies. And that whether the present Russian Government succeeds or not, the thing that it is trying to do must and will be done sometime if the world continues to progress.

The Church and the Color Line

The Christian Century 12/9/31

Will the church of to-morrow solve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well-known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the State, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physicially distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant and plunged the, into the sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today, as to how far the earth is inhabited by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

33-6-136

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled with the races that are now dominated, held in subjection either by physicial force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greater power, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

Here then, is the problem of the Color Line and it is not only the most pressing social question of the modern world—it is an ethical question that confronts every religion and every conscience. In concrete form this problem presents itself not simply as the Negro problem of America and the color problem of the West Indies and South America; but as the whole problem of the government, education and industry of West, South and East Africa; the question of the independence of Egypt; the national unity of China; the dominion status of India; the admission of colored immigrants into Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada; the status of Japan among the nations and as numerous associated and subsidiary questions. What will the Church of to-morrow do with these problems? Will it settle them? Will it help in their settlement? Or will it ignore them?

The Church is as we all know, vast in its organization, in its wealth, influence and power. Outside of actual government institutions, there does not exist in Europe or America any organization of men that approaches in power the modern Christian Church. Even when we consider that it is divided into Greek and Roman Catholic, into all the numerous sects of Prostestantism, nevertheless, in the aggregate here is a mighty human weapon. The Church is not only great in its actual ownership of wealth, its control of land and property, its large endowments and great income, its influential membership, its social prestige, but it assumes a power and significance far beyond this physical and social fact.

The Christian Church in all its branches, although with varying emphasis, pretends to know the Truth as no other organization of men. It believes that it has received a divine revelation of the Truth direct from the Creator of the Universe, and that this revelation has since been supplemented from time to time; it believes that through prayer the Church is able to influence and change ordinary courses of nature, and that it possesses at least in some degree miraculous power in various other ways. Armed by this tremendous assumption of inner revealed knowledge of the Truth, the Church declares itself quite independent of mere numbers and has asserted from time to time that One with God is a majority; that consequently God and the Church always agree and that the Truth through the Church always prevails.

33-6-137

In the face of this power and assumption what will the Church do towards settling the race problem in America and elsewhere?

THIS PAPER IS A FRANK ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WILL DO NOTHING CONCLUSIVE OR EFFECTIVE; THAT IT WILL NOT SETTLE THESE PROBLEMS: THAT ON THE CONTRARY IT WILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE AVOID THEM: THAT IN THIS, AS IN NEARLY EVERY GREAT MODERN MORAL CONTROVERSY, IT WILL BE FOUND CONSISTENTLY ON THE WRONG SIDE AND THAT WHEN, BY THE BLOOD AND TEARS OF RADICALS, AND FANATICS, OF THE DESPISED AND REJECTED, LARGELY OUTSIDE THE CHURCH, SOME SETTLEMENT OF THESE PROBLEMS IS FOUND, THE CHURCH WILL BE AMONG THE FIRST TO CLAIM FULL AND ORIGINAL CREDIT FOR THIS RESULT.

This is, I am aware, a harsh and unpleasant judgement but I base my judgement of the future upon what I know about the past and on what is occurring in the present.

Let us take the record of the Christian Church towards Negro slavery. The Diet of Worms, which represented the culmination of the great Protestant revolt against Rome was opened by Emperor Charles V. in 1521. In the same century and under this same ruler the organized

33-6-138

slave trade to America was authorized and established in 1516. What now was the attitude of the Church, Catholic and Protestant towards this man-stealing which it has long anathematized and condemned?

It is a matter of clear historic record that the Catholic Church authorized and established Negro slavery in America and defended and countenanced it after it was established. It did this, I am aware, with misgivings and hesitancy; faced by the appalling cruelty exercised by the Spaniards upon the Indians, the Church sought to substitute Negro slaves for Indian slaves as the labor force of the Western world. It found the remedy worse than the disease, but it did not have the moral courage to abolish black slavery. On the contrary, finding that it had become intrenched in the economic development of the new world, it recognized Negro slavery, and gave to the conscientious the excuse that Negro slavery was a method of redeeming and Christianizing Africa.

Thus the Catholic Church retreated to its age-old and traditional stand: no interference with the foundations of intrenched wrong, only charity and amelioration for the victims. Peter Claver at Cartegena, succored and healed the wretched slaves that poured into that port, but uttered no word against slavery. On the other hand, all Americans, black and white, slave and free, rich and poor, were swept into the bosom of Mother Church. The Color Line as such was not recognized, but Negro slavery was founded and stood immoveable for three centuries bequeathing to the modern world that mass of ignorance and degradation which made the modern Color Line easily drawn.

Negro slavery was thus born with the Protestant Church and was faced by no moral challenge. In the territory which is now the United States, the new Protestantism was from the first supreme. It had its chance to frown upon man-stealing and the new human degrada-

33-6-139

tion. It did nothing of the sort. The Puritans from the first recognized the slavery of "lawful captives taken in iust warres, & such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us." They became the greatest slave traders of the new world. Their rum bought slaves in Africa. They transported and sold slaves for sugar and molasses in the West Indies. They turned the molasses into more rum and bought more slaves. The Quakers bought and sold slaves and held them. To be sure, certain German immigrants, who may or may not have been members of the Society of Friends, protested against this in 1688; but the Quakers found the matter "too weighty". Indeed, William Penn had already recognized Negro slavery and Quakers kept their slaves and bought and sold them until after the Revolutionary War.

The English Episcopal Church recognized slavery without a struggle, but it tried to carry out for a time to make that the excuse upon which both Catholics and Protestants had justified slavery, namely; the conversion of the heathen. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England with the Primals of England at its head, to convert the Negroes and Indians in America. No sooner did this Society begin to work in America, than it met the stern fact that Colonists believed the slavery of Christians not in accordance with English law, which was perfectly true. The slaveholders, therefore, refused to have their slaves baptised until the Colonial legislatures accommodatingly declared, like Virginia, in 1667, "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereupon, the Church readily adapted itself to the perpetual slavery of black Christians and proceeded to baptise the Negroes.

The Methodists and Baptists came to America in the 18th Century and welcomed Negroes to Christian fellowship, so that at the beginning

33-6-140

of the 19th Century, there were 14,000 black Methodists and 20,000 black Baptists. But even these radicals churches took no enduring stand against slavery, their initial distaste soon fading away, as is illustrated by the word of James Habersham, the Georgia companion of Whitefield. He said in 1730:

"I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have had a higher end in permitting them to be brought to this Christian country than merely the support of their masters. Many of the poor slaves have already been made freedmen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the Gospel and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Thus, it is clear that the Christian Church in America in all of its sects and forms easily adapted itself to Negro slavery and from the 16th Century until Emancipation in 1863, it is not too much to say that the chief bulwark of Negro slavery in the United States was the Christian Church. The Church by books, pamphlets, sermons and doctrines, defended the institution of slavery. It inculcated submission on the part of the slave and the responsibility of ownership on the part of the master. There must have been millions of sermons preached to Negroes from the text: "Servants obey your masters for that is well pleasing in the sight of the Lord!"

Even this moral retrogression, however, did not suffice. If the Negro was to be admitted into the Church, what was to be done with him? Puritans and Quakers settled that problem by practically refusing to admit Negroes to their congregations under any circumstances. When the Methodists discriminated against the blacks of Philadelphia, so that they withdrew under Allen and Jones, their Quaker friends and advisers never invited them to join their Society. The Episcopal Church, after their first missionary enthusiasm, began to be em-

barassed by their Negro membership. They segregated Negroes inthe gallery or provided separate monthly services for them. Finally, they set up separate Negro churches, at first with white rectors, and after the Revolution, with a few Negro rectors. But their chief weapon against fellowship with Negroes was to allow comparatively few to join the Episcopal Church. The Methodists and Baptists found themselves encumbered with a vast mass of black followers, whom they had welcomed in their early enthusiasm. They began to discriminate actively and harshly abainst these members. In 1787, the man who founded the great African M. E. Church, which today has 750,000 members, tells of the following incident in St. George's M. E. Church, Fourth and Vine Streets, Philadelphia:

33-6-141

"A number of us usually sat on seats placed around the wall, and on Sabbath morning we went to church and the sexton stood at the door and told us to go to the gallery. He told us to go and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took these seats; meeting had begun and they were nearly done singing, and just as we got to the seats, the elder said: 'Let us pray.' We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and loud talking. I raised my head and saw one of the trustees having hold of Absalom Jones, pulling him up off his knees and saying, 'You must get up, you must not kneel here.' Mr. Jones replied, 'Wait until prayer is over and I will get up and trouble you no more.' With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees to come to his assistance. He came and went to William White to pull him up. By this time the prayer was over and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued by us in the church."

A similar revolt established the colored Zion Methodists in New York City, and gradually all of the colored members of both the

Methodist and Baptist Churches, were organized into separate congregations and in time furnished with Negro pastors.

What was the result of this segregation of black folk in the church? A report of white churchmen in 1833 said:

33-6-142

"There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen and some of them in a worse condition. They may justly be considered the heathen of this country, and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The Negroes are destitute of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac, (i.e., Maryland), to the Sabine River (at the time our southwestern boundary) and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the Negroes. In the present state of feeling in the South, a ministry of their own color could neither be obtained nor tolerated. But do not the Negroes have access to the gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, no. The Negroes have no regular and efficient ministry: as a matter of course, no churches; neither is there sufficient room in the white churches for their accommodation. We know of but five churches in the slaveholding states, built expressly for their use. These are all in the state of Georgia. We may now inquire whether they enjoy the privileges of the gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read by their own firesides. They have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to buy them with appropriate services."

Then came the Abolitionist controversy. For economic and social reasons, as well as moral, the United States followed the world in a revolt against Negro slavery. First, the moral question centered

336-143.

on stopping the slave trade; then on emancipation, and finally, on the treatment of the freedmen. During this whole controversy, from the Revolutionary War down to the Civil War, the Episcopal Church stood firm in its defense of slavery. It refused to recognize that slavery was evil; it was practically silent about the slave trade; and after Emancipation, it was many years before it began any organized effort to aid and uplift the freedmen. The Methodist Church, on the other hand, was deeply stirred by the Abolitionist controversy. It was already separated into white and black congregations, both North and South. In the South, the black congregations were strictly under the domination of some neighboring white Church. In the North, they were under black and white pastors and white bishops, except in the distinctly Negro denominations. The controversy within the Church, then, did not touch segregation by color in the Church. Nor did it really come to the matter of the right or wrong of slavery. It centered upon the question as to whether the bishops and general officers of the Methodist Church could own slaves; and on that question and that alone the Church split into a Northern and Southern half in 1844.

The M. E. Church south became thick and thin defenders of slavery and the slave trade. The northern M. E. Church deplored slavery but did not pronounce it evil or countenance the abolition movement.

The Catholic Church in the United States went through several phases in its attitude toward Negro slavery. Early in the 19th Century, the Catholics grew in power in Maryland and Louisiana, and had many colored members who were reinforced by immigrants from the West Indies, especially after the Haitian revolt. The Church received colored members without discrimination but took absolutely no stand against the institution of slavery. Then, in the Forties, the Northern Catholic Church was immensely reinforced by the coming of Irish immigrants. These immigrants were thrown into economic competition with free

Negroes in Northern cities and bitter rivalry bursting into riots ensued. The Northern Catholic Church, therefore, made no effort at all to proselyte among Negroes and was indifferent to their existence. This indifference and neglect was so complete that even today the Catholic Church in America of all churches has least knowledge of the Negro problem and the least intelligent program for its solution. The only Christian body that gave abolition aid and countenance was the Quakers, a considerable percentage of who began to fight bravely for the emancipation of slaves after the Revolution.

33-6-144

William Lloyd Garrison, reviewing the attitude of the Christian Church as a whole, said in the Liberator in 1835:

"It is a fact, alike indisputable and shameful, that the Christianity of the 19th Century, in this country, is preached and professed by those who hold their brethren in bondage as brute beasts! and and so entirely polluted has the Church become, that it has not moral power enough to excommunicate a member who is guilty of man-stealing! Whether it be Unitarian or Orthodox, Baptist or Methodist, Universalist or Episcopal, Roman Catholic or Christian, it is full of innocent blood--it is the stronghold of slavery--it recognizes as members those who grind the faces of the poor, and usurp over the helpless the prerogatives of the Almighty! At the South, slaves and slaveholders, the masters and their victims, the spoilers and the spoiled, make up the Christian Church! The churches at the North partake of the guilt of oppression, inasmuch as they are in full communion with those at the South."

Frederick Douglass added in 1845:

"I love the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ: I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land. Indeed, I can see no reason, but the most deceitful one, for calling

33-6-145

the religion of this land Christianity. I look upon it as the climax of all misnomers, the boldest of all frauds, and the grossest of all libels. Never was there a clearer case of "stealing the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in." I am filled with unutterable loathing when I contemplate the religious pomp and show, together with the horrible inconsistencies, which ministers, women-whippers for missionaries, and cradle-plunderers for church members.

After Emancipation and in those pregnant twenty years from 1863 to 1883, years whose history has not yet been completely weighed nor written, the world, moral and economic, accepted the fact of free Negroes in America. What attitude should be taken toward these new freedmen and citizens? The Church, which had been busy with nursing and relief of the wounded, became involved in schemes for education, of refugees, almost before it knew it. The extension of the New England ideal of universal education to black folk was an easy and momentus step. Nevertheless, only part of the Church accepted it. The Catholics and the Episcopalians did practically nothing. The Southern white Methodists and Baptists naturally took no part. The Presbyterians took but a small part. The New England Congregationalists, followed by the Northern Methodists and Baptists, stepped forward eagerly and inaugurated what has sometimes been called the Ninth Crusade, the Crusade for Negro education. It was a splendid movement, and has tremendous results, and it was perhaps the one great effort of any considerable part of the Christians in America in behalf of the Negroes.

But it did not last long. Reaction soon set in. The new economic organization which arose after the overthrow of the slave system, and which was determined to base itself upon docile Negro peons, soon influenced the Church to lessen its support of Negro higher education. Many began to express a fear lest the Negro become over-educated and too ambitious, and America began to face frankly the problem as to

53-6-146

just what they wanted the American Negro to be. Was he to be trained as a free citizen, economically and socially equal to other Americans, or was he to be trained as a servile caste, the recipient of charity and good will, but not a full-fledged member of American democracy?

Thus, the new color caste idea arose in the country and swept over the churches. The Christian Church began openly to join those who decried political equality on the part of Negroes; who discountenanced social intercourse between black and white, and who believed that Negroes should be satisfied with humble service and low wages.

By 1883, the Southern ex-masters, the rising poor whites of the South, and the investing speculators and capitalists of the North, had planned a caste system for the Negro freedmen. This system had as its chief tenets the denial of the right to vote to Negroes; the setting aside of a distinct class of low-wage work for Negroes, flanked by a labor legislation which reduced them to peonage in the back districts of the South; curtailment of civil rights involving separation on public conveyances and in public places; interference with family life which left the Negro women almost without protection in law and especially in custom; and for education, it would do away with Negro colleges and train Negroes to be a useful and profitable laboring class for white employers.

This proposed system of caste was naturally cloaked with every excuse of benevolence, but, nevertheless, it posed for the nation and the Church a moral program as great if not greater than the problem of Negro slavery. It involved not simply the continued discrimination against millions of people but a nullification of national law, and a denial of every principle of justice and democracy toward the victims of the nation's greed.

What has been the attitude of the Christian Church toward Negro caste from Reconstruction down until this day? While the Church has

hesitated and made numbers of explanations and excuses, it is fair to say that the white Christian Church has accepted the program of caste for Negroes.

33-6-147

A prominent colored Catholic (a Doctor of Philosophy of Cornell and teacher at Hampton Institute) writes in reviewing a recent book by a Catholic priest, says that"he believes that the Catholic Church is best suited to the Negro, as it has the best equipment to teach him the kind of docility which will keep him in his 'place', and make him most useful to his white neighbors.

The Atlanta Independent, a colored weekly, published in Georgia, says in a recent editorial:

"The white man's religion permits him to appropriate the Negro's rights and opportunities to his own selfish ends. In the division of the public school funds, his religion permits him to take the money the state provides for the education of the black child and use it for the education of the white child; it permits him to pass laws making it unlawful for black and white Christians to worship God under the same roof together; it permits him to Jim Crow the Negro Christian on the railroads, elevators, and street cards. It permits him to deny his black brother the humane treatment he affords his bird dog or poodle pup; it permits him to consolidate county schools and haul white children to school daily and make no preparation for the Negro child to get to and from the schoolhouse every day.

The white man's religion permits him .....to legalize the theft of the black man's vote and appropriate unto himself the divine right to rule and control the Negro without his consent. His religion permits him to look on his black brothers starve and perish while he has plenty to waste. It permits him to shut every door of hope and opportunity in his black brother's face and to pass legislation to reduce him to common serfdom while he rolls in luxury and advarice.

33-6-148

The white man's religion permits him to lynch and burn black men and women at the stake as a pastime, and the white pulpit dare not raise its voice against the barbarity of mass murder. It permits mob violence to shake the very foundation of our institution, and white Christianity approves murder by its eloquent silence.

Surely, something is lacking in the white man's religion; it makes no effort to serve humanity. Surely, he has not the religion that Christ taught and practiced while on earth, that you must love your neighbor as yourself.

This is the verdict of an intelligent Southern Negro in 1930. On what facts is it based? On these gradually the Northern Church has withdrawn its support of Negro education. The Church with individual exceptions has taken no stand against lynching and mob violence, against disfranchisement or even against laws which in most states of the union class all Negro women and prostitutes together so far as legal marriage with whites are concerned.

But above all this and the underlying cause of it and excuse for it, the Church since Reconstruction has absolutely segregated white and colored Christians, and thus denied the principal of human brotherhood in its own organization. Let us note the facts.

After Emancipation, the Methodist Church South, put all its colored membership into an entirely separate colored Methodist Church, and ordained black bishops for them. Today, no Negro can join a congregation of the Methodist Church South. In the North, there was a movement toward the same end. It was suggested that all of the colored members of the M. E. Church should join the African Methodist. But the colored members refused to do this and actually demanded that colored bishops be elected by the M. E. Church. A long controversy followed. And when colored bishops were finally elected, it was understood that they were to preside simply under colored conferences, so that today the

M. E. Church has all of its colored members with very few exceptions organized into colored congregations, with colored presiding elders and colored bishops. To all intents and purposes, they form a separate church, except that they are a recognized part of the General Church Conference. It is this latter fact that has prevented the union of the Methodist Church North and South. Tomorrow, these two churches would unite, if the Methodist Church North would sever the last bond which connects them with colored members. A large number of the Northern Methodists are willing to do this, but they have not quite the courage to do openly and officially what they have done in practice and effect.

33-6-149

The Baptists, having no national unity, have separated completely into colored and white churches, which more and more have absolutely no common meeting ground. Formerly, they co-operated in education and missionary work. But the Negro Baptists resented the patronizing attitude of the whites and the dead line which permitted no Negro to occupy a position of authority in joint enterprises. There is very little co-operation left.

The Episcopal Church since the war has gradually taken up missionary and educational work among Negroes; it has ordained two black bishops for work with Negro churches, and it has segregated practically the whole of its black membership in these churches.

The Catholics were finally forced to face the problem of proselyting among Negroes by Katherine Drexel, who gave a large endowment for special work among Negroes and Indians. But the work was handicapped by the fact that in 150 years, the Catholic Church had ordained but seven Negro priests and most of their schools and seminaries refuse, even today, to admit Negro students. They began the new proselyting by giving charity to the very poor and ignorant, and as these entered the Church, they hastened to segregated them in separate congregations under white priests, who usually had not the faintest conception of the problems of these black folk.

33-6-150

As a Negro Catholic writes:

I do not hesitate to say that the most outstanding defect in the Catholic Missionary field in the South today, is the absence among them of colored priests. Their presence would help white missioners to get in closer touch with their charges, and would ultimately prevent them from growing illiberal and pessimistic in the face of difficulties. It is no wonder that lack of contact with the best and most progressive in Negro life, and confinement for long periods to the "child mind" of an alien people, should develop in missioners themselves a psychology which unfits them for dealing with adults.

The Christian Church thus acquiesced in a new and strict drawing of the color line, not only in political and civil life, but even in church work. Nothing illustrates this better than the attitude of white churches today toward Christian missions in Africa. Remember, that the whole argument of the Church for centuries in support of Negro slavery was that this was God's method of redeeming heathen Africa. For a long time this was interpreted as meaning that a few slaves were to be converted to Christianity; then, as gradually voluntary emancipation freed more of the slaves, these slaves were to return to Africa and be the efficient and logical means of converting the Africans.

Indeed, from 1773, when Ezra Stiles, afterward President of Yale, suggested educating Negro students as missionaries to Africa down until after the Civil War, there were all kinds of suggestions of the way in which American Negroes could evangelize Africa. Negroes themselves began the work. The first foreign missionaries from America were Negroes—George Liele to the West Indies in 1784 and Lott Carey to Africa in 1821. But the time was hardly ripe for any far-reaching effort; American Negroes did not have the education or the vision;

but today matters are different; there is no doubt as to the number of American Negroes who would be willing to work in Africa if they could. What does the Christian Church say to this?

Out of 158 African missionaries in 1928, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian 2 out of 88; the Northern Baptists 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church 5 out of 91; the American Board 4 out of 97.

33-6-15

Of 793 other missionaries to Africa sent out by American missionary societies, including the United Presbyterians, the United Missionary Society, the United Brethren, the African Inland Mission, the Friends, the Brethren-in-Christ, the Southern Baptists, the Women's General Mission Society of the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutherans, and the Sudan Interior Mission, there is not a single American Negro!

The reasons for not sending American Negroes to teach Africans are various:

For instance, in the case of the African Inland Mission: "The question has never been raised." The United Missionary Society says: "The matter has not come before the Board." The Foreign Missionary Society of the United Brethren-in-Christ has "not made it a practice to send out American Negroes"; the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions has "never formulated any policy concerning the sending to Africa of American Negroes as missionaries"; the Foreign Mission Board of the Brethren-in-Christ, "have not had any applicants"; the Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church has "never discussed the matter"; the Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church has "no policy"!

On the other hand, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is frank: "Our policy is not to send American Negroes as missionaries"; also, the Sudan Interior Mission has a policy and states it plainly: "Our brethren from the American Negro churches

practically have to live on the same plane almost as their white brethren, and this creates a problem." The Presbyterian Church began sending Negro missionaries and then stopped. Only last year have they finally been induced to send two. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society tries to put the whole onus upon Negro churches, and declares that "no qualified Negro applicants" have applied in recent years. If they should apply, the Society does not promise to send them, but only to give the matter "most careful consideration." The Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church says that "no action for or against the sending of Negroes to work as missionaries in Africa has been taken. I can see complications that might be unpleasant and hard to surmount." The Friends and others also admit the fact that several foreign governments, and especially the Belgian Congo, object to American Negroes.

33-6-152

As a matter of fact, missionary societies of the United States started out, for the most part, with the obvious policy of sending Negroes to convert Africa. Then they found out that this involved social equality between white and black missionaries; the paying of Negro missionaries on the same scale as white missionaries, and their promotion and treatment as civilized beings. With few exceptions, American white Christianity could not stand this, and they consequently changed their policy.

Here, then, we may well pause and let the matter stand. With this summing up of the situation, the Christian Church in this country, on the whole, instead of exhibiting itself as a unifying human force, moving toward the brotherhood of man, regardless of lines of color, condition or caste, it has shown less unity than almost any other human institution. In education, we have a great deal of separation by color and race; nevertheless, throughout most of the country, and in the case of the majority of its inhabitants, white and colored

children attend the same school, and to some extent, white and colored teachers teach regardless of race, as in New York City. In labor and general economic organization, there is widespread separation by race in the United States. Nevertheless, both white and black labor is employed in the United States side by side in many of the great industries. In literature and art, and to some extent in science, there is a great deal less discrimination by race than there is in Christianity. Even in matters of amusement and public enjoyment, colored people more often attend the same parks, the same theater and the same movie house than they attend the same church.

33-6-153

Thus, the record of the Church, so far as the Negro is concerned, has been almost complete acquiescence in caste, until today there is in the United States no organization that is so completely split along the Color Line as the Christian Church,—the very organization that according to its tenets and beliefs should be no respecter of persons and should draw no line between white or black, Jew or Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

Looking these facts squarely in the face, what can we say as to the possibility of the Church in the future settling the problem of the Color Line and leading the world toward treating Negroes and colored peoples as men and brothers.

If we conceive the Church as a social organization of well-meaning but average human beings, we can only hope at best that they will not lead public opinion toward world brotherhood but that as they see the light and the trend, they will be willing, slowly but surely, to follow, and just as they come to recognize the freedom of the slave, they will in time come to conceive the essential equality of all men. But it is too much to imagine that such an organization will a wealth and power and withstand respectable conservation by choosing the right first and at any social cost.

33-6-154

But this conception of the Church is violently repudiated by all but the most advanced and radical religionists. The Church, as a whole, insists on a divine mission and divine guidance and the indisputable possession of the Truth. Is there anything in the record of the Church in America in regard to the Negro or any of its branches, to prove this? There is not. If the treatment of the Negro by the Christian Church has been divine, this is an attack on the conception of God more blasphemous than any which the Church has always been so ready and eager to punish.

Thus, judging from the past, I see no reason to think that the attitude of the Christian Church toward problems of race and caste is going to be anything different from its attitude in the past. It is mainly a social organization, pathetically timid and human; it is going to stand on the side of wealth and power; it is going to espouse any cause which is popular with hypocritical smugness; it is going to transgress its own fine ethical statements and be deaf to its own Christ. And then when human brotherhood is a fact and the Color Line is remembered only as a fatal aberration and disease of the 20th Century, the Christian Church, if it still survives, is going to take the same attitude it took after Emancipation in 1863; from a thousand pulpits it will thunder the triumph of Christianity and the way in which the Lord has lead His People.

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# The Church and the Color Line

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of The Crisis

Will the church of to-morrow solve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well-known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the State, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physicially distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant and plunged them into the sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today, as to how far the earth is inhabited by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled with the races that are now dominated, held in subjection either by physicial force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greater power, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

33-6-156

Here then, is the problem of the Color Line and it is not only the most pressing social question of the modern world—it is an ethical question that confronts every religion and every conscience. In concrete form this problem presents itself not simply as the Negro problem of America and the color problem of the West Indies and South America; but as the whole problem of the government, education and industry of West, South and East Africa; the question of the independence of Egypt; the national unity of China; the dominion status of India; the admission of colored immigrants into Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada; the status of Japan among the nations and as numerous associated and subsidiary questions. What will the Church of to-morrow do with these problems? Will it settle them? Will it help in their settlement? Or will it ignore them?

The Church is as we all know, vast in its organization, in its wealth, influence and power. Outside of actual government institutions, there does not exist in Europe or America any organization of men that approaches in power the modern Christian Church. Even when we consider that it is divided into Greek and Roman Catholic, into all the numerous sects of Prostestantism, nevertheless, in the aggregate here is a mighty human weapon. The Church is not only great in its actual ownership of wealth, its control of land and property, its large endowments and great income, its influential membership, its social prestige, but it assumes a power and significance far beyond this physical and social fact.

The Christian Church in all its branches, although with varying emphasis, pretends to know the Truth as no other organization of men. It believes that it has received a divine revelation of the Truth direct from the Creator of the Universe, and that this revelation has since been supplemented from time to time; it believes that through prayer the Church is able to influence and change ordinary courses of nature, and that it possesses at least in some degree miraculous power in various other ways. Armed by this tremendous assumption of inner revealed knowledge of the Truth, the Church declares itself quite independent of mere numbers and has asserted from time to time that One with God is a majority; that consequently God and the Church always agree and that the Truth through the Church always prevails.

In the face of this power and assumption what will the Church do towards settling the race problem in America and elsewhere?

33-6-157

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THIS PAPER IS A FRANK ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WILL DO NOTHING CONCLUSIVE OR EFFECTIVE; THAT IT WILL NOT SETTLE THESE PROBLEMS: THAT ON THE CONTRARY IT WILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE AVOID THEM: THAT IN THIS, AS IN NEARLY EVERY GREAT MODERN MORAL CONTROVERSY, IT WILL BE FOUND CONSISTENTLY ON THE WRONG SIDE AND THAT WHEN, BY THE BLOOD AND TEARS OF RADICALS, AND FANATICS, OF THE DESPISED AND REJECTED, LARGELY OUTSIDE THE CHURCH, SOME SETTLEMENT OF THESE PROBLEMS IS FOUND, THE CHURCH WILL BE AMONG THE FIRST TO CLAIM FULL AND ORIGINAL CREDIT FOR THIS RESULT.

This is, I am aware, a harsh and unpleasant judgement but I base my judgement of the future upon what I know about the past and on what is occurring in the present.

Let us take the record of the Christian Church towards Negro slavery. The Diet of Worms, which represented the culmination of the great Protestant revolt against Rome was opened by Emperor Charles V. in 1521. In the same century and under this same ruler the organized

slave trade to America was authorized and established in 1516. What now was the attitude of the Church, Catholic and Protestant towards this man-stealing which it has long anathematized and condemned?

It is a matter of clear historic record that the Catholic Church authorized and established Negro slavery in America and defended and countenanced it after it was established. It did this, I am aware, with misgivings and hesitancy; faced by the appalling cruelty exercised by the Spaniards upon the Indians, the Church sought to substitute Negro slaves for Indian slaves as the labor force of the Western world. It found the remedy worse than the disease, but it did not have the moral courage to abolish black slavery. On the contrary, finding that it had become intrenched in the economic development of the new world, it recognized Negro slavery, and gave to the conscientious the excuse that Negro slavery was a method of redeeming and Christianizing Africa.

Thus the Catholic Church retreated to its age-old and traditional stand: no interference with the foundations of intrenched wrong, only charity and amelioration for the victims. Peter Claver at Cartegena, succored and healed the wretched slaves that poured into that port, but uttered no word against slavery. On the other hand, all Americans, black and white, slave and free, rich and poor, were swept into the bosom of Mother Church. The Color Line as such was not recognized, but Negro slavery was founded and stood immoveable for three centuries bequeathing to the modern world that mass of ignorance and degradation which made the modern Color Line easily drawn.

Negro slavery was thus born with the Protestant Church and was faced by no moral challenge. In the territory which is now the United States, the new Protestantism was from the first supreme. It had its chance to frown upon man-stealing and the new human degrada-

tion. It did nothing of the sort. The Puritans from the first recognized the slavery of "lawful captives taken in iust warres, & such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us." They became the greatest slave traders of the new world. Their rum bought slaves in Africa. They transported and sold slaves for sugar and molasses in the West Indies. They turned the molasses into more rum and bought more slaves. The Quakers bought and sold slaves and held them. To be sure, certain German immigrants, who may or may not have been members of the Society of Friends, protested against this in 1688; but the Quakers found the matter "too weighty". Indeed, William Penn had already recognized Negro slavery and Quakers kept their slaves and bought and sold them until after the Revolutionary War.

The English Episcopal Church recognized slavery without a struggle, but it tried [redacted] for a time to make real the excuse upon which both Catholics and Protestants had justified slavery, namely; the conversion of the heathen. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England with the Primate of England at its head, to convert the Negroes and Indians in America. No sooner did this Society begin to work in America, than it met the stern fact that Colonists believed the slavery of Christians not in accordance with English law, which was perfectly true. The slaveholders, therefore, refused to have their slaves baptised until the Colonial legislatures accommodatingly declared, like Virginia, in 1667, "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereupon, the Church readily adapted itself to the perpetual slavery of black Christians and proceeded to baptise the Negroes.

The Methodists and Baptists came to America in the 18th Century and welcomed Negroes to Christian fellowship, so that at the beginning

of the 19th Century, there were 14,000 black Methodists and 20,000 black Baptists. But even these radicals churches took no enduring stand against slavery, their initial distaste soon fading away, as is illustrated by the word of James Habersham, the Georgia companion of Whitefield. He said in 1730:

"I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have had a higher end in permitting them to be brought to this Christian country than merely the support of their masters. Many of the poor slaves have already been made freedmen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the Gospel and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

33-6-160

Thus, it is clear that the Christian Church in America in all of its sects and forms easily adapted itself to Negro slavery and from the 16th Century until Emancipation in 1863, it is not too much to say that the chief bulwark of Negro slavery in the United States was the Christian Church. The Church by books, pamphlets, sermons and doctrines, defended the institution of slavery. It inculcated submission on the part of the slave and the responsibility of ownership on the part of the master. There must have been millions of sermons preached to Negroes from the text: "Servants obey your masters for that is well pleasing in the sight of the Lord!"

Even this moral retrogression, however, did not suffice. If the Negro was to be admitted into the Church, what was to be done with him? Puritans and Quakers settled that problem by practically refusing to admit Negroes to their congregations under any circumstances. When the Methodists discriminated against the blacks of Philadelphia, so that they withdrew under Allen and Jones, their Quaker friends and advisers never invited them to join their Society. The Episcopal Church, after their first missionary enthusiasm, began to be em-

barassed by their Negro membership. They segregated Negroes inthe gallery or provided separate monthly services for them. Finally, they set up separate Negro churches, at first with white rectors, and after the Revolution, with a few Negro rectors. But their chief weapon against fellowship with Negroes was to allow comparatively few to join the Episcopal Church. The Methodists and Baptists found themselves encumbered with a vast mass of black followers, whom they had welcomed in their early enthusiasm. They began to discriminate actively and harshly against these members. In 1787, the man who founded the great African M. E. Church, which today has 750,000 members, tells of the [redacted] incident in St. George's M. E. Church, Fourth and Vine Streets, Philadelphia; ~~when Negroes were ordered from there knees to pray in the back of the gallery~~

"~~A number of us usually~~ sat on seats placed around the wall, ~~and~~ on Sabbath morning we went to church and the sexton stood at the door and told us to go to the gallery. He told us to go and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took these seats; meeting had begun and they were nearly done singing, and just as we got to the seats, the elder said: 'Let us pray.' We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and loud talking. I raised my head and saw one of the trustees having hold of Absalom Jones, pulling him up off his knees and saying, 'You must get up, you must not kneel here.' Mr. Jones replied, 'Wait until prayer is over and I will get up and trouble you no more.' With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees to come to his assistance. He came and went to William White to pull him up. By this time the prayer was over and We all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued by us in the church."

A similar revolt established the colored Zion Methodists in New York City, and gradually all of the colored members of both the

Methodist and Baptist Churches, were organized into separate congregations and in time furnished with Negro pastors.

What was the result of this segregation of black folk in the church? A report of white churchmen in 1833 said:

"There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen and some of them in a worse condition. They may justly be considered the heathen of this country, and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The Negroes are destitute of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac, (i.e., Maryland), to the Sabine River (at the time our southwestern boundary) and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the Negroes." In the present state of feeling in the South, a ministry of their own color could neither be obtained nor tolerated. But do not the Negroes have access to the gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, no. The Negroes have no regular and efficient ministry: as a matter of course, no churches; neither is there sufficient room in the white churches for their accommodation. We know of but five churches in the slaveholding states, built expressly for their use. These are all in the state of Georgia. We may now inquire whether they enjoy the privileges of the gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read by their own firesides. They have no family altars, and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to buy them with appropriate services."

Then came the Abolitionist controversy. For economic and social reasons, as well as moral, the United States followed the world in a revolt against Negro slavery. First, the moral question centered

12 on stopping the slave trade; then on emancipation, and finally, on the treatment of the freedmen. During this whole controversy, from the Revolutionary War down to the Civil War, the Episcopal Church stood firm in its defense of slavery. It refused to recognize that slavery was evil; it was practically silent about the slave trade; and after Emancipation, it was many years before it began any organized effort to aid and uplift the freedmen. The Methodist Church, on the other hand, was deeply stirred by the Abolitionist controversy. It was already separated into white and black congregations, both North and South. In the South, the black congregations were strictly under the domination of some neighboring white Church. In the North, they were under black and white pastors and white bishops, except in the distinctly Negro denominations. The controversy within the Church, then, did 13 not touch segregation by color in the Church. Nor did it really come to the matter of the right or wrong of slavery. It centered upon the question as to whether the bishops and general officers of the Methodist Church could own slaves; and on that question and that alone the Church split into a Northern and Southern half in 1844.

33-6-163

The M. E. Church South became thick and thin defenders of slavery and the slave trade. The northern M. E. Church deplored slavery but did not pronounce it evil or countenance the abolition movement.

The Catholic Church in the United States went through several phases in its attitude toward Negro slavery. Early in the 19th Century, the Catholics grew in power in Maryland and Louisiana, and had many colored members who were reinforced by immigrants from the West Indies, especially after the Haitian revolt. The Church received colored members without discrimination but took absolutely no stand against the institution of slavery. Then, in the Forties, the Northern Catholic Church was immensely reinforced by the coming of Irish immigrants. These immigrants were thrown into economic competition with free

Negroes in Northern cities and bitter rivalry bursting into riots ensued. The Northern Catholic Church, therefore, made no effort at all to proselyte among Negroes and was indifferent to their existence. This indifference and neglect was so complete that even today the Catholic Church in America of all churches has least knowledge of the Negro problem and the least intelligent program for its solution. The only Christian body that gave abolition aid and countenance was the Quakers, a considerable percentage of whom began to fight bravely for the emancipation of slaves after the Revolution.

33-6-164

William Lloyd Garrison, reviewing the attitude of the Christian Church as a whole, said in the Liberator in 1835:

"It is a fact, alike indisputable and shameful, that the Christianity of the 19th Century, in this country, is preached and professed by those who hold their brethren in bondage as brute beasts! and and so entirely polluted has the Church become, that it has not moral power enough to excommunicate a member who is guilty of man-stealing! Whether it be Unitarian or Orthodox, Baptist or Methodist, Universalist or Episcopal, Roman Catholic or Christian, it is full of innocent blood--it is the stronghold of slavery--it recognizes as members those who grind the faces of the poor, and usurp over the helpless the prerogatives of the Almighty! At the South, slaves and slaveholders, the masters and their victims, the spoilers and the spoiled, make up the Christian Church! The churches at the North partake of the guilt of oppression, inasmuch as they are in full communion with those at the South."

14

Frederick Douglass added in 1845:

"I love the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ: I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land. Indeed, I can see no reason, but the most deceitful one, for calling

15 the religion of this land Christianity." I look upon it as the climax of all misnomers, the boldest of all frauds, and the grossest of all libels. Never was there a clearer case of "stealing the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in." I am filled with unutterable loathing when I contemplate the religious pomp and show, together with the horrible inconsistencies, which surround me, we have sycophantic ministers, women-whippers for missionaries, and cradle-plunderers for church members."

33-61-165

After Emancipation and in those pregnant twenty years from 1863 to 1883, years whose history has not yet been completely weighed nor written, the world, moral and economic, accepted the fact of free Negroes in America. What attitude should be taken toward these new freedmen and citizens? The Church, which had been busy with nursing and relief of the wounded, became involved in schemes for education of

16 refugees, almost before it knew it. The extension of the New England ideal of universal education to black folk was an easy and momentus step. Nevertheless, only part of the Church accepted it. The Catholics and the Episcopalians did practically nothing. The Southern white Methodists and Baptists naturally took no part. The Presbyterians took but a small part. The New England Congregationalists, followed by the Northern Methodists and Baptists, stepped forward eagerly and inaugurated what has sometimes been called the Ninth Crusade, the Crusade for Negro education. It was a splendid movement, and has had tremendous results, and it was perhaps the one great effort of any considerable part of the Christians in America in behalf of the Negroes.

But it did not last long. Reaction soon set in. The new economic organization which arose after the overthrow of the slave system, and which was determined to base itself upon docile Negro peons, soon influenced the Church to lessen its support of Negro higher education. Many began to express a fear lest the Negro become over-educated

17 and too ambitious, and America began to face frankly the problem as to

just what they wanted the American Negro to be. Was he to be trained as a free citizen, economically and socially equal to other Americans, or was he to be trained as a servile caste, the recipient of charity and good will, but not a full-fledged member of American democracy?

Thus, the new color caste idea arose in the country and swept over the churches. The Christian Church began openly to join those who decried political equality on the part of Negroes; who discountenanced social intercourse between black and white, and who believed that Negroes should be satisfied with humble service and low wages.

By 1883, the Southern ex-masters, the rising poor whites of the South, and the investing speculators and capitalists of the North, had planned a caste system for the Negro freedmen. This system had as its chief tenets the denial of the right to vote to Negroes; the setting aside of a distinct class of low-wage work for Negroes, flanked by a labor legislation which reduced them to peonage in the back districts of the South; curtailment of civil rights involving separation on public conveyances and in public places; interference with family life which left the Negro women almost without protection in law and especially in custom; and for education which would do away with Negro colleges and train Negroes to be a useful and profitable laboring class for white employers.

This proposed system of caste was naturally cloaked with every excuse of benevolence, but, nevertheless, it posed for the nation and the Church a moral problem as great if not greater than the problem of Negro slavery. It involved not simply the continued discrimination against millions of people but a nullification of national law, and a denial of every principle of justice and democracy toward the victims of the nation's greed.

What has been the attitude of the Christian Church toward Negro caste from Reconstruction down until this day? While the Church has

20 hesitated and made numbers of explanations and excuses, it is fair to say that the white Christian Church has accepted the program of caste for Negroes.

A prominent colored Catholic (a Doctor of Philosophy of Cornell and teacher at Hampton Institute) writes in reviewing a recent book by a Catholic priest, [redacted] that the latter believes that the Catholic Church is best suited to the Negro, as it has the best equipment to teach him the kind of docility which will keep him in his 'place', and make him most useful to his white neighbors."

33-6-167

The Atlanta Independent, a colored weekly, published in Georgia, says in a recent editorial:

"The white man's religion permits him to appropriate the Negro's rights and opportunities to his own selfish ends." In the division of the public school funds, his religion permits him to take the money the state provides for the education of the black child and use it for the education of the white child; it permits him to pass laws making it unlawful for black and white Christians to worship God under the same roof together; it permits him to Jim Crow the Negro Christian on the railroads, elevators, and street cards. It permits him to deny his black brother the humane treatment he affords his bird dog or poodle pup; it permits him to consolidate county schools and haul white children to school daily and make no preparation for the Negro child to get to and from the schoolhouse every day.

"The white man's religion permits him .....to legalize the theft of the black man's vote and appropriate unto himself the divine right to rule and control the Negro without his consent. His religion permits him to look on his black brothers starve and perish while he has plenty to waste. It permits him to shut every door of hope and opportunity in his black brother's face and to pass legislation to reduce him to common serfdom while he rolls in luxury and avarice.

"The white man's religion permits him to lynch and burn black men and women at the stake as a pastime, and the white pulpit dare not raise its voice against the barbarity of mass murder. It permits mob violence to shake the very foundation of our institution, and white Christianity approves murder by its eloquent silence.

"Surely, something is lacking in the white man's religion; it makes no effort to serve humanity. Surely, he has not the religion that Christ taught and practiced while on earth, that you must love your neighbor as yourself."

33-6-168

This is the verdict of an intelligent Southern Negro in 1930. On what facts is it based? On these: Gradually the Northern Church has ~~withdrawn~~ lessened its support of Negro education. The Church with individual exceptions has taken no stand against lynching and mob violence, against disfranchisement or even against laws which in most states of the union class all Negro women and prostitutes together so far as legal marriage with whites are concerned.

But above all this and the underlying cause of it and excuse for it, the Church since Reconstruction has absolutely segregated white and colored Christians, and thus denied the principal of human brotherhood in its own organization. Let us note the facts.

After Emancipation, the Methodist Church South, put all its colored membership into an entirely separate colored Methodist Church, and ordained black bishops for them. Today, no Negro can join a congregation of the Methodist Church South. In the North, there was a movement toward the same end. It was suggested that all of the colored members of the M. E. Church should join the African Methodist S. But the colored members refused to do this and actually demanded that colored bishops be elected by the M. E. Church. A long controversy followed. And when colored bishops were finally elected, it was understood that they were to preside simply ~~under~~ over colored conferences; so that today the

M. E. Church has all of its colored members with very few exceptions organized into colored congregations, with colored presiding elders and colored bishops. To all intents and purposes, they form a separate church, except that they are a recognized part of the General Church Conference. It is this latter fact that has prevented the union of the Methodist Church North and South. Tomorrow, these two churches would unite, if the Methodist Church North would sever the last bond which connects them with colored members. A large number of the Northern Methodists are willing to do this, but they have not quite the courage to do openly and officially what they have done in practice and effect.

The Baptists, having no national unity, have separated completely into colored and white churches, which more and more have absolutely no common meeting ground. Formerly, they co-operated in education and missionary work. But the Negro Baptists resented the patronizing attitude of the whites and the dead line which permitted no Negro to occupy a position of authority in joint enterprises. There is very little co-operation left.

The Episcopal Church since the war has gradually taken up missionary and educational work among Negroes; but it has ordained two black bishops for work with Negro churches, and it has segregated practically the whole of its black membership in these churches.

The Catholics were finally forced to face the problem of proselyting among Negroes by Katherine Drexel, who gave a large endowment for special work among Negroes and Indians. But the work was handicapped by the fact that in 150 years, the Catholic Church had ordained but seven Negro priests and most of their schools and seminaries refuse, even today, to admit Negro students. They began the new proselyting by giving charity to the very poor and ignorant, and as these entered the Church, they hastened to segregate ~~them~~ in separate congregations under white priests, who usually had not the faintest conception of the problems of these black folk.

As a Negro Catholic writes:

"I do not hesitate to say that the most outstanding defect in the Catholic Missionary field in the South today, is the absence among them of colored priests. Their presence would help white missioners to get in closer touch with their charges, and would ultimately prevent them from growing illiberal and pessimistic in the face of difficulties. It is no wonder that lack of contact with the best and most progressive in Negro life, and confinement for long periods to the ('child mind') of an alien people, should develop in missioners themselves a psychology which unfits them for dealing with adults."

The Christian Church thus acquiesced in a new and strict drawing of the color line, not only in political and civil life, but even in church work. Nothing illustrates this better than the attitude of white churches today toward Christian missions in Africa. Remember, that the whole argument of the Church for centuries in support of Negro slavery was that this was God's method of redeeming heathen Africa. For a long time this was interpreted as meaning that a few slaves were to be converted to Christianity; then, as gradually voluntary emancipation freed more of the slaves, these slaves were to return to Africa and be the efficient and logical means of converting the Africans.

Indeed, from 1773, when Ezra Stiles, afterward President of Yale, suggested educating Negro students as missionaries to Africa, down until after the Civil War, there were all kinds of suggestions of the way in which American Negroes could evangelize Africa. Negroes themselves began the work. The first foreign missionaries from America were Negroes—George Liele to the West Indies in 1784 and Lott Carey to Africa in 1821. But the time was hardly ripe for any far-reaching effort; American Negroes did not have the education or the vision

but today matters are different; there is no doubt as to the number of American Negroes who would be willing to work in Africa if they could. What does the Christian Church say to this?

33-6-171

Out of 158 African missionaries in 1928, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian 2 out of 88; the Northern Baptists 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church 5 out of 91; the American Board 4 out of 97.

24 Of 793 other missionaries to Africa sent out by American missionary societies, including the United Presbyterians, the United Missionary Society, the United Brethren, the African Inland Mission, the Friends, the Brethren-in-Christ, the Southern Baptists, the Women's General Mission Society of the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutherans, and the Sudan Interior Mission, there is not a single American Negro!

The reasons for not sending American Negroes to teach Africans are various:

For instance, in the case of the African Inland Mission: "The question has never been raised." The United Missionary Society says: "The matter has not come before the Board." The Foreign Missionary Society of the United Brethren-in-Christ has "not made it a practice to send out American Negroes"; the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions has "never formulated any policy concerning the sending to Africa of American Negroes as missionaries"; the Foreign Mission Board of the Brethren-in-Christ, "have not had any applicants"; the Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church has "never discussed the matter"; the Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church has "no policy"!

On the other hand, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is frank: "Our policy is not to send American Negroes as missionaries"; also, the Sudan Interior Mission has a policy and states it plainly: "Our brethren from the American Negro churches

practically have to live on the same plane almost as their white brethren, and this creates a problem." The Presbyterian Church began sending Negro missionaries and then stopped. Only last year have they finally been induced to send two. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society tries to put the whole onus upon Negro churches, and declares that "no qualified Negro applicants" have applied in recent years. If they should apply, the Society does not promise to send them, but only to give the matter "most careful consideration." The Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church says that "no action for or against the sending of Negroes to work as missionaries in Africa has been taken. I can see complications that might be unpleasant and hard to surmount." The Friends and others also admit the fact that several foreign governments, and especially the Belgian Congo, object to American Negroes.

33-6-172

25 As a matter of fact, missionary societies of the United States started out, for the most part, with the obvious policy of sending Negroes to convert Africa. Then they found out that this involved social equality between white and black missionaries; the paying of Negro missionaries on the same scale as white missionaries, and their promotion and treatment as civilized beings. With few exceptions, American white Christianity could not stand this, and they consequently changed their policy.

26 Here, then, we may well pause and let the matter stand, With this summing up of the situation; the Christian Church in this country, on the whole, instead of exhibiting itself as a unifying human force, moving toward the brotherhood of men, regardless of lines of color, condition or caste, has shown less unity than almost any other human institution. In education, we have a great deal of separation by color and race; nevertheless, throughout most of the country, and in the case of the majority of its inhabitants, white and colored

children attend the same school, and to some extent, white and colored teachers teach regardless of race, as in New York City. In labor and general economic organization, there is widespread separation by race in the United States. Nevertheless, both white and black labor is employed in the United States side by side in many of the great industries. In literature and art, and to some extent in science, there is a great deal less discrimination by race than there is in Christianity. Even in matters of amusement and public enjoyment, colored people more often attend the same parks, the same theater and the same movie house than they attend the same church.

33-G-1-173

Thus, the record of the Church, so far as the Negro is concerned, has been almost complete acquiescence in caste, until today there is in the United States no organization that is so completely split along the Color Line as the Christian Church,—the very organization that according to its tenets and beliefs should be no respecter of persons and should draw no line between white or black, Jew or Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

Looking these facts squarely in the face, what can we say as to the possibility of the Church in the future settling the problem of the Color Line and leading the world toward treating Negroes and colored peoples as men and brothers?

If we conceive the Church as a social organization of well-meaning but average human beings, we can only hope at best that they will not lead public opinion toward world brotherhood but that as they see the light and the trend, they will be willing, slowly but surely, to follow, and just as they come to recognize the freedom of the slave, they will in time come to conceive the essential equality of all men. But it is too much to imagine that such an organization will forsake wealth and power and withstand respectable conservation by choosing the right first and at any social cost.

But this conception of the Church is violently repudiated by all but the most advanced and radical religionists. The Church, as a whole, insists on a divine mission and divine guidance and the indisputable possession of the Truth. Is there anything in the record of the Church in America in regard to the Negro ~~or any of its branches~~ to prove this? There is not. If the treatment of the Negro by the Christian Church ~~has been~~ is called "divine", this is an attack on the conception of God more blasphemous than any which the Church has always been so ready and eager to punish.

33-6-174

Thus, judging from the past, I see no reason to think that the attitude of the Christian Church toward problems of race and caste is going to be anything different from its attitude in the past. It is mainly a social organization, pathetically timid and human; it is going to stand on the side of wealth and power; it is going to espouse ~~any~~ cause which is sufficiently popular with ~~hypocritical smugness~~ eagerness; it is often going to transgress its own fine ethical statements and be deaf to its own Christ. And then when human brotherhood is a fact and the Color Line is remembered only as a fatal aberration and disease of the 20th Century, the Christian Church, if it still survives, is going to take the same attitude which it took after Emancipation in 1863; from a thousand pulpits it will thunder the triumph of Christianity and the way in which the Lord has led His People.

The Church and the Color Line

Will the church of tomorrowsolve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the state, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physicially distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant, and plunged them into the sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today as to how far the earth is inhabited by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

33-6-187

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled with the races that are now dominated, held in subjection either by physical force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greatestpower, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

Here then, is the problem of the Color Line and it is not only the moastpressing social question of the modern world—it is an ethical question that confronts every religion and every conscience. In concrete form this problem presents itself not simply as the Negro problem of America and the color problem of the West Indies and South America; but as the whole problem of the government, education and industry of West, South and East Africa; the question of the independence of Egypt; the national unity of China; the dominion status of India; the admission of colored immigrants into Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada; the status of Japan among the nations and as numerous associated and subsidiary questions. What will the Church of to-morrow do with these problems? Will it settle them? Will it help in their settlement? Or will it ignore them?

The Church is as we all know, vast in its organization, in its wealth, influence and power. Outside of actual government institutions, there does not exist in Europe or America any organization of men that approaches in power the modern Christian Church. Even when we consider that it is divided into Greek and Roman Catholic, into all the numerous sects of Prostestantism, nevertheless, in the aggregate here is a mighty human weapon. The Church is not only great in its actual ownership of wealth, its control of land and property, its large endowments

and great income, its influential membership, its social prestige, but it assumes a power and significance far beyond this physical and social fact. The Christian Church in all its branches, although with varying emphasis, pretends to know the Truth as no other organization of men. It believes that it has received a divine revelation of the Truth direct from the Creator of the Universe, and that this revelation has since been supplemented from time to time; it believes that through prayer the Church is able to influence and change ordinary courses of nature, and that it possesses at least in some degree miraculous power in various other ways. Armed by this tremendous assumption of inner revealed knowledge of the Truth, the Church declares itself quite independent of mere numbers and has asserted from time to time that One with God is a majority; that consequently God and the Church always agree and that the Truth through the Church always prevails.

33-62-182

In the face of this power and assumption what will the Church do towards settling the race problem in America and elsewhere?

THIS PAPER IS A FRANK ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WILL DO NOTHING; THAT IT WILL NOT SETTLE THESE PROBLEMS: THAT ON THE CONTRARY IT WILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE AVOID THEM; THAT IN THIS, AS IN EVERY GREAT MODERN MORAL CONTROVERSY, IT WILL BE FOUND CONSISTENTLY AND DELIBERATELY ON THE WRONG SIDE AND THAT WHEN, BY THE BLOOD AND TEARS OF FOLK LARGELY OUTSIDE THE CHURCH, SOME SETTLEMENT OF THESE PROBLEMS IS FOUND, THE CHURCH WILL BE AMONG THE FIRST TO CLAIM FULL AND ORIGINAL CREDIT FOR THIS RESULT.

This is, I am aware, a harsh and unpleasant judgement but I base my judgement of the future upon what I know about the past and on what is occurring in the present.

Let us take the record of the Christian Church towards Negro slavery. The Diet of Worms, which represented the culmination of the

33-6-189

great Protestant revolt against Rome was opened by Emperor Charles V. in 1521. In the same century and under this same ruler the organized slave trade to America was authorized and established in 1516. What now was the attitude of the Church, Catholic and Protestant towards this man-stealing which it had long anathematized and condemned?

It is a matter of clear historic record that the Catholic Church authorized and established Negro slavery in America and defended and countenanced it after it was established. It did this, I am aware, with misgivings and hestitancy, faced by the appalling cruelty placed by the Spaniards upon the Indians, which sought to substitute Negro slaves instead of Indiansslaves as the labor force of the Western world. It found the remedy worse than the disease, but it did not have the moral courage to abolish black slavery. On the contrary, finding that it had become intrenched in the economic development of the new world, it recognized the slavery, and gave to the conscientious the excuse that Negro slavery was a method of redeeming and Christianizing Africa. Thus the Catholic Church retreats to its age-old and traditional stand. No interference with the foundations of intrenched wrongs, only charity and amelioration for the victims. Peter Claver at Cartegena, curcoured and beat the wretched slaves that poured into their port but uttered no word against slavery. On the other hand, all Americans, black and white, slaveyand free, rich and poor, were swept into the bosom of Mother Church. The Color Line as such was not recognized, but Negro slavery was founded and stood immoveable for three centuries bequesting to the modern world that mass of ignorance and degradation which drew the modern Color Line.

Negro slavery was born with the Protestant Church and was to face no moral challenge. In the territory which is now the United States, the new Protestantism was supreme. It had its chance to frown upon

man-stealing and the new human discrimination. It did nothing of the sort. The Puritans from the first recognized the slavery of "lawful captives taken in iust warres, & just strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us." They became the greatest slave traders of the new world. The Quakers bought and sold slaves and held them. To be sure certain German immigrants, members of the Society of Friends, who may or may not have been, protested against this in 1688, but the Quakers found the matter "too weighty". Indeed, William Penn had already recognized Negro slavery and Quakers kept their slaves and bought and sold them until after the Revolutionary War. The English Episcopal Church recognized slavery without a struggle, but it tried to carry out the ___ excuse which Catholics and Protestants had made for slavery, namely: the conversion of the heathen. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England with Arch Bishop Loud at its head, to convert the Negroes and Indians in America. No sooner did this Society begin to work in America, than it met the stern fact that Colonists believed the slavery of Christians not in accordance with English law, it was perfectly true. The slaveholders, therefore, refused to have their slaves baptised until the state Colonial legislatures accommodatingly declared, like Virginia, "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereupon, the Church readily admitted itself to the perpetual slavery of black Christians and proceeded to baptise the Negroes.

Thus, in Colonial days the Methodists and Baptists came to America in the 18th Century and welcomed Negroes to Christian fellowship, so that at the beginning of the 19th Century, there were 14,000 black Methodists and 20,000 black Baptists. But even these radical churches took no enduring stand against slavery, their initial distaste soon fading away, as is illustrated by the word of James Habersham,

33-6-190

the Georgia companion of Whitefried. He said in 1730:

"I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have had a higher end in permitting them to be brought to this Christian country than merely the support of their masters. Many of the poor slaves have already been made freedmen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the Gospel and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

33-6-191

Thus, it is clear that the Christian Church in America in all of its sects and forms easily admitted itself to Negro slavery and from the 16th Century until Emancipation in 1863, it is not too much to say that the chief bulwark of Negro slavery in the United States was the Christian Church.

The Church by books, pamphlets, sermons and doctrines, defended the institution of slavery. It inculcated submission on the part of the slave and the responsibility of ownership on the part of the master. There must have been millions of sermons preached to Negroes from the text: "Servants obey your masters for that is well pleasing in the sight of the Lord."

Even their moral retrogression, however, did not suffice. If the Negro was to be admitted into the Church, what was to be done with him? Puritans and Quakers settled that problem by refusing to admit Negroes to their congregations under any circumstances. When the Methodists discriminated against the blacks of Philadelphia, so that they withdrew under Allen and Jones, the Friends never invited them to join their Society. The Episcopal Church, after their first missionary enthusiasm, began to be embarassed by their Negro membership. They segregated them in the gallery or provided separate monthly services for them. Finally, they set up separate Negro churches. At

first with white rectors, and after the Revolution, with a few Negro rectors. But their chief weapon against fellowship with Negroes was to allow a comparative few to join the Episcopal Church. The Methodists and Baptists found themselves encumbered with a vast mass of black followers, whom they had welcomed in their early enthusiasm. They began to discriminate actively and harshly against these members. In 1787, the man who founded the great African M. E. Church, which today has 750,000 members, tells of the following incident in St. George's M. E. Church, Fourth and Vine Streets, Philadelphia:

33-6-192

"A number of us usually sat on seats placed around the wall, and on Sabbath morning we went to church and the sexton stood at the door and told us to go to the gallery. He told us to go and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took these seats; meeting had begun and they were nearly done singing, and just as we got to the seats, the elder said: 'Let us pray.' We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and loud talking. I raised my head and saw one of the trustees having hold of Absalom Jones, pulling him up off his knees and saying, 'You must get up, you must not kneel here.' Mr. Jones replied, 'Wait until prayer is over and I will get up and trouble you no more.' With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees to come to his assistance. He came and went to William White to pull him up. By this time the prayer was over and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued by us in the church. This raised a great excitement and inquiry among the citizens, insomuch that I believe they were ashamed of their conduct. Buy my dear Lord was with us, and we were filled with fresh vigor to get a house erected to worship God in."

A similar revolt established the colored Zion Methodists in New York City, and gradually all of the colored members of both the Methodist

and Baptist Churches, were organized into separate congregations and intime with Negro pastors. Then came the Abolitionist controversy. For economic and social reasons, as well as moral, the United States followed the world in a revolt against Negro slavery. First, the moral question centered on stopping the slave trade; then on Emancipation, and finally, on the treatment of the freedmen. During this whole controversy from the Revolutionary War down to the Civil War, the Episcopal Church stood firm in its attitude toward slavery. It refused to recognize that slavery was evil; it was practically silent about the slave trade; and after Emancipation, it was many years before it began any organized effort to aid and uplift the freedmen. The Methodist Church, on the other hand, was deeply stirred by the Abolitionist controversy. It was already separated into white and black congregations, both North and South. In the South, the black congregations were strictly under the domination of some neighboring Mother Church. In the North, they were under black and white pastors and white bishops. The controversy within the Church, then, did not teach separate congregations. Nor did it really come to the matter of the right or wrong of slavery. It centered upon the question as to whether the Bishop and general officers of the Methodist Church could own slaves and on that question and that alone the Church split into a Northern and Southern half in 1844. After Emancipation the Methodist Church South, put all its colored membership into an entirely separate colored Methodist Church, and ordained black bishops for them. Today, no Negro can join a congregation of the Methodist Church South. In the North, there was a movement toward the same end. It was suggested that all of the colored members of the M. E. Church should join the African Methodist. But the colored members refused to do this and actually demanded that colored bishops be elected by the M. E. Church. A long controversy followed. And when colored bishops were finally

33-6-193

elected, it was understood that they were to preside simply under colored conferences, so that today the M. E. Church has all of its colored members with very few exceptions organized into colored congregations, with colored presiding elders and colored bishops. To all intents and purposes, they form a separate church, except that they are a recognized part of the General Church Conference. It is this latter fact that has prevented the union of the Methodist Church North and South. Tomorrow, these two churches would unite, if the Methodist Church North would sever the last bond which connects them with colored members. A large number of the Northern Methodists are willing to do this, but they have not quite the courage to do openly and officially what they have done in practice and effect. On the other hand, there is a significant minority in the Methodist Church, which clings to the idea that the colored members are brothers-in- Christ and would refuse to vote for their separation under any terms. The Baptists, having no national unity, have separated into colored and white castes, even more completely than the Methodists, their only union or co-operation is through certain missionary boards. The Episcopal Church since the war has finally and gradually taken up missionary and educational work among Negroes; it has ordained two black bishops for work with Negro churches, and it has practically the whole of its black membership in these churches.

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33-6-195

The Catholic Church in the United States went through several phases in its attitude toward Negro slavery. Early in the 19th Century, the Catholics grew in power in Maryland and Louisiana, and had many colored members who were reinformed by immigrants from the West Indies, especially after the Haitian revolt. The Church received colored members without discrimination but took absolutely no stand against the institution of slavery. Then, in the Horties, the Northern Catholic Church was immensely reinforced by the coming of Irish immigrants. These immigrants were throwg into economic competition with free Negroes in Northern cities and bitter rivalry bursting into riots ensued. The Northern Catholic Church, therefore, made no effort at all to proselyte among Negroes and was indifferent to their existence, and then in the Nineties came Catherine Drexel, giving a large endowment for special work among Negroes and Indians. Since then, many Negroes have been brought into the Catholic Church, and at the same time, most of the Negro communicants have been segregated into distinctly colored churches. The work, however, has been handicapped by the fact that only seven Negroes have ever been raised to the priesthood and Catholic schools and seminaries, for the most part, refuse to admit Negro students. This means that the Catholic Church cannot have colored priests, which naturally keeps the Church from spreading widely, and, at the same time, gives it further chance to avoid taking a stand on the color line.

The one bright spot in this Christian gloom is the crusade for Negro education after the war, led by the Puritans Congregationalists of New England and followed by the Methodists, Baptists, and to a less extent, by the Presbyterians. This crusade gave the Negro his

first systematic education, and nearly all of his earlier schools. From 1863 to 1883, the theory of Democratic training and independence and political power, even for black folk, gained wide support in the United States and was led by the Church. But reaction soon set in. The new economic organization which arosed after the overthrow of the slave system, and which was determined to base itself upon docile Negro peons, soon influenced the Church to withdraw their support from Negro higher education. They began to express a fear lest the Negro become over-educated and too ambitious, and they began to face frankly the problem as to just what they wanted the American Negro to be. Was he to be trained as a free citizen, economically and socially equal to other Americans, or was he to be trained as a servile caste, the recipient of charity and good will, but not a full-fledged member of American democracy. Thus, the new color caste idea arosed in the country and swept over the churches. The Christian Church began openly to join those who decried political equality on the part of Negroes; who discountenanced social intercourse between black and white, and who believed that Negroes should be satisfied with humble service and low wages. Thus, the Christian Church acquiesced in a new and strick drawing of the color line, not only in political and civil life, but even in church work. Nothing illustrates this better than the attitude of white churches today toward Christian missions in Africa. Remember, that the whole argument of the Church for centuries in support of Negro slavery was that this was God's method of redeeming heathen Africa. For a long time this was interpreted as meaning that few slaves were to be converted to Christianity, then, as gradually voluntary emancipation freed the slaves, these slaves were to return to Africa and be the efficient and logical means of converting the Africans. The literature of the

American Colonialization Society, formed in 1816 under the Presidency of Bushrod Washington. Indeed, from 1773, when Ezra Stiles, Assistant President of Yale, suggested educating Negro students as missionaries to Africa down until after the Civil War, there were all kinds of suggestions of the way in which American Negroes could evangelize Africa. But the time was hardly right. American Negroes did not have the education or the vision but today matters are different. There is no doubt as to the number of American Negroes who would be willing to work in Africa if they could. What does the Christian Church say to this?

33-6-197

There is a curious attitude on the part of religion in the United States and Europe toward American Negro missionaries. It is a little difficult to get at all the facts, but a questionnaire sent out among various missionary organizations reveals the following apparent situation:

One of 158 African missionaries, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian, 2 out of 88; the Northern Baptists, 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church, 5 out of 91; the American Board, 4 out of 97.

Of 793 other missionaries to Africa sent out by American missionary societies, including the United Presbyterians, the United Missionary Society, the United Brethren, the African Inland Mission, the Friends, the Brethren-in-Christ, the Southern Baptists, the Women's General Mission Society of the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutherans, and the Sudan Interior Mission, there is not a single American Negro!

It would seem at first thought that the use of American Negroes to evangelize Africa would be not only a logical but singularly poetic and satisfying result of American slavery. Indeed, for centuries, it was the main justification for that slavery on the consciences and lips of Christians.

But careful inquiry among missionary societies reveals today an

astonishing state of mind. For instance, in the case of the African Inland Mission: "The question has never been raised." The United Missionary Society says: "The matter has not come before the Board." The Foreign Missionary Society of the United Brethren-in-Christ has "not made it a practice to send out American Negroes"; the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions has "never formulated any policy concerning the sending to Africa of American Negroes as missionaries"; the Foreign Mission Board of the Brethren-in-Christ, "have not had any applicants"; the Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church has "never discussed the matter"; the Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church has "no policy"!

On the other hand, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is frank: "Our policy is not to send American Negroes as missionaries"; also, the Sudan Interior Mission has a policy, and states it plainly: "Our brethren from the American Negro churches practically have to live on the same plane almost as their white brethren, and this creates a problem"; the American Bible Society scents some trouble and hastens to say: "I presume your inquiry is evoked by some thought that there may be racial discrimination asserted by the missionary agencies of the churches selecting missionaries. I have been more or less closely associated with missionary work in the last ten years and have never known of such a case." Thus writes Mr. Eric North, who evidently does not dwell on earth but in a Heaven of his own.

Most of the missionary societies who try to apologize for their discrimination seek to explain their stand by saying that they are training "native" helpers. Certainly, this should be true. But why not use American Negroes as the obvious instruments for such training? The Presbyterian Church began sending Negro missionaries and then stopped. Only this year have they finally been induced to send two. The American

33-6-199

Baptist Foreign Mission Society tries to put the whole onus upon Negro churches, and declares that "no qualified Negro applicants" have applied in recent years. If they should apply, the Society does not promise to send them, but only to give the matter "most careful consideration". The Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church says that "no action for or against the sending of Negroes to work as missionaries in Africa has been taken. I can see complications that might be unpleasant and hard to surmount." The Friends and others also admit the fact that several foreign governments, and especially the Belgian Congo, object to American Negroes.

As a matter of fact, missionary societies of the United States started out, for the most part, with the obvious policy of sending Negroes to convert Africa. Then they found out that this involved social equality between white and black missionaries; the paying of Negro missionaries on the same scale as white missionaries, and their promotion and treatment as civilized beings. With few exceptions, American white Christianity could not stand this, and they consequently changed their policy. Several of them stopped sending Negroes, altogether. Others tried to get their assistance from the natives, where discrimination in treatment and wages could be made without complaint; while still others intimated, as the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society puts it: "The failure of quite a proportion to live up to their all important moral obligations has necessarily been a serious consideration", which is a chaste way of saying that American Negroes are too immoral to convert Africans to the kind of Christianity which this Society has for sale.

Here, then, we may well pause and let the matter stand. With this summing up of the situation, the Christian Church in this country, on the whole, instead of exhibiting itself as a unifying human force, moving toward the brotherhood of men, regardless of lines of color, condition or caste,

33-16-200

it has shown less unity than almost any other human institution. In education, we have a great deal of separation by color and race; nevertheless, throughout most of the country, and in the case of the majority of its inhabitants, white and colored children attend the same school, and to some extent, white and colored teachers teach regardless of race, as in New York City. In labor and general economic organization, there is widespread separation by race in the United States. Nevertheless, both white and black labor is employed in the United States side by side in many of the great industries. In literature and art, and to some extent in science, there is a great deal less discrimination by race than there is in Christianity. Even in matters of amusement and public enjoyment, colored people more often attend the same parks, the same theater and the same movie house than they attend the same church.

Thus, the record of the Church, so far as the Negro is concerned, has been almost complete acquiescence in caste, until today there is in the United States no organization that is so completely split along the Color Line as the Christian Church,—the very organization that according to its tenets and beliefs should be no respecter of persons and should draw no line between white or black, Jew or Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

Not only that, but the attitude of the Church towards the problems which the Negro encounters in his daily life has been the attitude of acquiescence or excuse. On the whole, the Church has been against Negro suffrage. Almost without protest, it has let the Negro be disfranchised in the South. It has had very little to say against "Jim Crow" cars, and worse than all, its attitude towards race inter-mixture instead of being in favor of legal marriage, as better than illegal intercourse, it has been against all recognition of the inter-marriage of races even at the expense of illegitimacy and prostitution.

33-6-107

Admitting that these may be controversial subjects in which there may be some difference of opinion, certainly as far as mob violence and lynching is concerned there is surely no question of hesitancy. Yet how often has the Christian Church in the United States recognized lynching as a great crime calling for stern measures. It has said less about lynching than about liquor and most Christians today would regard this as proper.

Thus, judging from the past, I see no reason to think that the attitude of the Christian Church towards problems of race and caste is going to be anything different from its attitude in the past. It is mainly a social organization, pathetically timid and human; it is going to stand on the side of wealth and power; it is going to espouse the popular cause with hypocritical smugness; it is going to transgress its own fine ethical statements and be deaf to its own Christ. And then when human brotherhood is a fact and the Color Line is remembered only as a disease of the 20th Century, the Christian Church, if itsstill survives, is going to take the same attitude it took after Emancipation in 1863; from a thousand pulpits it will thunder the triumph of Christianity and the way in which the Lord has lead His People.

After Emancipation and in its pregnant twenty years, from 1863 to 1883, years whose history has not yet been completely weighed or written, the world, moral and economic, accepted the fact of free Negroes in America. What attitude should be taken toward these new freedmen and citizens? The Church, which has been busy with nursing and relief of the wounded, easily became involved in schemes for education, and the extension of the New England ideal of universal education to black folk was an easy and momentus step. Nevertheless, only part of the Church accepted it. The Catholics and the Episcopalians did practically nothing. The Southern white Methodists and Baptists naturally took no part. The Presbyterians took but a small part. The New England

Congregationalists, followed by the Northern Methodists and Baptists, stepped forward eagerly and became what has sometimes been called the Ninth Crusade, the Crusade for Negro education. It was a splendid movement, and has tremendous results, and it was perhaps the one great effort of any considerable part of the Christians in America in behalf of the Negroes. But it did not last long. By 1883, the Southern ex-masters, the rising poor whites of the South, and the investing speculators and capitalists of the North, had planned a caste system for the Negro freedmen. This system had as its chief tenets the denial of the right to vote to Negroes; the setting aside of a distinct class of low-wage work for Negroes, flanked by a labor legislation which reduced them to peonage in the back districts of the South; curtailment of civil rights involving separation on public conveyances and in public places; interference with family life which left the Negro woman almost without protection in law and especially in ____; and for education, it would do away with Negro college and train Negroes to be a useful and profitable laboring class for white employers. This proposed system of caste was naturally cloaked with every promision of benevolence, but, nevertheless, it posed for the nation and the Church a moral program as great if not greater than the problem of Negro slavery. It involved not simply the continued discrimination of millions of people; a nullification of national law, and a denial of every principle of justice and democracy toward the victims of the nation's greed. What has been the attitude of the Christian Church toward Negro caste from Reconstruction down until this day? While the Church has hesitated and made numbers of explanations and excuses, it is fair to say that the white Christian Church, with the exception of a single discrimination, has accepted the program of caste for Negroes. The _____ for Negro higher education made by the Church has become progressively smaller, until most of the Negro colleges were, until about ten years ago, on the verge of bank-

3-16-202

33-6-203

ruptcy, they were rescued by government aid and the great education funds, especially by the contributions of Negroes themselves. The attitude of the Church toward labor, toward lynching and mob violence, toward marriage and the family, toward peonage, has been absolutely silence, so far as Negroes are concerned. Until the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People started the crusade against lynching, the Churches were absolutely dumb and most of them still are outside of the work of the foundation of Christian churches. Making every allowance for the Christian Church in this _____ of caste for Negroes, the most that can be said is that they have taken an entirely negligible position, coupled with their _____ position in making the selection of Negroes in church almost absolute.

33-6-204

"It is a fact, alike indisputable and shameful, that the Christianity of the 19th Century, in this country, is preached and professed by those who hold their brethren in bondage as brute beasts! and so entirely polluted has the church become, that it has not moral power enough to excommunicate a member who is guilty of man-stealing! Whether it be Unitarian or Orthodox, Baptist of Methodist, Universalist or Episcopal, Roman Catholic or Christian, it is full of innocent blood—it is the stronghold of slavery—it recognizes as members those who grind the faces of the poor, and usurp over the helpless the prerogatives of the Almighty! At the South, slaves and slaveholders, the masters and their victims, the spoilers and the spoiled, make up the Christian church! The churches at the North partake of the guilt of oppression, inasmuch as they are in full communion with those at the South. To each of them it may be said—'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.' And the plain command to each of them is, 'Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.'"

I love the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ: I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land. Indeed, I can see no reason, but the most deceitful one, for calling the religion of this land Christianity. I look upon it as the climax of all misnomers, the boldest of all frauds, and the grossest of all libels. Never was there a clearer case of "stealing the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in." I am filled with unutterable loathing when I contemplate the religious pomp and show, together with the horrible inconsistencies, which ministers, women-whippers for missionaries, and cradle-plunderers for church members.

33-6-205

The Christian Century 12/9/31

# The Church and the Color Line

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of The Crisis

43-6-365

Will the church of to-morrow solve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well-known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the State, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physically distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant and plunged them into the sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today, as to how far the earth is inhabited by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or

how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled with the races that are now dominated, held in subjection either by physical force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greater power, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

43-6-366

THIS PAPER IS A FRANK ATTEMPT TO EXPRESS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WILL DO NOTHING CONCLUSIVE OR EFFECTIVE; THAT IT WILL NOT SETTLE THESE PROBLEMS: THAT ON THE CONTRARY IT WILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE AVOID THEM: THAT IN THIS, AS IN NEARLY EVERY GREAT MODERN MORAL CONTROVERSY, IT WILL BE FOUND CONSISTENTLY ON THE WRONG SIDE AND THAT WHEN, BY THE BLOOD AND TEARS OF RADICALS AND FANATICS, OF THE DESPISED AND REJECTED, LARGELY OUTSIDE THE CHURCH, SOME SETTLEMENT OF THESE PROBLEMS IS FOUND, THE CHURCH WILL BE AMONG THE FIRST TO CLAIM FULL AND ORIGINAL CREDIT FOR THIS RESULT.

This is, I am aware, a harsh and unpleasant judgment but I base my judgment of the future upon what I know about the past and on what is occurring in the present.

Let us take the record of the Christian Church towards Negro slavery. The Diet of Worms, which represented the culmination of the great Protestant revolt against Rome was opened by Emperor Charles V. in 1521. In the same century and under this same ruler the organized slave trade to America was authorized and established in 1516. What

now was the attitude of the Church, Catholic and Protestant, towards this man-stealing which it has long anathematized and condemned?

The Catholic Church at first hesitated in its attitude toward Negro slavery. Then, it excused it as a method of mitigating the sufferings of the Indians. Finally, it openly recognized Negro slavery and declared that it was a method of converting the Negroes to Christianity. The assumption was that if Negroes became Christians, they were to be free, but when the growing economic influence of slavery made such emancipation impossible, the Catholic Church was silent, and slavery flourished over all the western world under its countenance. The Color Line as such was not recognized by the early Catholic Church in America but Negro slavery was founded and stood immoveable for three centuries, bequeathing to the modern world that mass of ignorance and degradation which made the modern Color Line easily drawn. Negro slavery was born with the Catholic Church and faced no moral challenge from that church.

In the territory which is now the United States, the new Protestantism was from the first supreme. It had its chance to frown upon man-stealing and the new human degradation. It did nothing of the sort. The Puritans from the first recognized the slavery of "lawful captives taken in iust warres, & such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us." They became the greatest slave traders of the new world. Their rum bought slaves in Africa. They transported and sold slaves for sugar and molasses in the West Indies. They turned the molasses into more rum and bought more slaves. The Quakers bought and sold slaves and held them. To be sure, certain German immigrants, who may or may not have been members of the Society of Friends, protested against this in 1688; but the Quakers found the matter "too weighty". Indeed, William Penn had already recognized

43-6-367

Negro slavery and Quakers kept their slaves and bought and sold them until after the Revolutionary War.

The English Episcopal Church recognized slavery without a struggle, but it tried for a time to make real the excuse upon which both Catholics and Protestants had justified slavery, namely: the conversion of the heathen. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England with the Primate of England at its head, to convert the Negroes and Indians in America. No sooner did this Society begin to work in America, than it met the stern fact that Colonists believed the slavery of Christians not in accordance with English law, which was perfectly true. The slaveholders, therefore, refused to have their slaves baptised until the Colonial legislatures accommodatingly declared, like Virginia, in 1667, "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereupon, the Church readily adapted itself to the perpetual slavery of black Christians and proceeded to baptise the Negroes.

43-6-362

The Methodists and Baptists came to America in the 18th Century and welcomed Negroes to Christian fellowship, so that at the beginning of the 19th Century, there were 14,000 black Methodists and 20,000 black Baptists. But even these radical churches took no enduring stand against slavery, their initial distaste soon fading away, as is illustrated by the word of James Habersham, the Georgia companion of Whitefield. He said in 1730:

"I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have had a higher end in permitting them to be brought to his Christian country than merely the support of their masters. Many of the poor slaves have already been made freedmen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the Gospel and thereby be brought into

the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Thus, it is clear that the Christian Church in America in all of its sects and forms easily adapted itself to Negro slavery and from the 16th Century until Emancipation in 1863, it is not too much to say that the chief bulwark of Negro slavery in the United States was the Christian Church. The Church by books, pamphlets, sermons and doctrines, defended the institution of slavery. It inculcated submission on the part of the slave and the responsibility of ownership on the part of the master. There must have been millions of sermons preached to Negroes from the text: "Servants obey your masters for that is well pleasing in the sight of the Lord!"

33-6-176

Even this moral retrogression, however, did not suffice. If the Negro was to be admitted into the Church, what was to be done with him? Puritans and Quakers settled that problem by practically refusing to admit Negroes to their congregations under any circumstances. When the Methodists discriminated against the blacks of Philadelphia, so that they withdrew under Allen and Jones, their Quaker friends and advisers never invited them to join their Society. The Episcopal Church, after their first missionary enthusiasm, began to be embarassed by their Negro membership. They segregated Negroes in the gallery or provided separate monthly services for them. Finally, they set up separate Negro churches, at first with white rectors, and after the Revolution, with a few Negro rectors. But their chief weapon against fellowship with Negroes was to allow comparatively few to join the Episcopal Church. The Methodists and Baptists found themselves encumbered with a vast mass of black followers, whom they had welcomed in their early enthusiasm. They began to discriminate actively and harshly against these members. In 1787, the man who founded the great African M. E. Church, which today has 750,000 members, tells of the

incident in St. George's M. E. Church, Fourth and Vine Streets, Philadelphia, when Negroes were order from their knees and asked to pray in the back of the gallery.

"We all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued by us in the church."

A similar revolt established the colored Zion Methodists in New York City, and gradually all of the colored members of both the Methodist and Baptist Churches were organized into separate congregations and in time furnished with Negro pastors.

What was the result of this segregation of black folk in the church? A report of white churchmen in 1833 said:

"There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen and some of them in a worse condition. They may justly be considered the heathen of this country, and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The Negroes are destitute of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac, (i.e., Maryland), to the Sabine River (at the time our southwestern boundary) and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the Negroes."

Then came the Abolitionist controversy. For economic and social reasons, as well as moral, the United States followed the world in a revolt against Negro slavery. First, the moral question centered on stopping the slave trade; then on emancipation, and finally, on the treatment of the freedmen. The Catholic Church in the United States early in the 19th Century many colored members in Louisiana and Maryland, and these were reinforced by emigrants from the West Indies, especially after the Haitian revolt. The Church continued to take no

stand against the institution of slavery but it welcomed Negro members and treated them, on the whole, without discrimination. Then, in the 40's, there began a great influx of emigrants from Ireland and other parts of Europe who belonged largely to the Catholic Church, and who were in severe economic competition with the free Negroes and in indirect competition with the slaves. The Catholic Church gradually changed its attitude. In the North, especially, it ignored the Negroes; made no propaganda among them, and made no efforts to train Negro priests. This attitude continued down until the gift of Catherine Drexel for Negro and Indian education. The Episcopal Church, during the Abolitionist's controversy, refused to recognize that slavery was evil. It was silent about the slave trade, and after Emancipation, it was the last of the Protestant Churches to make any organized effort to aid and uplift the freed men.

33-6-178

The Methodist Church, on the other hand, was deeply stirred by the Abolitionist controversy. It was already separated into white and black congregations, both North and South. In the South, the black congregations were strictly under the domination of some neighboring white Church. In the North, they were under black and white pastors and white bishops, except in the distinctly Negro denominations. The controversy within the Church, then, did not touch segregation by color in the Church. Nor did it really come to the matter of the right or wrong of slavery. It centered upon the question as to whether the bishops and general officers of the Methodist Church could own slaves; and on that question and that alone the Church split into a Northern and Southern half in 1844.

The M. E. Church South became thick and thinkdefenders of slavery and the slave trade. The Northern M. E. Church deplored slavery but did not pronounce it evil or countenance the Abolition movement.

The only Christian body that gave the Abolitionists aid and countenance was the Quakers, who, toward the end of the 18th Century, and in the beginning of the 19th, gradually took a stand against slavery and began to agitate for Emancipation.

33-6-179

William Lloyd Garrison, reviewing the attitude of the Christian Church as a whole, said in the Liberator in 1835:

"It is a fact, alike indisputable and shameful, that the Christianity of the 19th Century, in this country, is preached and professed by those who hold their brethren in bondage as brute beasts! and so entirely polluted has the Church become, that it has not moral power enough to excommunicate a member who is guilty of man-stealing! Whether it be Unitarian or Orthodox, Baptist or Methodist, Universalist or Episcopal, Roman Catholic or Christian, it is full of innocent blood—it is the stronghold of slavery—it recognizes as members those who grind the faces of the poor, and usurp over the helpless the prerogatives of the Almighty! At the South, slaves and slaveholders, the masters and their victims, the spoilers and the spoiled, make up the Christian Church! The churches at the North partake of the guilt of oppression, inasmuch as they are in full communion with those at the South."

Frederick Douglass added in 1845:

"I love the pure, peaceable, and impartial Christianity of Christ: I therefore hate the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land. Indeed, I can see no reason, but the most deceitful one, for calling the religion of this land Christianity."

After Emancipation and in those pregnant twenty years from 1863 to 1883, years whose history has not yet been completely weighed nor written, the world, moral and economic, accepted the fact of free

Negroes in America. What attitude should be taken toward these new freedmen and citizens? The Church, which had been busy with nursing and relief of the wounded, became involved in schemes for educat on of refuges, almost before it knew it. The extension of the New England ideal of universal education to black folk was an easy and momentus step. Nevertheless, only part of the Church accepted it. The Catholics and the Episcopalians did practically nothing. The Southern white Methodists and Baptists naturally took no part. The Presbyterians took but a small part. The New England Congregationalists, followed by the Northern Methodists and Baptists, stepped forward eagerly and inaugurated what has sometimes been called the Ninth Crusade, the Crusade for Negro education. It was a splendid movement, and has had tremendous results, and it was perhaps the one great effort of any considerable part of the Christians in America in behalf of the Negroes. But after an effort, extending over about thirty years, reaction set in, even in the Congregational Church. The effort of the South to disfranchise the Negro and to establish a color caste received sympathy in the North for economic reasons and because of the new industrial imperialism which was sweeping the world.

Many began to express a fear lest the Negro become over-educated and too ambitious, andAmerican began to face frankly the problem as to just what they wanted the American Negro to be. Was he to be trained as a free citizen, economically and socially equal to other Americans, or was he to be trained as a servile caste, the recipient of charity and good will, but not a full-fledged member of American democracy?

Thus, the new color caste idea arose in the country and swept over the churches. The Christian Church began openly to join those who decried political equality on the part of Negroes; who discountenanced social intercourse between black and white, and who believed that

33-6-180

Negroes should be satisfied with humble service and low wages.

What has been the attitude of the Christian Church toward Negro caste from Reconstruction down until this day? While the Church has hesitated and made numbers of explanations and excuses, it is fair to say that the white Christian Church has accepted the program of caste for Negroes.

33-6-181

The Congregational Church stood by its ideals longest but bradually the contributions for Negro education fell off and the interest in the Negro dwindled. Catholics were forced to face the problem of proselyting among Negroes by the gift of Catherine Drexel.

But the work was handicapped by the fact that in 150 years, the Catholic Church had ordained but seven Negro priests and most of their schools and seminaries refuse, even today, to admit Negro students. They began the new proselyting by giving charity to the very poor and ignorant, and as these entered the Church, they hastened to segregate in separate congregations under white priests, who usually had not the faintest conception of the problems of these black folk.

As a Negro Catholic writes:

"I do not hesitate to say that the most outstanding defect in the Catholic Missionary field in the South today, is the absence among them of colored priests. Their presence would help white missioners to get in closer touch with their charges, and would ultimately prevent them from growing illiberal and pessimistic in the face of difficulties. It is no wonder that lack of contact with the best and most progressive in Negro life, and confinement for long periods to the 'child mind' of an alien people, should develop in missioners themselves a psychology which unfits them for dealing with adults."

The Catholic Church began to segregate its Negroes; the Methodist Church South got rid of them absolutely and formed a new Negro church.

The Northern Methodists Church segregated them into separate conferences, and several times they invited them to join the Negro Methodists. Today, the Negro membership of the M. E. Church is almost entirely a separate institution although it is still represented in the General Conference. The Baptists have no national unity for becoming separated individually into colored and white churches which more and more have no common meeting ground, although there is some co-operation in education and missionary work. The Episcopal Church is divided with very few exceptions into colored and white congregations and for its colored congregations it has ordained black bishops. Thus, gradually the Christian Church has lessened its support of Negro education; has recently taken no stand against lynching and mob violence; against discrimination, or even against laws which in most states of the Union class all Negro women and prostitutes together, so far as legal marriage with whites are concerned.

The Christian Church thus acquiesced in a new and strict drawing of the color line, not only in political and civil life, but even in church work. Nothing illustrates this better than the attitude of white churches today toward Christian missions in Africa. Remember, that the whole argument of the Church for centuries in support of Negro slavery was that this was God's method of redeeming heathen African. For a long time this was interpreted as meaning that a few slaves were to be converted to Christianity; then, as gradually voluntary emancipation freed more of the slaves, these slaves were to return to Africa and be the efficient and logical means of converting the Africans.

Numbers of American Negroes today would be willing to work in Africa. What does the Christian Church say to this?

Out of 158 African missionaries in 1928, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian 2 out of 88; the Northern

Baptists 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church 5 out of 91; the American Board 4 out of 97.

Of 793 other missionaries to Africa sent out by American missionary societies, including the United Presbyterians, the United Missionary Society, the United Brethren, the African Inland Mission, the Friends, the Brethren-in-Christ, the Southern Baptists, the Women's General Mission Society of the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutherans, and the Sudan Interior Mission, there is not a single American Negro!

What is the reason for this?

As a matter of fact, missionary societies of the United States started out, for the most part, with the obvious policy of sending Negroes to convert Africa. Then they found out that this involved social equality between white and black missionaries; the paying of Negro missionaries on the same scale as white missionaries, and their promotion and treatment as civilized beings. With few exceptions, American white Christianity could not stand this, and they consequently changed their policy.

Here, then, we may well pause and let the matter stand, with this summing up of the situation; the Christian Church in this country, on the whole, instead of exhibiting itself as a unifying human force, moving toward the brotherhood of men, regardless of lines of color, condition or caste, has shown less unity than almost any other human institution. In education, we have a great deal of separation by color and race; nevertheless, throughout most of the country, and in the case of the majority of its inhabitants, white and colored children attend the same school, and to some extent, white and colored teachers teach regardless of race, as in New York City. In labor and general economic organization, there is widespread separation by race in the United States. Nevertheless, both white and black labor is employed in the United States side by side in many of the great industries. In literature and

art, and to some extent in science, there is a great deal less discrimination by race than there is in Christianity. Even in matters of amusement and public enjoyment, colored people more often attend the same parks, the same theater and the same movie house than they attend the same church.

Thus, the record of the Church, so far as the Negro is concerned, has been almost complete acquiescence in caste, until today there is in the United States no organization that is so completely split along the Color Line as the Christian Church,--the very organization that according to its tenets and beliefs should be no respecter of persons and should draw no line between white or black, Jew or Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

33-6-184

Looking these facts squarely in the face, what can we say as to the possibility of the Church in the future settling the problem of the Color Line and leading the world toward treating Negroes and colored peoples as men and brothers?

If we conceive the Church as a social organization of well-meaning but average human beings, we can only hope at last that they will not lead public opinion toward world brotherhood but that as they see the light and the trend, they will be willing, slowly but surely, to follow, and just as they came to recognize the freedom of the slave, they will in time come to conceive the essential equality of all men. But it is too much to imagine that such an organization will oppose wealth and power and withstand respectable conservation by choosing the right first and at any social cost.

But this conception of the Church is violently repudiated by all but the most advanced and radical religionists. The Church, as a whole, insists on a divine mission and divine guidance and the indisputable possession of the Truth. Is there anything in the record of the Church

in America in regard to the Negro to prove this? There is not. If the treatment of the Negro by the Christian Church is called "divine", this is an attack on the conception of God more blasphemous than any which the Church has always been so ready and eager to punish.

Thus, judging from the past, I see no reason to think that the attitude of the Christian Church toward problems of race and caste is going to be anything different from its attitude in the past. It is mainly a social organization, pathetically timid and human; it is going to stand on the side of wealth and power; it is going to espouse any cause which is sufficiently popular with eagerness; it is often going to transgress its own fine ethical statements and be deaf to its own Christ. And then when human brotherhood is a fact and the Color Line is remembered only as a fatal aberration and disease of the 20th Century, the Christian Church, if it still survives, is going to take the same attitude which it took after Emancipation in 1863; from a thousand pulpits it will thunder the triumph of Christianity and the way in which the Lord has led His People.

33-6-185

The Church and the Color Line

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of The Crisis

33-6-128

Will the church of to-morrow solve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well-known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the State, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physically distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant and plunged them into the sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today, as to how far the earth is inhabited by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or

how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled, with the races that are now dominated, held in subjection, either by physical force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greater power, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

Here then, is the problem of the Color Line and it is not only the most pressing social question of the modern world--it is an ethical question that confronts every religion and every conscience. In concrete form this problem presents itself not simply as the Negro problem of America and the color problem of the West Indies and South America; but as the whole problem of the government, education and industry of West, South and East Africa; the question of the independence of Egypt; the national unity of China; the dominion status of India; the admission of colored immigrants into Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada; the status of Japan among the nations and as numerous associated and subsidiary questions. What will the Church of to-morrow do with these problems? Will it settle them? Will it help in their settlement? Or will it ignore them?

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This is, I am aware, a harsh and unpleasant judgment but I base my judgment of the future upon what I know about the past and on what is occurring in the present.

Let us take the record of the Christian Church towards Negro slavery. The Diet of Worms, which represented the culmination of the great Protestant revolt against Rome was opened by Emperor Charles V. in 1521. In the same century and under this same ruler the organized slave trade to America was authorized and established in 1516. What

now was the attitude of the Church, Catholic and Protestant, towards this man-stealing which it had long anathematized and condemned?

The Catholic Church at first hesitated in its attitude toward Negro slavery. Then, it excused it as a method of mitigating the sufferings of the Indians. Finally, it openly recognized Negro slavery and declared that it was a method of converting the Negroes to Christianity. The assumption was that if Negroes became Christians, they were to be free, but when the growing economic influence of slavery made such emancipation impossible, the Catholic Church was silent, and slavery flourished over all the western world under its countenance. The Color Line as such was not recognized by the early Catholic Church in America but Negro slavery was founded and stood immoveable for three centuries, bequeathing to the modern world that mass of ignorance and degradation which made the modern Color Line easily drawn. Negro slavery was born in the Catholic Church and faced no moral challenge from that church.

33-6-130

In the territory which is now the United States, the new Protestantism was from the first supreme. It had its chance to frown upon man-stealing and the new human degradation. It did nothing of the sort. The Puritans from the first recognized the slavery of "lawful captives taken in iust warres, & such strangers as willingly salle themselves or are sold to us." They became the greatest slave traders of the new world. Their rum bought slaves in Africa. They transported and sold slaves for sugar and molasses in the West Indies. They turned the molasses into more rum and bought more slaves. The Quakers bought and sold slaves and held them. To be sure, certain German immigrants, who may or may not have been members of the Society of Friends, protested against this in 1688; but the Quakers found the matter "too weighty". Indeed, William Penn had already recognized

Negro slavery and Quakers kept their slaves and bought and sold them until after the Revolutionary War.

The English Episcopal Church recognized slavery without a struggle, but it tried for a time to make real the excuse upon which both Catholics and Protestants had justified slavery, namely; the conversion of the heathen. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England with the Primate of England at its head, to convert the Negroes and Indians in America. No sooner did this Society begin to work in America, than it met the stern fact that Colonists believed the slavery of Christians not in accordance with English law, which was perfectly true. The slaveholders, therefore, refused to have their slaves baptised until the Colonial legislatures accommodatingly declared, like Virginia, in 1667, "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom." Thereupon, the Church readily adapted itself to the perpetual slavery of black Christians and proceeded to baptise the Negroes.

The Methodists and Baptists came to America in the 18th Century and welcomed Negroes to Christian fellowship, so that at the beginning of the 19th Century, there were 14,000 black Methodists and 20,000 black Baptists. But even these radical churches took no enduring stand against slavery, their initial distaste soon fading away, as is illustrated by the word of James Habersham, the Georgia companion of Whitefield. He said in 1730:

"I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have had a higher end in permitting them to be brought to his Christian country than merely the support of their masters. Many of the poor slaves have already been made freedmen of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the Gospel and thereby be brought into

the glorious liberty of the children of God!"

Thus, it is clear that the Christian Church in America in all of its sects and forms easily adapted itself to Negro slavery and from the 16th Century until Emancipation in 1863, it is not too much to say that the chief bulwark of Negro slavery in the United States was the Christian Church. The Church by books, pamphlets, sermons and doctrines, defended the institution of slavery. It inculcated submission on the part of the slave and the responsibility of ownership on the part of the master. There must have been millions of sermons preached to Negroes from the text: "Servants obey your masters for that is well pleasing in the sight of the Lord!"

23-6-132

Even this moral retrogression, however, did not suffice. If the Negro was to be admitted into the Church, ~~what~~ how was ~~to be done with~~ he to be treated there? h[illegible] Puritans and Quakers settled that problem by practically refusing to admit Negroes to their congregations under any circumstances. When the Methodists discriminated against the blacks of Philadelphia, so that they withdrew under Allen and Jones, their Quaker friends and advisers never invited them to join their Society. The Episcopal Church, after their first missionary enthusiasm, began to be embarassed by their Negro membership. They segregated Negroes in the gallery or provided separate monthly services for them. Finally, they set up separate Negro churches, at first with white rectors, and after the Revolution, with a few Negro rectors. But their chief weapon against fellowship with Negroes was to allow comparatively few to join the Episcopal Church.[P] The Methodists and Baptists found themselves encumbered with a vast mass of black followers, whom they had welcomed in their early enthusiasm. They began to discriminate actively and harshly against these members. In 1787, the man who founded the great African M. E. Church, which today has 750,000 members, tells of the

incident in St. George's M. E. Church, Fourth and Vine Streets, Philadelphia, when Negroes were order from their knees and asked to pray in the back of the gallery!

"We all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued by us in the church."

A similar revolt established the colored Zion Methodists in New York City, and gradually all of the colored members of both the Methodist and Baptist Churches were organized into separate congregations and in time furnished with Negro pastors.

33-6-133

What was the result of this segregation of black folk in the church? A report of white churchmen in 1833 said:

"There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen and some of them in a worse condition. They may justly be considered the heathen of this country, and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The Negroes are destitute of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac, (i.e., Maryland), to the Sabine River (at the time our southwestern boundary) and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the Negroes."

Then came the Abolitionist controversy. For economic and social reasons, as well as moral, the United States followed the world in a revolt against Negro slavery. First, the moral question centered on stopping the slave trade; then on emancipation, and finally, on the treatment of the freedmen. The Catholic Church in the United States received early in the 19th Century many colored members in Louisiana and Maryland, and these were reinforced by immigrants from the West Indies, especially after the Haitian revolt. The Church continued to take no

stand against the institution of slavery but it welcomed Negro members and treated them, on the whole, without discrimination. Then, in the 40's, there began a great influx of immigrants from Ireland and other parts of Europe who belonged largely to the Catholic Church, and who were in severe economic competition with the free Negroes and in indirect competition with the slaves. The Catholic Church gradually changed its attitude. In the North, especially, it ignored the Negroes; made no propaganda among them, and made no efforts to train Negro priests. This attitude continued down until the gift of Catherine Drexel for Negro and Indian education. The Episcopal Church, during the Abolitionist controversy, refused to recognize that slavery was evil. It was silent about the slave trade, and after Emancipation, it was the last of the Protestant Churches to make any organized effort to aid and uplift the freed men.

33-6-134

The Methodist Church, on the other hand, was deeply stirred by the Abolitionist controversy. It was already largely separated into white and black congregations, both North and South. In the South, the black congregations were strictly under the domination of some neighboring white Church. In the North, they were under black and white pastors and white bishops, except in the distinctly Negro denominations. The controversy within the Church, then, did not touch segregation by color in the Church. Nor did it really come to the matter of the right or wrong of slavery. It centered upon the question as to whether the bishops and general officers of the Methodist Church could own slaves; and on that question and that alone the Church split into a Northern and Southern half in 1844.

The M. E. Church South became thick and thin defenders of slavery and the slave trade. The Northern M. E. Church deplored slavery but did not pronounce it evil or countenance the abolition movement.

33-6-175

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The Church and the Color Line

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The Church & the Color Line

# The Church and the Color Line

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of The Crisis.

11-18-62

Will the church of to-morrow solve the problem of the Color Line? The problem of the Color Line, particularly in America, is well-known. It is the question of the treatment and place in society and in the State, of the descendants of African slaves who were freed by the Civil War. Not only are these persons, numbering some twelve millions or more, more or less physically distinct from the nation because of color and race, but also otherwise segregated because slavery made them poor, kept them ignorant and plunged them into sickness and crime which poverty and ignorance always cause. For these and other reasons they form in the United States an inferior social caste.

This is the problem of the Color Line as it presents itself in the United States. But, of course, the Color Line extends beyond our own country. The majority of the people of the world are colored and belong to races more or less distinct from the white people of Europe and North America. Because, however, of imperial aggression and industrial exploitation, most of these colored peoples are under the political or commercial domination of white Europe and America, and their consequent problems of self government, social status, and work and wages present the greatest difficulties the world over.

In addition to all this, various scientific questions have become involved. The attitude of science towards colored races has greatly changed in the last four centuries, but there arose in the 19th Century a question that persists in the minds of large numbers of white people today, as to how far the earth is inhabited

by nations and races essentially equal in their gifts and power of accomplishment, or how far the world is a hierarchy headed by the white peoples, with other groups graduating down by grades of color to smaller and smaller brain power, ability and character.

What now should be the relation of the great racial groups of the world? Shall they live together as brothers? Shall they organize and regard each other as potential or actual enemies? Or shall their relation be that of rulers and ruled, with the races that are now dominated held in subjection, either by physical force or by their own submission to what they come to realize or are forced to admit is the greater power, or greater ability, or greater desert of the white race?

11-18-63

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The history of the relation of the church to slavery is a fascinating subject but the limitations of this article have compelled me to omit it. Suffice it to say, that slavery was recognized and encouraged in America by the Catholic Church, by the Episcopal Church, and by the Methodists and Baptists and Quakers. And this

despite the fact that all these churches, except the Quakers, receive Negro members. The attitude of the Church toward the Abolitionists is enlightening.

11-18-64

Birth Control

# Black Folk and Birth Control

by W. E. B. Du Bois

Editor of THE CRISIS.

The American Negro has been going through a great period of stress, not only in this present depression, but long before it. His income is reduced by ignorance and prejudice and his former tradition of early marriage and large families has put grave strain on a budget on which he was seeking not merely to maintain but improve his standards of living.

As slaves, every incentive was furnished to raise the largest number of children possible. The chief surplus crop of Virginia and other Border States consisted of this natural increase of slaves and it was ralized in the consequent slave trade to feed the plantations of the lower South and Southwest. Frederick Bancroft has recently shown us that this trade, 1850-60, involved average annual sales of nearly 80,000 human beings, representing $100,000,000 of capital.

Even then, on the part of the most intelligent slaves, birth control was secretly exercised as we know from many reminiscences.

After emancipation, there arose the inevitable clash of ideals between those Negroes who were striving to improve their economic position, and those whose religious faith made the limitation of children a sin. The result was, among the more intelligent class, a postponement of marriage which greatly decreased the number of children. Today, among this class of Negroes, few men, many before thirty, and numbers of them after 40. The marriage age of women of this class has similarly been postponed.

In addition to this, the low income which Negroes receive make bachelorhood and spinsterhood widespread, in some cases, with the natural-ly

resultant lowering of sex standards. On the other hand, the mass of ignorant Negroes still breed carelessly and disastrously, so that the increase among Negroes, even more than the increase among whites, is from that part of the population least intelligent and least able to rear their children properly.

There comes, therefore, the difficult and insistent problem of spreading among Negroes an intelligent and clearly recognized concept of proper birth control, so that the young people can marry, have companionship and natural health, and yet not have children until they are able to take care of them. This, of course, requires in the first place a revision of the general laws, and in the second place, it calls for a more liberal attitude among Negro churches. The churches are open for the most part to intelligent propaganda of any sort, and the Birth Control League and other agencies ought to get their speakers before church congregations and their arguments in the Negro newspapers. As it is, the mass of Negroes know almost nothing about the birth control movement, and even intelligent colored people have a good many misapprehensions and a good deal of fear at openly learning about it. Like most people with middle-class standards of morality, they think that birth control is inherently immoral. Moreover, they are quite led away by the fallacy of numbers. They want the black race to survive. They are cheered by a census return of increasing number and a high rate of increase. They must learn that among brown races and groups, as among vegetables, quality and not mere quantity really counts.

33-6-11

From Birth Control Review, June 1932

# BLACK FOLK and BIRTH CONTROL

By W.E.B.DuBois

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Editor first sent Foreign Affairs

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

[1934?]

I remember standing once in a West African forest where thin and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if rubber could be grown in Liberia.

These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to Liberia.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems that rich lands like Liberia ought easily to be self-supporting and to secure machinery, experts and modern luxuries, with sale of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they often find that the price of their material is so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia, like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, means loss of political power. And Liberia is jealous of her inde-

13-45-10

pendence,—jealous and proud. Indeed, the record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite querulous criticism, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

Five times Liberia has been tempted to seek salvation in loans of foreign capital. In 1870, a loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and Liberian officials who negotiated it; at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not again consider borrowing money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her ter itory was threatened and a campaign of ridicule and abuse leveled at her. She was cheated of her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; England sliced off claims on one side and France on the other; blithely contradicting their own maps and promises. The excluse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop. Very well. Here in 1906 comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was to be raising of rubber. This little forest where I stood was one result; but there were few other results. The money was squandered by the Englishmen in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this as the report of the Firestone

13-45-11

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. Sunlight soap interests of Great Britain were then trying to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes, pressed for payment of defaulted loans, and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote, and he appointed a Liberian commission. The Commission went out and made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. A new loan of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with the Liberian independence.

13-45-12

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was forced to declare in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan promisedher by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished.

For five or six years, she staggered on, but at last slowly began to gain.

"Between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue--both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed capital and

* Buell, p. 836.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

and she still feared foreign capital.

Then came Solomon Porter Hood, as United States Minister. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of good will, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them.

13-45-13

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal.I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development by putting in the hands of people of the same race, local and immigrant, such power over the invested capital as would divert it, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if many leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area without price, and upon notification, the government was to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental of this land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6d an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

13-45-14

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. Liberia objected to the loan. The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money and Liberia realized that if the money was borrowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France and England; but that if there were no American concession, they could expect no help from America.

Buell says: "In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

United States told us to accept this loan."*

Liberia, therefore, accepted the Firestone conditions as the only way to get protection, but insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company", all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90, making $2,027,700 in actual receipts.

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advance except on certain conditions. Beside this, a corps of highly paid American financial experts were hired and paid for by Liberia, and the Firestone bank was to be the depository of all state revenues and act as financial agent.

13-45-15

The Firestone loan charges, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%; and for 1932, "Nearly the whole revenue intake of the government!"**. It is said that the Acting Secretary

*Buell, p. 845

**See Page 25 of this manuscript.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's while I am Secretary." ***

The arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberia was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to 'hum'. More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."**

13-45-16

The American "experts" in finance encouraged Liberia to spend.

"The increase in salaries, after theloan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public works, was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000. The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000."****

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Fire Stone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500, which, of course, Liberia paid.

***Ms. of Miss Graves, P. 2.
**~~League of Nations Publications,~~ Buell, P. 836.
****League of Nations Report, P. 33.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. Inother words, there came a period of inflation and boom." *

Doubtless, Liberian officials were only too eager to get larger salaries but even in expert matters of public works, the American advisers were just as careless:

13-45-17

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Adviser at that time in office." **

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in debt to the National City Bank.

Suddenly, the shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world. The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from 72¢ to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes only 50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that President King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that other high officials are implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest their labor supply dwindle when it was alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabun and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always approaches slavery:

*League of Nations Report, P. 33.
**League of Nations Report, Pp. 30, 31.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone was depending on. His contract had a clause: "The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." *

The Liberian Labor Bureau, established in 1912, was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent." Buell says: "Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied."**

13-45-18

The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that finally the government was compelled to take notice. One thing that Liberia had ~~saved from its surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was~~ had been careful to do was to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate these reports of slavery in Liberia.

The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored American, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and

*Leage of Nations Report. P. 50.
**Buell, P.834

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia. The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones.

But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It showed that there was domestic slavery among the primitive Liberian tribes. This is, of course, a system different from industrial slavery, but it is liable to abuse, and is inconsistent with advance of civilization. Secondly, there was pawning of children.

The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. Military force was used and both President King and Vice President Yancy and some other officials were involved in profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade. Members of the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation.

13-45-19

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and President King gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on adoption of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, nephew of Arthur Barclay, one of the Commission, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 3. President Barclay had never been accused of having had any part in the slave-trading. On the same day, the note of the United States Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiring President, who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

passed the following laws:

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.

An act providing for the re-organization of the hinterland.

An act forbidding pawning.

An act creating for public health and sanitary service.

An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic.*

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Chargé de'Affaires, with a request made for that government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received, and America refused to recognize Barclay!

13-45-20

The American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931, presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. President Barclay replied that he could not do this without violating his oath of office, but he had no objection to an appeal to the League of Nations asking it to nominate capable persons to help in re-organizing the country.**

This appeal was made and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, on which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit.

Meantime, the full force of the depression had struck Liberia. Prices fell. Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927, fell to $856,759 in 1930.

* League of Nations Report. P. 55.
** League of Nations Report, P. 56.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Mr. Grimes said that during the last few years salaries had been reduced in Liberia on three occasions; on the second occasion, a 50% reduction. Beside that, most salaries had not been paid at all during the last seventeen months.

At the same time, the debt service was absorbing ~~over three-fourths~~ larger and larger proportions of the whole income of the country, ~~and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months.~~ Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed March 3, 1931, M. Brunot, a Frenchman, expert in general administration; M. Ligthart, a Dutchman, a financial expert; and Dr. Mackenzie, an Englishman, expert in medical and public health questions.

13-45-21

This committee of experts studied documents during March and April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26, 1931.

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."*

Their report consisted of a short, general description of the land and people and the form of government. Then it treated health, economic and financial conditions, and a detailed plan of assistance.

It is notable that of the 50 pages of report and appendices, only one-third of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, practically the whole report being on economic conditions and the Firestone contract. The report says on the abolition of slavery and forced labor:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia; found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour,

*(League of Nations.)

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

Later, after Dr. McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged intimidation of native witnesses, while the British had taken it upon themselves to make an independent investigation. At the meeting of the Committee, May 17, *the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

"It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented, at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given evidence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

"On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations."

To this, the Liberian government added, in an appendix to the report, these details:

The Government of Liberia has taken the following action to carry out the recommendations of the Christy Commission.**

They also added, significantly; "As regards the forced labor which prevailed on the Firestone Plantations, the government had stopped the procedure of District Commissioners recruiting the labor necessary for these plantations."***

13-4/5-22

*Minutes, P. 14.
**League of Nations Report, P. 61.
***Minutes, January 30, P. 7. Statement by M. Brunot.

(~~Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.~~)

| Recommendations | Action of Liberia |
|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a policy has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease. | |
| Re-establishmant of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programm to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers<br>Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |

13-45-23

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

American immigration to be encouraged.

Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has ever been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof.

13-45-24

The experts in presenting their plan of relief emphasized the difficulties presented by the Firestone concession and its one-sided character.

"Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,009 of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan, $53,650. If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188 instead of $43,320."*

Nevertheless, the Committee recommended an elaborate plan of rehabilitation based on arrangements to secure the second half of the Firestone loan of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian government by $100,000 and employ six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year, 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses; geographical, mineralogical, etc.,

* League of Nations Report, P. 32.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

surveys, public health, and roads and bridges, extending to a cost of $393,000 a year. Nothing was allowed for education in the initial years of the plan although "education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim, that of a free and united Negro nation."*

This would make an annual budget of $950,000, of which $624,330 would go for foreign experts and loan charges.

Liberia objected: "Such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increase nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning/ under the present arrangement....

13-45-25

A survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that the adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end."**

The Committee began to consider the Expert's report, January 25, 1932, and continued until May 21. Some members immediately put their finger on the Firestone contract and loan as the crucial point:

"Was it reasonable," said Madariaga of Spain, January 28, "to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil? Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."***

*League of Nations Report. P. 25, 26.
** League of Nations Report. P. 60.
***Minutes January 28, p. 9.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The American representative, was told by Lord Cecil that everyone admitted that some modification of these terms were both necessary and possible. "It was a pity that the Committee could not get in direct touch" with the Firestones. Reber, while he disclaimed representing the Firestones, "felt in a position to state" that he had had in January, the impression that this Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms, and the nature of the powers granted to the foreign specialists."

He then added this extraordinary statement:

"It was essential to submit an idea of these to the Finance Corporation."*

Here the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company stand revealed as representing one and the same policy, with the same spokesman, Reber. Again and again, the League Committee sought to get in touch with the Firestone interests but had much difficulty. Two members talked with them and asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter "in a sympathetic spirit." That their presence in Geneva, (and they were in Geneva at least a part of the time, and stopping at the same hotel with Reber), "should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested."**

13-45-26

*Minutes, May 6, P. 22.
**Minutes, January 30, P. 15.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Further than this, they would not commit themselves.* Nevertheless, Reber carefully protected their interests. As the Expert's plan was being simplified and hammered into shape, Reber complained

"That the Liberian Government would be entitled to send a representative to the Council. Whereas, the Financial Advisor, who in part represented the Finance Corporation, would not." Lord Cecil replied drily that there was "no reason to suppose that the Finance Corporation would not find means of communicating its point of view to the Council!" **

On May 18, the United States Government expressed its impatience and threatened that if the problem of Liberia was not settled by "next autumn" the American government would find it necessary to reserve its position and its full liberty of action." ***

On May 19, the Committee of the Council finally adopted a curtailed and limited program for Liberia in place of the first plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provided:

13-45-27

"Administration.—Three foreign specialists (at $8,000 each) with three assistant specialists (at $6,000 each) to lend their assistance to the Government as commissioners for the administration of the three provinces proposed by the Government.

"Health.—Two foreign specialists to carry out the International Quarantine Regulations and the hospital and public health services.

"Finance.—The present Financial Adviser and his assistants, for whom the Loan Agreement with the America Finance Corporation provides, to be retained, with certain new arrangements.

"A Chief Adviser (at $12,000) appointed by the League of Nations to be attached to the central government.

*Note Ligthart's statement, May 14.
**Minutes May 17, P. 5.
***Mimeographed note sent out by the Secretary General at the request of Reber.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"In the event of difficulty in the application of the programme of assistance, provision is made for the possibility of recourse to the Council of the League.

"The Council's decision in such case would be unanimous, the vote of the Liberian representative not counting for the purpose of unanimity. In urgent cases, the President in office of the Council would be entitled to act on behalf of the Council, on condition of referring the matter to the Council at the earliest possible date.

"The Committee at the same time proposes to seek an understanding with the financial groups in Liberia, making it possible to obtain: (1) a moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the first loan; (2) the payment of the balance of the first block of this loan ($247,000) to serve as an initial fund for financing the programme of assistance; and $3) the readjustment of existing contracts, especially in connection with the scope of the concessions, the amount of the rental due (50¢ an acre instead of 6¢ an acre) and the rate of interest of the loan."

13-45-28

At the next meeting, which did not take place until September 19, 1932, it was reported that the Liberian Government had accepted the plan in principle subject to certain reservations, but that the United States still expressed doubt as to the adequacy of the authority which it was proposed to confer upon the Chief Adviser. The amendments suggested by the Liberian Government were not important, and chiefly in the line of cutting down the initial expense, making it possible for Liberians to act as Deputy Provincial Commissioners, and making the Chief Adviser a member of the President's cabinet, with appeal to the Council of the League of Nations in case of disagreement.

The Committee was disposed to agree with most of these suggestions, when suddenly at the meeting September 20, 1932, the United States

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

proposed to lay aside the whole plan and make instead "a preliminary agreement", based "on the establishment in Liberiaof an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall proceed as soon as possible to Liberia nd there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become ffective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programmmc be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

"Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision." *

The Council was taken aback. Lord Cecil asked how the United States Government proposed to have the Chief Adviser chosen. Mr. Reber explained that his government "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment." The Chairman replied that under the ordinary procedure of the League, the United States would be consulted, and also Liberia; but he wished further enlightment:

"What, for instance, pending an appeal to the Council, would be the fate of a decision reached by the Chief Adviser?" Reber answered: "The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision."**

*Minutes, September 22, pp. 3, 4.

**Minutes, September 22, p. 5.

13-45-29

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This brought matters to a standstill, because it meant that when the Council was not in session, months might pass before any matter in dispute could be brought up, and that the Chief Adviser would be in effect the real ruler of Liberia. Mr. Grimes, Secretary of State, who was representing Liberia, asked time to consider this totally unexpected amendment. Monsieur Panafieu of France remarked that the American proposal involved a radical change in the procedure adopted by the Council May 20, and made the Council face a dilemma; "No reforms without money, and no money without reforms;" that the Council had presented to Liberia and Firestone interests what seemed to them a fair compromise;

13-45-30

"The only reason it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of asistance, had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle, and subject to certain reservations, of Annex III. of the scheme, the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure."*

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned in order that the delegates might present the matter to their governments. At the meeting September 23, the Liberian delegation said that the United States government "contemplates not only the rehabilitation but also the reorganization of Liberia. And that the power proposed was not in accordance with the Liberian constitution. Should the committee then adopt the proposals contained in the said statements, what would become of the Liberian government?"**

*Minutes, September 22, p. 6.

**Minutes, September 23, PP. 5-8.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee then made and Liberia accepted a modified statement of the power of the Chief Adviser, by which the Council of the League could suspend a decision pending adjustment by the International Court; ~~and~~ also the committee tried again to get in touch with the Firestone interests, but could not, and were finally told, October 12, that the Firestones could not begin negotiations until November.*

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said at this meeting: "The Committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government's request for assistance with the full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government, and also to the Finance Corporation in the hope that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to attend the Committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the Committee that it would have to wait for the endorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principles of the plan of assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the administrative part of the scheme. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment."

*Minutes, October 12, p. 5.

13-45-31

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

It was at this time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People heard of the impasse and appealed to the Secretary of State not to insist on a dictator in Liberia at the behest of the Firestone interests.

Mr. Stimson made this astonishing reply:

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

A striking rejoinder to this is the ~~Report of the Council Committee~~ statement made by members of the Committee at the 69th Session of the Council.*

~~"Following the discussions in the Committee, certain members thereof stated in the sixty-sixth session of the Council that:~~

"Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countires being interdependent."

"It was in proportion as members of the Committee and of the Council were able to put their hands upon this, the real difficulty in Liberia, that the League of Nations began to realize that the tales of slavery and forced labour in Liberia, conditions which had been effectively abolished at the beginning of the present administration, were being circulated and used, together with subsequent allegations now happily dispelled, as a screen for the statements that the expedition to the Kru coast was made for the purpose of taking reprisals, while the Republic of Liberia was being more and more brought into financial servitude, and was now facing financial and

*Minutes, 69th Session, 3rd Meeting. P.11.

13-45-32

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

and economic ruin. Repeated efforts to vindicate the Government's position and to show the true state of affairs seemed to carry conviction but slowly, until quite recently when the Mackenzie mission exploded these allegations, and enquiries made by various other persons and institutions showed how effectively slavery and forced labour in Liberia had become a thing of the past."

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position into which the Liberian government has been forced by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the consequent inaction of the League, and by the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 23, 1932, a Joint Resolution to ~~suspend payment of interest/~~and amortization give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually."

Loomis, the Financial Adviser, immediately protested, saying that Liberia's financial plight was not due mainly to the depression but to failure to follow his advice!

He, therefore, advised against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover administration, (assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt,) the United States rushed a Major-General to Liberia, together with an "expert from the State Department," to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell.

The official reason for this is:

13-45-33

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"The recent violation by Liberia of the loan agreements to which she is a party and her virtual repudiation of this obligation and the security on which large sums have been advanced to her by American interests are the culmination of some years of disagreement. The Special Representative is being sent to Monrovia in an effort to provide a solution safeguarding American rights in Liberia and restoring at the same time a situation which will permit of further efforts to assist Liberia."

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Liberia is not faultless. She lacks training, experience and thrift. But her chief crime is to be black and poor in a rich, white world; and in precisely that portion of the world where color is ruthlessly exploited as a foundation for American and European wealth. The success of Liberia as a Negro republic would threaten the whole colonial slave labor system. The promoters of colored labor caste stand ever ready, therefore, to cajole, bribe or force Liberia into their system. Most Liberians have stood firm for independence, but some, like Roye and King, have yielded to graft, and been cheated by money lenders or bribed by white slave traders. Today, the Firestone interests are straining every nerve to build a white ruling caste in Liberia similar to those in British, French and Belgian Africa, and built on money and force from the United States. Themselves convicted slave traders in effect, they have supported a campaign of falsehood against Liberia's desperate and sincere efforts at internal reform. They have hindered Liberia's effort to punish her powerful malefactors by hiring Ex-President King as a Firestone attorney; by prevailing on the State Department not to recognize the reforms of Barclay; by defying the efforts of the League of Nations; and by threatening Liberia with force, while charging her with fraud.

Thus we start the United States army toward Liberia to guarantee Firestone's profits in a falling rubber market, or smash another Haiti in the attempt.

13-45-34

The authorities upon which this article is based are as follows:


1. International Commission of Inquiry in Liberia. Communication by the Government of Liberia, dated December 15, 1930, transmitting the commission's Report. Geneva, 1930. (League of Nations Document. C. 658. M. 272, 1930. VI. (Series of League of Nations. Published. Publications VI. B. Slavery, 1930. VI. B. 6.) 130 pp.

2. Mimeographed copies of the "Minutes of the Committee of the Council appointed to examine the Problem raised by the Liberian government's request for assistance." Issued by the League of Nations and dated from the 6th Meeting, January 25, 1932 to the 25th Meeting, October 12, 1932. Referred to as "Minutes" with date of meeting.

3. League of Nations official Document No. C469. M. 238, 1932 VII. "Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government."
(Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political. 1932 VII. 7.) 71 pp.
Referred to as League of Nations Report, with page.

4. Various mimeographed communications, reports and letters issued by the above committees of the Council in 1932.

5. Dr. Mackenzie's mission to the Kru Coast. League of Nations Official Document. C. 662. M. 319. 1932. VII. (Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political, 1932. VII. 10.) 14 pp.

6. Minutes Sixty-Ninth Session of the Council, League of Nations, Oct. 13, 1932. c/69th Session. P.V. 3. (1)15 pp.

7. Manuscript of Miss Anna Graves, 23 pages.

8. R. L. Buell. "The Native Problem in Africa", Vol. II. Section XIV. on "The Liberian Republic";--referred to as Buell, with page.


I am deeply indebted to Miss Anna M. Graves for the privilege of examining this document and the League of Nations Documents listed above. I have also availed myself of her account of experiences in Geneva and the West Coast of Africa. I, myself, spent two months in Liberia in 1924.

[1933]

(Second Copy/ But not final

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where thin and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if rubber could be grown in Liberia.

These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to Liberia.

47-7-82

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculierly helpless position of a small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems that rich lands like Liberia ought easily to be self-supporting and to secure machinery, experts and modern luxuries, with sale of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they often find that the price of their material is so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia, like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, means loss of political power. And Liberia is jealous of her inde-

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

pendence,—jealous and proud. Indeed, the record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite querulous criticism, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

Five times Liberia has been tempted to seek salvation in loans of foreign capital. In 1870, a loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and Liberian officials who negotiated it; at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not again consider borrowing money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was threatened and a campaign of ridicule and abuse leveled at her. She was cheated of her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; England sliced off claims on one side and France on the other; blithely contradicting their own maps and promises. The excuse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop. Very well. Here in 1906 comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was to be raising of rubber. This little forest where I stood was one result; but there were few other results. The money was squandered by the Englishmen in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone

47-7-83

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. Sunlight soap interests of Great Britain were then trying to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes, pressed for payment of defaulted loans, and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote, and he appointed a Liberian commission. The Commission went out and made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. A new loan of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with the Liberian independence.

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was forced to declare in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan promisedher by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished.

For five or six years, she staggered on, but at last slowly began to gain.

"Between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue--both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed capital and

* Buell, p. 836.

47-7-84

and she still feared foreign capital.

Then came Solomon Porter Hood, as United States Minister. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of good will, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them.

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal.I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development by putting in the hands of people of the same race, local and immigrant, such power over the invested capital as would divert it, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter.

47-7-85

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if many leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area without price, and upon notification, the government was to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental of this land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. Liberia objected to the loan. The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money and Liberia realized that if the money was borrowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France and England; but that if there were no American concession, they could expect no help from America.

Buell says: "In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the

47-7-86

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

United States told us to accept this loan."*

Liberia, therefore, accepted the Firestone conditions as the only way to get protection, but insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company", all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90, making $2,027,700 in actual receipts.

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $387,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advance except on certain conditions. Beside this, a corps of highly paid American financial experts were hired and paid for by Liberia, and the Firestone bank was to be the depository of all state revenues and act as financial agent.

The Firestone loan charges, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%; and for 1932, "Nearly the whole revenue intake of the government!"**. It is said that the Acting Secretary

*Buell, p. 845

**See Page 25 of this manuscript.

47-7-87

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's while I am Secretary." ***

The arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberia was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to 'hum'. More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."***

The American "experts" in finance encouraged Liberia to spend.

"The increase in salaries, after theloan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public works, was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $2,000 to $4,000. The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000."*****

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Fire stone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500, which, of course, Liberia paid.

4-7-88

*Ms. of Miss Graves, P. 2.
**~~League of Nations Publications.~~)Buell, P. 836.
***League of Nations Report, P. 33.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. Inother words, there came a period of inflation and boom." *

Doubtless, Liberian officials were only too eager to get larger salaries but even in expert matters of public works, the American advisers were just as careless:

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Adviser at that time in office." **

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in debt to the National City Bank.

Suddenly, the shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world. The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from 72¢ to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes only 50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that President King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that other high officials are implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest their labor supply dwindle when it was alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabun and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always approaches slavery:

*League of Nations Report, P. 33.
**League of Nations Report, Pp. 30, 31.

47-7-89

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone was depending on. His contract had a clause: "The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." *

The Liberian Labor Bureau, established in 1918, was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent." Buell says: "Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied."**

477-7-90

The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that finally the government was compelled to take notice. One thing that Liberia had ~~saved from its surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was~~ had been desirous to careful to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate these reports of slavery in Liberia.

The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored American, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and

*Leage of Nations Report. P. 50.
**Buell, P.834

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia. The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones.

But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It showed that there was domestic slavery among the primitive Liberian tribes. This is, of course, a system different from industrial slavery, but it is liable to abuse, and is inconsistent with advance of civilization. Secondly, there was pawning of children.

The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. Military force was used and both President King and Vice President Yancy and some other officials were involved in profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade. Members of the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation.

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and President King gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on adoption of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, nephew of Arthur Barclay, one of the Commission, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 3. President Barclay had never been accused of having had any part in the slave-trading. On the same day, the note of the United States Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiring President, who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature

17-7-31

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

passed the following laws:

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.

An act providing for the re-organization of the hinterland.

An act forbidding pawning.

An act creating for public health and sanitary service.

An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic.*

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Chargé de'Affaires, with a request made for that government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received, and America refused to recognize Barclay!

The American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931, presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. President Barclay replied that he could not do this without violating his oath of office, but he had no objection to an appeal to the League of Nations asking it to nominate capable persons to help in re-organizing the country.**

This appeal was made and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, on which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit.

Meantime, the full force of the depression had struck Liberia. Prices fell. Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927, fell to $856,759 in 1930.

* League of Nations Report. P. 55.
** League of Nations Report, P. 56.

477-7-92

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Mr. Grimes said that during the last few years salaries had been reduced in Liberia on three occasions; on the second occasion, a 50% reduction. Beside that, most salaries had not been paid at all during the last seventeen months.

At the same time, the debt service was absorbing ~~over three-fourths~~ larger and larger proportions of the whole income of the country, ~~and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months.~~ Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed March 3, 1931, M. Brunot, a Frenchman, expert in general administration; M. Ligthert, a Dutchman, a financial expert; and Dr. Mackenzie, an Englishman, expert in medical and public health questions.

This committee of experts studied documents during March and April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26, 1931.

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."*

Their report consisted of a short, general description of the land and people and the form of government. Then it treated health, economic and financial conditions, and a detailed plan of assistance.

It is notable that of the 50 pages of report and appendices, only one-third of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, practically the whole report being on economic conditions and the Firestone contract. The report says on the abolition of slavery and forced labor:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia; found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour,

*(League of Nations.)

47-7-93

and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

Later, after Dr. McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged intimidation of native witnesses, while the British had taken it upon themselves to make an independent investigation. At the meeting of the Committee, May 17, *the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

"It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented, at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given evidence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

"On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations."

To this, the Liberian government added, in an appendix to the report, these details:

The Government of Liberia has taken the following action to carry out the recommendations of the Christy Commission.**

They also added, significantly; "As regards the forced labor which prevailed on the Firestone Plantations, the government had stopped the procedure of District Commissioners recruiting the labor necessary for these plantations."***

*Minutes, P. 14.
**League of Nations Report, P. 61.
***Minutes, January 30, P. 7. Statement by M. Brunot.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

| Recommendations | Action of Liberia |
|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a policy has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease.<br>Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programme to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers<br>Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |

47-7-96

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

American immigration to be encouraged.

Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has ever been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof.

The experts in presenting their plan of relief emphasized the difficulties presented by the Firestone concession and its one-sided character.

"Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 22 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan, $53,650. If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,138 instead of $43,320."*

47-7-96

Nevertheless, the Committee recommended an elaborate plan of rehabilitation based on arrangements to secure the second half of the Firestone loan of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian government by $100,000 and employ six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year, 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses; geographical, mineralogical, etc.,

* League of Nations Report, P. 32.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

surveys, public health, and roads and bridges, extending to a cost of $398,000 a year. Nothing was allowed for education in the initial years of the plan although "education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim, that of a free and united Negro nation."*

This would make an annual budget of $950,000, of which $624,350 would go for foreign experts and loan charges.

Liberia objected: "Such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increase nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning/ under the present arrangement....

A survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that the adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end."**

The Committee began to consider the Expert's report, January 25, 1932, and continued until May 21. Some members immediately put their finger on the Firestone contract and loan as the crucial point:

"Was it reasonable," said Madariaga of Spain, January 28, "to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil? Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."***

*League of Nations Report. P. 25, 26.
** League of Nations Report. P. 60.
***Minutes January 28, p. 9.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The American representative, was told by Lord Cecil that everyone admitted that some modification of these terms were both necessary and possible. "It was a pity that the Committee could not get in direct touch" with the Firestones. Reber, while he disclaimed representing the Firestones, "felt in a position to state" that he had had in January, the impression that this Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms, and the nature of the powers granted to the foreign specialists."

He then added this extraordinary statement:

"It was essential to submit an idea of these to the Finance Corporation."*

Here the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company stand revealed as representing one and the same policy, with the same spokesman, Reber. Again and again, the League Committee sought to get in touch with the Firestone interests but had much difficulty. Two members talked with them and asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter "in a sympathetic spirit." That their presence in Geneva, (and they were in Geneva at least a part of the time, and stopping at the same hotel with Reber), "should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested."**

47-7-98

*Minutes, May 6, P. 22.
**Minutes, January 30, P. 15.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Further than this, they would not commit themselves.* Nevertheless, Reber carefully protected their interests. As the Expert's plan was being simplified and hammered into shape, Reber complained

"That the Liberian Government would be entitled to send a representative to the Council. Whereas, the Financial Advisor, who in part represented the Finance Corporation, would not." Lord Cecil replied drily that there was "no reason to suppose that the Finance Corporation would not find means of communicating its point of view to the Council!" **

On May 18, the United States Government expressed its impatience and threatened that if the problem of Liberia was not settled by "next autumn" the American government would find it necessary to reserve its position and its full liberty of action." ***

On May 19, the Committee of the Council finally adopted a curtailed and limited program for Liberia in place of the first plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provided:

"Administration.—Three foreign specialists (at $3,000 each) with three assistant specialists (at $6,000 each) to lend their assistance to the Government as commissioners for the administration of the three provinces proposed by the Government.

"Health.—Two foreign specialists to carry out the International Quarantine Regulations and the hospital and public health services.

"Finance.—The present Financial Adviser and his assistants, for whom the Loan Agreement with the American Finance Corporation provides, to be retained, with certain new arrangements.

"A Chief Adviser (at $12,000) appointed by the League of Nations to be attached to the central government.

*Note Ligthart's statement, May 14.
**Minutes May 17, P. 5.
***Mimeographed note sent out by the Secretary General at the request of Reber.

66-7-99

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"In the event of difficulty in the application of the programme of assistance, provision is made for the possibility of recourse to the Council of the League.

"The Council's decision in such case would be unanimous, the vote of the Liberian representative not counting for the purpose of unanimity. In urgent cases, the President in office of the Council would be entitled to act on behalf of the Council, on condition of referring the matter to the Council at the earliest possible date.

"The Committee at the same time proposes to seek an understanding with the financial groups in Liberia, making it possible to obtain: (1) a moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the first loan; (2) the payment of the balance of the first block of this loan ($247,000) to serve as an initial fund for financing the programme of assistance; and $3) the readjustment of existing contracts, especially in connection with the scope of the concessions, the amount of the rental due (50¢ an acre instead of 6¢ an acre) and the rate of interest of the loan."

At the next meeting, which did not take place until September 19, 1932, it was reported that the Liberian Government had accepted the plan in principle subject to certain reservations, but that the United States still expressed doubt as to the adequacy of the authority which it was proposed to confer upon the Chief Adviser. The amendments suggested by the Liberian Government were not important, and chiefly in the line of cutting down the initial expense, making it possible for Liberians to act as Deputy Provincial Commissioners, and making the Chief Adviser a member of the President's cabinet, with appeal to the Council of the League of Nations in case of disagreement.

The Committee was disposed to agree with most of these suggestions, when suddenly at the meeting September 20, 1932, the United States

817.7-100

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

proposed to lay aside the whole plan and make instead "a preliminary agreement", based "on the establishment in Liberiaof an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall proceed as soon as possible to Liberia and there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become ffective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programmme be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

"Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision." *

The Council was taken aback. Lord Cecil asked how the United States Government proposed to have the Chief Adviser chosen. Mr. Reber explained that his government "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment." The Chairman replied that under the ordinary procedure of the League, the United States would be consulted, and also Liberia; but he wished further enlightment:

"What, for instance, pending an appeal to the Council, would be the fate of a decision reached by the Chief Adviser?" Reber answered: "The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision."**

*Minutes, September 22, pp. 3, 4.

**Minutes, September 22, p. 5.

67-7-101

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This brought matters to a standstill, because it meant that when the Council was not in session, months might pass before any matter in dispute could be brought up, and that the Chief Adviser would be in effect the real ruler of Liberia. Mr. Grimes, Secretary of State, who was representing Liberia, asked time to consider this totally unexpected amendment. Monsieur Panafieu of France remarked that the American proposal involved a radical change in the procedure adopted by the Council May 20, and made the Council face a dilemma: "No reforms without money, and no money without reforms;" that the Council had presented to Liberia and Firestone interests what seemed to them a fair compromise;

"The only reason it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of asistance, had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle, and subject to certain reservations, of Annex III. of the scheme, the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure."*

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned in order that the delegates might present the matter to their governments. At the meeting September 23, the Liberian delegation said that the United States government "contemplates not only the rehabilitation but also the reorganization of Liberia. And that the power proposed was not in accordance with the Liberian constitution. Should the committee then adopt the proposals contained in the said statements, what would become of the Liberian government?"**

*Minutes, September 22, p. 6.

**Minutes, September 23, PP. 5-8.

47-7-102

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee then made and Liberia accepted a modified statement of the power of the Chief Adviser, by which the Council of the League could suspend a decision pending adjustment by the International Court; and also the Committee tried again to get in touch with the Firestone interests, but could not, and were finally told, October 12, that the Firestones could not begin negotiations until November.

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said at this meeting: "The Committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government's request for assistance with the full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government, and also to the Finance Corporation in the hope that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to attend the Committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the Committee that it would have to wait for the endorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principles of the plan of assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the administrative part of the scheme. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment."

*Minutes, October 12, p. 5.

867.7-703

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

It was at this time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People heard of the impasse and appealed to the Secretary of State not to insist on a dictator in Liberia at the behest of the Firestone interests.

Mr. Stimson made this astonishing reply:

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

A striking rejoinder to this is the ~~Report of the Council Committee~~ statement made by members of the Committee at the 66th Session of the Council.*

~~"Following the discussions in the Committee, certain members thereof stated in the sixty-sixth session of the Council that:~~

"Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countires being interdependent."

"It was in proportion as members of the Committee and of the Council were able to put their hands upon this, the real difficulty in Liberia, that the League of Nations began to realize that the tales of slavery and forced labour in Liberia, conditions which had been effectively abolished at the beginning of the present administration, were being circulated and used, together with subsequent allegations now happily dispelled, as a screen for the statements that the expedition to the Kru coast was made for the purpose of taking reprisals, while the Republic of Liberia was being more and more brought into financial servitude, and was now facing financial and

*Minutes, 69th Session, 3rd Meeting. P.11, quoted from the Official Journal, March, 1932 (part II, p. 526.)

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

and economic ruin. Repeated efforts to vindicate the Government's position and to show the true state of affairs seemed to carry conviction but slowly, until quite recently when the Mackenzie mission exploded these allegations, and enquiries made by various other persons and institutions showed how effectively slavery and forced labour in Liberia had become a thing of the past."

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position into which the Liberian government has been forced by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the consequent inaction of the League, and by the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 23, 1932, a Joint Resolution to ~~suspend payment of interest~~ and amortization/and give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually."

Loomis, the Financial Adviser, immediately protested, saying that Liberia's financial plight was not due mainly to the depression but to failure to follow his advice!

He, therefore, advised against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover administration, (assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt,) the United States rushed a Major-General to Liberia, together with an expert from the State Department, to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell.

The official reason for this is:

47-7-195

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"The recent violation by Liberia of the loan agreements to which she is a party and her virtual repudiation of this obligation and the security on which large sums have been advanced to her by American interests are the culmination of some years of disagreement. The Special Representative is being sent to Monrovia in an effort to provide a solution safeguarding American rights in Liberia and restoring at the same time a situation which will permit of further efforts to assist Liberia."

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Liberia is not faultless. She lacks training, experience and thrift. But her chief crime is to be black and poor in a rich, white world; and in precisely that portion of the world where color is ruthlessly exploited as a foundation for American and European wealth. The success of Liberia as a Negro republic would threaten the whole colonial slave labor system. The promoters of colored labor caste stand ever ready, therefore, to cajole, bribe or force Liberia into their system. Most Liberians have stood firm for independence, but some, like Roye and King, have yielded to graft, and been cheated by money lenders or bribed by white slave traders. Today, the Firestone interests are straining every nerve to build a white ruling caste in Liberia similar to those in British, French and Belgian Africa, and built on money and force from the United States. Themselves convicted slave traders in effect, they have supported a campaign of falsehood against Liberia's desperate and sincere efforts at internal reform. They have hindered Liberia's effort to punish her powerful malefactors by hiring Ex-President King as a Firestone attorney; by prevailing on the State Department not to recognize the reforms of Barclay; by defying the efforts of the League of Nations; and by threatening Liberia with force, while charging her with fraud.

Thus we start the United States army toward Liberia to guarantee Firestone's profits in a falling rubber market, or smash another Haiti in the attempt.

47-7-106

The authorities upon which this article is based are as follows:

1. International Commission of Inquiry in Liberia. Communication by the Government of Liberia, dated December 15, 1930, transmitting the commission's Report. Geneva, 1930. (League of Nations Document. C. 658. M. 272, 1930. VI. (Series of League of Nations. Publications VI. B. Slavery, 1930. VI. B. 6.) 130 pp.

2. Mimeographed copies of the "Minutes of the Committee of the Council appointed to examine the Problem raised by the Liberian government's request for assistance." Issued by the League of Nations and dated from the 6th Meeting, January 25, 1932 to the 25th Meeting, October 12, 1932. Referred to as "Minutes" with date of meeting.

3. League of Nations official Document No. C469. M. 238, 1932 VII. "Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government."
(Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political. 1932 VII. 7.) 71 pp.
Referred to as League of Nations Report, with page.

4. Various mimeographed communications, reports and letters issued by the above committees of the Council in 1932.

5. Dr. Mackenzie's mission to the Kru Coast. League of Nations Official Document. C. 662. M. 319. 1932. VII. (Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political, 1932. VII. 10.) 14 pp.

6. Minutes Sixty-Ninth Session of the Council, League of Nations, Oct. 13, 1932. c/69th Session. P.V. 3. (1)15 pp.

7. Manuscript of Miss Anna Graves, 23 pages.

8. R. L. Buell. "The Native Problem in Africa", Vol. II. Section XIV. on "The Liberian Republic";--referred to as Buell, with page.

I am deeply indebted to Miss Anna M. Graves for the privilege of examining this document and the League of Nations Documents listed above. I have also availed myself of her account of experiences in Geneva and the West Coast of Africa. I, myself, spent two months in Liberia in 1924.

47-7-107

[1933]

Last edition
April 20/1933

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where thin and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if rubber could be grown in Liberia.

These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone senthis representative to Liberia.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems that rich lands like Liberia ought easily to be self-supporting and to secure machinery, experts and modern luxuries, with sale of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they often find that the price of their material is so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia, like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice; but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, means loss of political power. And Liberia is jealous of her inde-

65-7-47

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

pendence,--jealous and proud. Indeed, the record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone, is, despite querulous criticism, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

Five times Liberia has been tempted to seek salvation in loans of foreign capital. In 1870, a loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated and received less than $75,000, for which she eventually paid nearly $500,000. with interest.

For a long time, Liberia did not again consider borrowing money, but pressure was brought upon her. She was held up to criticism and ridicule as an undeveloped country. European countries, which were participating Africa, began to press in upon her. France sliced off territory on one side and England on the other. Both cut off her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad. Then, Sir Harry Johnston, representing English interests, came in 1906. He formed the Liberian Development Company, which was to invest $100,000, and Liberia was to guarantee the bonds. All that came of this investment, except was increased debt for Liberia, was proof through the planting of this little forest, where I stood, that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert in 1923.

Just before the World War, industrial aggression began again. Sunlight soap interests in Great Britain tried to get a concession which would monopolize palm oil. When Liberia resisted, England began to press for payment of Liberian debts, which had been defaulted. Sedition was spread among the frontier force, and it looked as though France or England was on the point of seizing the country.

47-7-60

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, which appealed to Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote, and he appointed a Liberian commission. The Commission went out and made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. A new loan of $2,000,000 was raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with the Liberian independence.

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was forced to declare in favor of the Allies. One inducement was a loan promised her by the United States Government. Before this went through, however, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over to the United States, headed by President King, but little was accomplished.

For five or six years, Liberia staggered on during the reaction from the World War, but, finally, began to make progress between 1922 and 1925.

"The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed capital and she still feared foreign capital.

Then came Solomon Porter Hood, as United States Minister. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of good will, I was designated by cable to

*R. L. Buell. "The Native Problem in Africa", Vol. II. Section XIV. on "The Liberian Republic"; Page 836.

47-7-61

act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them.

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere ideal of profit. I tried to start this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development by putting in the hands of people of the same race, local and immigrant, such power over the invested capital as would divert it, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply to my letter.

Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary. When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if the leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed.

47-7-62

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

There is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the Firestone contract, from $5,200 to $15,000 a year, was not unconnected with the attitude which he took in the matter. Firestone presented a contract which gave his company the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia one million acres of land at a nominal rental of only 6¢ an acre, and he insisted that because of certain public improvements, Liberia must have more money, particularly, a modern harbor must be built, so that passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the serf boats over the bar. This insistence upon a loan increased the opposition in Liberia, but the Firestone Company refused to come on any other terms. Moreover, Liberia recognized that her only protection against the territorial and economic aggression of France and England lay in the attitude of America, and she was certain that if an American loan was made that the United States would protect Liberia in order to safeguard the loan. In spite, therefore, of bitter opposition on the part of many high of icials, and without the knowledge of even some of the Cabinet officers, the Firestone contract was signed in September, 1926. Raymond L. Buell says:

"In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the United States told us to accept this loan."

The only concession that Liberia apparently obtained was that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other American corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank. And when the mists have cleared away, the "Finance Corporation," which made the loan, the Firestone Rubber Company, and the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company",

47-7-63

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

~~and the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company"~~, all in reality represented one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90, giving $2,027,700 in actual receipts.

This sum was expended to repay $1,146,715 in outstanding 5% bonds, $175,000 in internal bonds, mostly at 3%, and to ~~make~~ meet various other debts. Of the balance, $11,730 was spent for health and sanitation and $156,439 for public works. There is still today available from this loan a balance of $367,466, which the Firestone interests have not yet advanced. In addition to this, a ~~corporation~~ of financial experts, was to be consisting of a Financial Adviser at $12,500 and five Assistants, at a total annual salary of $32,000, These salaries were to be paid by the Liberian Government.

The local Firestone Bank was to be the depository of all state revenues of Liberia and was to act as Financial Agent. The loan charges, including interest on the bonds, and amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, absorbed in 1928, 20% of the total revenue of Liberia. In 1929, 26%, in 1930, 32%, in 1931, 54.9%, and for 1932, according to an official statement: "Nearly the whole revenue intact of the government." A member of the American Legation in Liberia has estimated that Liberia is really paying 17% for the loan. And a high official of the State Department in the United States was so alarmed when he understood the details of the contract, that he held up a somewhat similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, and said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia while I am here."

*Manuscript Report of Miss Anna Graves.

"I am deeply indebted to Miss Anna M. Graves for the privileges of examining this document and the League of Nations Documents listed below. ~~I have also availed myself of her account of experiences in Geneva and the West Coast of Africa.~~"

47-7-64

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The sudden influx of cash to Liberia in 1926 started a boom. The country was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Mr. Buell, who was in Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to 'hum'. More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."*

The American Financial Experts allowed and encouraged expansion. Salaries were raised, including that of the Financial Adviser, who, under the arrangements for the debt service before the advent of the Firestones, had been getting $5,000 and who was now raised to $12,500. The salaries of Liberian officials were increased.

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464; in 1927-1928, $1,529,840; in 1928-1929, $1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom."

Moreover, other expenditures allowed by the Financial Experts were not wise.

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Adviser at that time in office."***

47-7-65

* Buell, Page 836.
** League of Nations Official Document, No. C.469. M. 238, 1932 VII. "Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government." (Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political. 1932 VII. 7.) ~~PP. 30-31.~~ page 33. Referred to hereafter as League of Nations Report.

*** Do., pages 30-34

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This ~~development~~ "Expert" was subsequently transferred to Haiti by the United States Government to take care of her American debt. Hardly had apparent prosperity struck Liberia than the shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world. The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from 72¢ to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes only 50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation begins to tighten, opposition begins to seethe in Liberia. The former opponents of the loan become vocal.

It is pointed out by the opposition that President King is getting rich, not simply by his connection with the Firestone project, but by other transactions, and that high government officials are implicated with him. Spanish and French interests appear in Monrovia and are said to have large sums in cash to buy labor for French Gabun and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always tends to ~~abolish~~ approximate slavery because it is bound up with the clan opganization of the tribes. In the African tribe, there is no free labor capable of entering into an individual labor contract. Only the tribal chief can assign members of the tribe to work and this brings widespread misapprehension and contradiction. Black Senegalese troops "volunteered" and were forced into the French Army during the World War, which means that its chiefs were induced to designate black soldiers for use in the World War, but it does not mean that these individuals necessarily wanted to go. They obeyed and had to obey the tribal mandate. Thus, the Liberian Labor Bureau established in 1912, but not operative until 1926, supplied labor for the Firestone Company, and for this labor, fees were paid the chiefs. As Mr. Buell says:

47-7-66

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"Under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied."*

But Liberia has a comparatively small population, and when France and Spain began to bid for ~~this~~ labor, the Firestone Corporation saw its labor supply threatened with diminution, and its business costs rising. The Firestone interests, therefore, to say the least offered no objection to the opposition in Liberia against government officials and the charges of slavery and slave-trading. These accusations became so sharp that finally the government of Liberia was compelled to take notice, especially when the United States Government drew her attention to these charges in June, 1929, and she offered in September of that year to allow an International Inquiry Commission, under the League of Nations, to investigate conditions.

The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Dr. Cuthbert Christy, an Englishman, with a colored American, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man, the Honorable Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930.**

This was a thorough and frank report, although for some reason it trod softly and gently when it touched the Firestone interests. But, in other respects, the commission made a careful investigation and proved that domestic slavery existed among the more primitive Liberian tribes; that there was pawning of children, and especially that

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*Buell, P. 834.

** League of Nations ~~Report. P. 80.~~ International Commission of Inquiry in Liberia. Communication by the Government of Liberia, dated December 15, 1930, transmitting the commission's Report. Geneva, 1930. (League of Nations Document. C. 658. M. 272, 1930. VI. (Series of League of Nations. Publications. VI. B. Slavery, 1930. VI. B. 6.) 130 pp. Referred to as Christy Report.

47-7-47

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. Military force had been used, and President King, Vice-President Yancy and some other officials were involved in the accusations of profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade. Members of the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation.

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia, September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and President King gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on adoption of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, nephew of Arthur Barclay, one of the Commission, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath on December 3.

Pre ident Barclay had not been involved in the charges concerning slave-trading, although a member of President King's Cabinet. The only mention made of him in the report was as protesting against some of the slave trading activities.* He seemed the best man for the position. Considering the power of President King and his friends, Liberia acted as quickly as could be expected. But the United States was singularly impatient. Before President King was retired on November 17, the Secretary of State presented a protest urging action. President King presented this protest to the Legislature. Thereupon, the Legislature passed acts prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas, providing for the reorganization of the hinterland, forbiding pawning, establishing public health and sanitary service, and permitting unrestricted trade with the interior.

* cf Christy Report, pp. 110, 111, note this correspondence as early as 1927.

44-7-68

October 5, 1927.

It is ruining our Hinterland. It will affect the commerce and agriculture of this country and government. It will affect our reputation as a free country and will make our Declaration of Independence a sham.

Ross is asserting broadcast that the leaders of this country are sharing the money he is receiving from this abominable practice and had the audacity to offer me a bribe of(£25) twenty-five pounds to cable you in his behalf. For God's sake do not grant his request for shipment boys but order them to be returned to their respective homes and oblige.

(Signed) Sherman.

47-7-69

October 5, 1927.

To Postmaster General Sherman,
Sinoe.

Thinking Ross acting bona fide I granted him permit for shipment of 300 labourers. These were supposed to be men voluntarily engaging for service. Your message reveals iniquity. Am cancelling permit. You will instruct Grigsby in my name in the name of the Government to have man who is involuntarily held released immediately. If necessary have everybody concerned prosecuted. This is peremptory. Blackett must be dismissed.

(Signed) Barclay.
Secretary of State.
10 p.m.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Despite this, the United States refused to recognize President Barclay and united with the British and German legations. On January 1, 1931, they presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. President Barclay replied that he could not do this without violating his oath of office, but that he would ask the League of Nations to nominate capable persons to help in re-organizing the country.

This appeal was made and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, on which a representative of the United States Government, Mr. Samuel Reber, was to sit.

Meantime, the full force of the depression had struck Liberia. Prices fell. The value of Liberian exports dropped from $1,497,214 in 1927 to $856,759 in 1930. Salaries of Liberian officials were reduced on three occasions, in one case, more than 50%, and the Liberian Secretary of State said in 1932 that "Most salaries had not been paid at all during the last seventeen months." At the same time, the debt service was absorbing larger and larger proportions of the whole income of the country.

Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and March 3, 1931, appointed M. Brunot, a Frenchman, an expert in general administration; M. Ligthart, a Dutchman, a financial expert; and Dr. M. D. Mackenzie, an Englishman, an expert in medical and public health questions. This committee of experts studied documents during March and April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26, 1931, working "throughout in close contact with the Liberian government,

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."*

Their report consisted of a short, general description of the land and people and the form of government. It is notable that of the 50 pages of report and appendices, only one-third of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, practically the whole report being on economic conditions and the Firestone contract. With regard to the abolition of slavery and forced labor:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour, and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."** One of them added, significantly: "As regards the forced labour which prevailed on the Firestone Plantations, the government had stopped the procedure of District Commissioners recruiting the labor necessary for these plantations."***

The United States, in the meantime, had complained that native witnesses against the Liberian Government had been intimidated and punished, but the League of Nations and the English Government both investigated this charge and Lord Cecil said, May 17: "Neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations."**** There was trouble and serious trouble with the Krus but it was historical and administrative and connected with the present only insofar as the Krus thought the Liberian Government had been superseded by foreign control. The Liberian Government reported also that it had taken action to try to meet every recommendation made by the Christy Commission.*****

12-7-71

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*League of Nations Report, p. 9.
**Sixty-Sixth Session of the Council (League of Nations). Minutes of 9th meeting, Feb. 6, 1932, P. 4.
***Minutes, Jan. 30, P. 7, Statement by M. Brunot.
****Minutes, May 17, Page 14. From Mimeographed copies of the "Minutes of the Committee of the Council appointed to examine the Problem raised by the Liberian government's request for assistance." Issued by the League of Nations and dated from the 6th Meeting, January 25, 1932 to the 25th Meeting, October 12, 1932. Referred to as "Minutes" with date of meeting. Mr. Mackenzie's mission to the Ivory Coast. League of Nations Official Document. C.662 M.310. 1932. VII (Series of League of Nations Publications VII. Political, 1932. VII. 10.)
***** League of Nations Report, Page 62. 1 ibb.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This included opening trade with the Interior, reconstructing native policies, re-establishing the tribal authority of the chiefs, removing District Commissioners, and re-organizing the administration of the Interior, revising the control of the frontier force, forbidding pawning, and shipment of labor, and making domestic slavery illegal. The report of the experts in presenting their plan of relief, repeatedly emphasized and dwelt upon the difficulties presented by the Firestone contract and its one-sided character.

"Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan, $53,650. If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188 instead of $43,320."*

The Committee recommended an elaborate plan of rehabilitation based on arrangements to secure the second half of the Firestone loan of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian Government by $100,000 and employ 21 foreign experts.

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*League of Nations Report, P. 32. (The italics are in the report.)

47-7-72

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

At a total cost, with expenses and "geographical and mineralogical surveys, public health, and roads and bridges, costing $398,000 a year. Nothing was allowed for education in the initial years of the plan, although "education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim, that of a free and united Negro nation."* This would make an annual budget of $950,000, of which $624,350 would go for foreign experts and loan charges.

Liberia objected: "Such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute."

A survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that the adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end.**

The Committee of the Council of the League of Nations began to consider the experts' report on January 25, 1932, and continued until May 21. Some members immediately put their finger on the Firestone contract and loan as the crucial point:

"Was it reasonable," said M. de Madariaga, of Spain, January 28, "to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil? Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."***

*League of Nations Report. P. 25, 26.
**League of Nations Report. P. 60.
***Minutes January 28, P. 9.

47-7-73

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The American representative was told by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who precided over the Committee, that everyone admitted that some modification of these terms were both necessary and possible. "It was a pity that the Committee could not get in direct touch" with the Firestones. Mr. Reber, while he disclaimed representing the Firestones, "felt in a position to state" that in January he had had the impression that this Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms and the nature of the powers granted to the foreign specialists." He then added this extraordinary statement: "It was essential to submit an idea of these to the Finance Corporation."*

Here the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company stand revealed as representing one and the same policy, with the same spokesman, Mr. Samuel Reber. Again and again, the League Committee sought to get in touch with the Firestone interests but apparently had much difficulty in doing so. Two members finally talked with Firestone representatives and asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the Company would consider the matter "in a sympathetic spirit." They said their presence in Geneva (and they were in general stopping at the same hotel as Mr. Reber.) "should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested."**

47-7-74

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*Minutes, May 6, P. 22.
**Minutes, January 30, P. 15.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Further than this they would not commit themselves.* Nevertheless, Mr. Reber carefully protected their interests. As the experts' plan was being simplified and hammered into shape, Mr. Reber complained: "That the Liberian Government would be entitled to send a representative to the Council. Whereas, the Financial Adviser, who in part represented the Finance Corporation, would not." Lord Cecil replied drily that there was "no reason to suppose that the Finance Corporation would not find means of communicating its point of view to the Council!"**

On May 18, the United States Government expressed its impatience and threatened that if the problem of Liberia was not settled by "next autumn" the American government would find it necessary to reserve its position and its full liberty of action."***

On May 19, the Committee of the Council finally adopted a curtailed program for Liberia in place of the first plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provideda Chief Adviser and eight foreign experts, together with the present Financial Adviser and his aides, at a cost, including roads and surveys, of $188,000. This was based on a radical revision of the Firestone contract: a moratorium on payments; an increase in land rentals, from 6¢ to 50¢ an acre; reduction in the amount of land to be granted; and a reduction of the interest paid on the debt. Labor contracts for the Firestone plantations were to be modified so as to be in accord with the International Slavery Agreements.

*Note Ligthart's statement, Minutes, May 14.
**Minutes May 17, P. 5.
***Mimeographed note sent out by the Secretary-General at the request of Mr. Reber.

47-7-75

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

with the League of Nations, and decisions of the Chief Advisers could be appealed to the League Council. The total cost of this service was to be $188,000 a year. The actual income of Liberia for 1931, $481,429, and to this sum was to be added the unpaid residue of the first Firestone loan. The proposal for an additional loan was dropped.

At the next meeting, which did not take place until September 19, 1932, it was reported that the Liberian Government had accepted the plan in principle subject to certain reservations, but that the United States still expressed doubt as to the adequacy of the authority which it was proposed to confer upon the Chief Adviser. The amendments suggested by the Liberian Government were not important, being chiefly in the line of cutting down the initial expense, and making it possible for Liberians to act as Deputy Provincial Commissioners.

The Committee was disposed to agree with most of these suggestions, when suddenly at the meeting, September 20, 1932, the United States proposed to lay aside the whole plan and make instead "a preliminary agreement", based "on the establishment in Liberia of an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser," This Chief Adviser was"to prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become effective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations." To this official Liberia was to grant "ample and adequate authority", and in case of a difference of opinion, "The opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision."*

The Council was taken aback. Lord Cecil asked how the United States Government proposed to have the Chief Adviser chosen. Mr. Reber explained that his government "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment."

*Minutes, September 22, pp. 3,4.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Chairman replied that under the ordinary procedure of the League, the United States would be consulted, ~~and~~ as worded also Liberia; but he wished further enlightment: "What, for instance, pending an appeal to the Council, would be the fate of a decision reached by the Chief Adviser?" Mr. Reber answered: "The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision." *

This brought matters to a standstill, because it meant that when the Council was not insession, months might pass before any matter in dispute could be brought up, and that the Chief Adviser would be in effect the real ruler of Liberia. Mr. Grimes, Secretary of State, who was representing Liberia, asked time to consider this totally unexpected amendment. Monsieur Panafieu of France remarked that the American proposal involved a radical change in the procedure adopted by the Council May 20, and made the Council face a dilemma: "No reforms without money, and no money without reforms." He added,"That the Council had presented to Liberia and Firestone interests what seemed to them a fair compromise."

"The only reason," he said, "it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of assistance, had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle,... the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure."**

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned in order that the delegates might present the matter to their governments. At the meeting September 23, the Liberian delegation said that the United States government "contemplates not only the rehabilitation but also the

*Minutes, September 22, P. 5.
**Minutes, September 22, P. 6.

47-7-77

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

reorganization of Liberia. And that the power proposed was not in accordance with the Liberian constitution. Should the committee then adopt the proposals contained in the said statements, what would become of the Liberian government?"*

The Committee then made and Liberia accepted a modified statement of the power of the Chief Adviser, by which the Council of the League could suspend a decision pending adjustment by the International Court; also the Committee tried again to get in touch with the Firestone interests, but could not; and were finally told, October 12, that the Firestones could not begin negotiations until November!

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, declared at the meeting of October 12, that the Committee found itself in a difficult position. They had assayed to assist Liberia with the full approval of the United States Government. Last May, they had reached an agreement and had hoped that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to consult with them. It appears now that although the United States Government had ~~introduced~~ the general principles of the plan of Assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment."**

47-7-72

It was at this time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People heard of the impasse and appealed to the Secretary of State not to insist on a dictator in Liberia at the behest of the Firestone interests.

Mr. Stimson made this astonishing reply:

*Minutes, September 23, Pp. 5-8.

**Minutes, October 12, P. 5.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

A striking rejoinder to this is the statement made by members of the Committee at the 66th Session of the Council.*

> "Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countries being interdependent."

This, then, is the situation. And because of the impossible position into which the Liberian Government has been forced by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the consequent inaction of the League, and by the attitude of the Firestone interests, the Liberian Legislature December 23, 1932, passed a Joint Resolution to give notice to the Finance Corporation of America "that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932, the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually."

62-7-79

Mr. X Loomis, the Financial Adviser, immediately protested, saying that Liberia's financial plight was not due mainly to the depression but to failure to follow his advice! He, therefore, advised against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover Administration, (assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt), the United States rushed a Major-General ~~[illegible]~~ to Liberia, together with an "expert from the State Department,"

*Minutes, 69th Session of the Council League of Nations, Oct. 13, 1932. C/o 69th Session, P.V.3, 3rd Meeting, P. 11; quoted from the Official Journal, March, 1932, (Part II., P. 526.)

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell, who had never been allowed to present his credentials or have any official Relations with President Barclay.

The official reason given for this is:

"The recent violation by Liberia of the loan agreements to which she is a party and her virtual repudiation of this obligation and the security on which large sums have been advanced to her by American interests are the culmination of some years of disagreement."

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Liberia is not faultless. She lacks training, experience and thrift. But her chief crime is to be black and poor in a rich, white world; and in precisely that portion of the world where color is ruthlessly exploited as a foundation for American and European wealth. The success of Liberia as a Negro republic would threaten the whole colonial slave labor system. The promoters of colored labor caste stand ever ready, therefore, to cajole, bribe or force Liberia into their system. Most Liberians have stood firm for independence, but some, like Edward J. Roye and ~~ex-~~President King, have yielded to temptation ~~and~~ or have been hoaxed by money lenders and white slave-traders. Today, the Firestone interests ~~have put themselves in the position of~~ seeming to strain every nerve to ~~build~~ establish a white ruling caste in Liberia similar to those in British, French and Belgian Africa, and built on money and force, supplied from the United States. To say the least, they have not repudiated a campaign of misrepresentation against Liberia's desperate and sincere efforts at internal reform. They have hindered Liberia's effort to punish her powerful malefactors by retaining (at least in one case) ex-President King as a Firestone attorney; by prevailing on the State Department not to recognize the reforms of President Barclay; by defying the fforts of the League of Nations; and by threatening Liberia with force while charging her with fraud.

97-7-88

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Thus, we start the United States army toward Liberia, to guarantee Firestone's profits in a falling rubber market or to smash another Haiti in the attempt.

417-7-81

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where thin and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if rubber could be grown in Liberia.

These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to Liberia.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems easy to say that a rich land like Liberia ought easily to be self-supporting and secure machinery, experts and modern luxuries, with sale of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they find that the price of their material so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it.

In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital,

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means loss of political power. And Liberia is jealous of her independence,—jealous and proud. Indeed, the record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite querulous criticism, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

She tried in 1870. Again and again Liberia has been forced to seek salvation in loans of foreign capital in order to pay off a floating debt and build roads. The loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and Liberian officials that negotiated it; that at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not again consider borrowing money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was threatened and a campaign of ridicule and abuse leveled at her. She was cheated of her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; England sliced off claims on one side and France on the other; blithely contradicting their own maps and promises. The excuse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop. Very well. Here in 1906 comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was to be raising of rubber, and this little forest where I stood was one result; but there were few other results. The money was squandered by the Englishmen in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding

the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. Sunlight soap interests of Great Britain were then trying to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes, pressed for payment of defaulted loans, and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote for the then heir-apparent, Taft, and he appointed a Liberian commission. A Commission went out and there made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. It was refunded and the new debt of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with the Liberian independence.

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was forced to declare in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan promised her by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished.

For five or six years, she staggered on, but at last slowly began to gain.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"Between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue—both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed foreign capital and she feared foreign capital.

Then came Solomon Porter Hood, as United States Minister. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of good will, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to coöperate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them, and of the political power which they could use in its behalf, if they knew the facts.

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal. I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he

*The Native Problem in Africa. By Raymond L. Buell, II, p. 836.

must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development by putting in the hands of people of the same race, local and immigrant, such power over the invested capital as would divert it, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter. Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if many leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area of Liberia without price, and upon notification, the government was to warrant his title. Moreover, the rantal of this land land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. Liberia objected to the Loan. The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money. Liberia realized that if the money was borrowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France and England; but that if there were no American concession, they could expect no help from America.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Buell says: "In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the United States told us to accept this loan."

Liberia, therefore, accepted the Firestone conditions as the only way to get protection, as well as capital. On the other hand, Firestone insisted on the loan , as it now seems, so that the Liberian Government would be at the mercy of the Company.

The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

The Liberian Government finally insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company", all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90, making $2,027,700 actual receipts.

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advance except on certain conditions. Beside this,

corps of highly paid American financial experts were to be hired and paid for Liberian and the Firestone bank was to be the depository of all state revenues and act as financial agent.

The Firestone loan charges, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%; and for 1932, "Nearly the whole revenue intake of the government!" It is said that the Acting Secretary of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's, while I am Secretary."

The arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberia was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to "hum." More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."

The American "experts" in finance encouraged Liberia to spend.

"The increase in slaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public works, was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a n tive, from $3,000 to $4,000. The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500, which, of course, Liberia paid.

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
C. 469. M. 238. Liberia.

Doubtless, Liberian officials were only too eager to get larger salaries but even in expert matters of public works, the American advisers were just as careless:

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office."

C. 469. M. 238. (Pages 30 and 31.)
Liberia.

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in debt to the National City Bank.

Suddenly, the shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world.

The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from $1 to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes 50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that other high officials are implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest their labor supply dwindle when it was alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabun and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always approaches slavery: requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone was depending on.

His contract had a clause:

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply."

The Liberian Labor Bureau, established in 1912, was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent." Buell says: "Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied."*

*II, P. 834.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that finally the government was compelled to take notice. One thing that Liberia had saved from its surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was careful to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate these reports of slavery in Liberia, and of an active slave trade in which some of the higher officials were participating.

The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored American, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia.

The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones.

But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It showed that there was domestic slavery among the primitive Liberian tribes. This is, of course, a system different from industrial slavery, but it is liable to abuse, and is inconsistent with advance of civilization. Secondly, there was pawning of children.

The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. Military force was used and both President King and Vice President Yancy and some other officials were involved in profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade. Members of

the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation.

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and President King gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on the adotion of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, nephew of Arthur Barclay, one of the Commission, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 3. President Barclay had never been accused of having had any part in the slave-trading. On the same day, the note of the United States Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiring President, who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature passed the following laws:

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.

An act providing for the re-organization of the hinterland.

An act forbidding pawning.

An act creating for public health and sanitary service.

An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Chargé d'Affaires, with a request made for that government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received.

The American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931,

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. President Barclay replied that he could not do this without violating his oath, but the Government said that it had no objection to an appeal to the League of Nations asking it to nominate capable persons which Liberia could not procure among her own citizens to help in re-organizing the country.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

This appeal was made and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit.

Meantime, the full force of the depression had struck Liberia. Prices fell. Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927, fell to $856,759 in 1930.

At the same time, the debt service was absorbing over three-fourths of the whole income of the country, and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months. Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countires which had colonies. She wanted people with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed March 3, 1931, M. Brunot, a Frenchman, expert in general administration; M. Ligthart, a Dutchman, a financial expert; and Dr. Mackenzie, an Englishman, expert in medical and public health questions.

This committee of experts studied documents during March and April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26, 1931.

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."

(League of Nations Document. C. 469. M. 238., 1932 VII., Geneva, May 21, 1932. Page 9.)

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where thin and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if rubber could be grown in Liberia.

These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to Liberia.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems ~~easy to say~~ that a rich land like Liberia ought easily to be self-supporting and secure machinery, experts and modern luxuries, with sale of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they often find that the price of their material is so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it.

In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital,

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

37-7-48

means loss of political power. And Liberia is jealous of her independence,—jealous and proud. Indeed, the record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite querulous criticism, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

~~She tried in 1870.~~ Five times ~~Again and again~~ Liberia has been ~~forced~~ tempted to seek salvation in loans of foreign capital ~~in order to pay off a floating debt and build roads.~~ ~~She~~ In 1870 a loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and Liberian officials ~~that~~ who negotiated it; ~~that~~ at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not again consider borrowing money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was threatened and a campaign of ridicule and abuse leveled at her. She was cheated of her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; England sliced off claims on one side and France on the other; blithely contradicting their own maps and promises. The excuse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop. Very well. Here in 1906 comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was to be raising of rubber. ~~and~~ This little forest where I stood was one result; but there were few other results. The money was squandered by the Englishmen in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. Sunlight soap interests of Great Britain were then trying to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes, pressed for payment of defaulted loans, and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote ~~for the then heir-apparent, Taft,~~ and he appointed a Liberian commission. The Commission went out and ~~there~~ made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. ~~It was refunded and the~~ A new loan ~~debt~~ of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with the Liberian independence.

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was forced to declare in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan promised her by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished.

For five or six years, she staggered on, but at last slowly began to gain.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

"Between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue—both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed [redacted] capital and she still feared foreign capital.

Then came Solomon Porter Hood, as United States Minister. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of good will, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to coöperate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them, ~~and of the political power which they could use in its behalf, if they knew the facts~~.

37-7-50

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal. I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he

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*~~The Native Problem in Africa. By Raymond L.~~ Buell, [redacted] p. 836.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development by putting in the hands of people of the same race, local and immigrant, such power over the invested capital as would divert it, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter. Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

37-7-51

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if many leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area ~~of Liberia~~ without price, and upon notification, the government was to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental of this land land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. Liberia objected to the loan.

The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

corps of highly paid American financial experts were [redacted] hired and paid for by Liberia, and the Firestone bank was to be the depository of all state revenues and act as financial agent.

The Firestone loan charges, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%; and for 1932, "Nearly the whole revenue intake of the government!" ** It is said that the Acting Secretary of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's, while I am Secretary." ***

37-7-52

The arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberia was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to 'hum.' More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive." ****

The American "experts" in finance encouraged Liberia to spend.

"The increase in salaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public works, was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000. The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000." *****

**** League of Nations Report, p. 33

~~The Expatic Report. Page 33. Liberia. C. 469 M. 239.~~ League of Nations Publications ] ****

** See page 25 of this MS.

*** MS of Miss Graves, p. 2

**** Buell p. 836

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500, which, of course, Liberia paid.

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom." *

* The Expert's Report. Page 36. C. 469. M. 238. Liberia.

Doubtless, Liberian officials were only too eager to get larger salaries but even in expert matters of public works, the American advisers were just as careless:

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office." **

** C. 469. M. 238. (Pages 30 and 31.) Liberia.

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in debt to the National City Bank.

Suddenly, the shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world.

The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from 72¢ to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes only 50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former

* L of N Report, p. 33 ** L of N Report pp. 30, 31

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that President King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that other high officials are implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest their labor supply dwindle when it was alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabun and Spanish Fernando Po.

37-7-54

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always approaches slavery: requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone was depending on.

His contract had a clause:

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." *

The Liberian Labor Bureau, established in 1912, was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent." Buell says: "Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied."**

* L of N Report p. 50

** Buell, p 834

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

37-7-55

The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that finally the government was compelled to take notice. One thing that Liberia had saved from its surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was careful to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate these reports of slavery in Liberia, ~~and of an active slave trade in which some of the higher officials were participating.~~

The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored American, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia.

The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones.

But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It showed that there was domestic slavery among the primitive Liberian tribes. This is, of course, a system different from industrial slavery, but it is liable to abuse, and is inconsistent with advance of civilization. Secondly, there was pawning of children.

The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. Military force was used and both President King and Vice President Yancy and some other officials were involved in profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade. Members of

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation.*

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and President King gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on the adotion of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, nephew of Arthur Barclay, one of the Commission, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 3. President Barclay had never been accused of having had any part in the slave-trading. On the same day, the note of the United States Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiring President, who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature passed the following laws:

37-7-50

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.
An act providing for the re-organization of the hinterland.
An act forbidding pawning.
An act creating for public health and sanitary service.
An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic. *

~~(Liberia. C. 169. M. 258.)~~

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Chargé d'Affaires, with a request made for that government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received, and America refused to recognize Barclay!

The American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931,

* LoN Report p. 55

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. President Barclay replied that he could not do this without violating his oath of office, but ~~the Government said that~~ he had no objection to an appeal to the League of Nations asking it to nominate capable persons ~~which Liberia could not procure among her own citizens~~ to help in re-organizing the country.xy

~~x (Liberia, C. 469. M. 338.)~~

37-7-59

This appeal was made and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, on which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit.

Meantime, the full force of the depression had struck Liberia. Prices fell. Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927, fell to $856,759 in 1930.

At the same time, the debt service was absorbing over three-fourths of the whole income of the country, and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months. Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed March 3, 1931, M. Brunot, a Frenchman, expert in general administration; M. Ligthart, a Dutchman, a financial expert; and Dr. Mackenzie, an Englishman, expert in medical and public health questions.

This committee of experts studied documents during March and April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26, 1931.

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."xxy

xx L of N Report, p. 56

xxy (League of Nations Report p 9 ~~Document. C. 469. M. 338., 1932 VII., Geneva, May 31, 1932.~~ Page 9)

Mr. Reber said that the Finance Corporation did not intend to enter into negotiations on the general administrative principles of the plan. Mr. Grimes said that during the last few years salaries had been reduced in Liberia on three occasions; on the second occasion, a 50% reduction. Beside that, most salaries had not been paid at all during the last seventeen months.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Their report [redacted] consisted of a short, general description of the land and people and the form of government. Then it treated health, economic and financial conditions, and a detailed plan of assistance.

It is notable that of the 50 pages of report and appendices, only one-third of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, practically the whole report being on economic conditions and the Firestone contract. The report says on the abolition of slavery and forced labor:

37-7-60

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia; found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour, and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

Later, after Dr. McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged intimidation of native witnesses, while the British had taken it upon themselves to make an independent investigation. At the [redacted]th meeting of the Committee, May 17, the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

"It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented, at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given evidence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

"On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations."

~~(Page 14, Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting, Liberia, League of Nations.)~~

To this, the Liberian government added, in an appendix to the report, these details:

The Government of Liberia has taken the following action to carry out the recommendations of the Christy Commission:

XX L of N Report p. 61

* Footnote p. 14

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

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|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a policy has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease. | |
| Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programmed to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |
| Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | |

37-7-61

and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

They also added, significantly; "As regards the forced labor which prevailed on the Firestone Plantations, the government had stopped the procedure of District Commissioners recruiting the labor necessary for these plantations."***

Later, after Dr. McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged intimidation of native witnesses, while the British had taken it upon themselves to make an independent investigation. At the meeting of the Committee, May 17, *the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

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*Minutes, P. 14.
**League of Nations Report, P. 61.
***Minutes, January 30, P. 7. Statement by M. Brunot.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

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37-7-58

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** League of Nations Report, P. 61.

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xxx Minutes, Jan 30 & 7. Statement of M. Brunot

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

American immigration to be encouraged. Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has even been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof.

(Page 61. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

37-7-62

The experts in presenting their plan of relief emphasized the difficulties presented by the Firestone concession and ~~gave details of this extraordinary bargain:~~ its one-sided character

~~It~~ is impossible to examine Liberia's financial situation without taking into account the fact that there is a close connection between this loan and the Firestone concession, as we have explained under the heading "Firestone Plantations, Ltd." This concession was granted on conditions very favourable to the lessee. The situation may be expressed in figures if we calculate the receipts which the Liberian Government obtains under this concession. "Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan, $53,650. If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188 instead of $43,320."*

* ~~Page 32.~~ C. 469. M. 238. League of Nations. Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government.

(Italics in original report.)

* L of N Report, p. 32

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Nevertheless, the Committee recommended an elaborate plan of re-habilitation based on arrangements to secure the second half of the Firestone loan of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian government by $100,000 and employ six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year, 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses, geographical, mineralogical, etc., surveys, public health, and roads and bridges extending to a cost of $398,000 a year. Nothing was allowed for education in the initial years of the plan although

37-7-63

(Do. Page 25.)
C. 469. M. 238.
League of Nations.

to attain its i

This would make an annual budget of $95,000, of which $624,350 would go for foreign experts and loan charges.

Liberia objected: ~~According to the carefully considered opinion of the Government,~~ "Such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increased nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning under the present arrangement.* The adoption, then, of the recommendations of the Brunot Commission, on this subject would place the Liberian government in the immoral position of contracting obligations which its present resources will not permit it to meet. Coupled with this, A survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that the adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end." **

* L of N Report p. 25, 26

** L of N Report p. 60

"education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim, that of a free and united Negro nation."*

Experts Report. Page 26.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee began to consider the Experts's report, January 25, 1932, and continued until May 21. Some members ~~were frank about the~~ immediately put their finger on the Firestone contract and loan as the crucial point:

"Was it reasonable," said Madariaga of Spain, January 28, "to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil? Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."

~~M. de Madariaga (Spain) 11th Meeting, p. 9. January 28.~~

The experts recommended that the Firestone contract be modified by limiting the land it could take, by increasing the rent from 6 cents an acre to 50 cents, and by amending the labor contract so as to avoid forced labor. ~~Reber,~~ The American representative, was told by Lord Cecil that everyone admitted that some modification of these terms were both necessary and possible. Reber, while he disclaimed representing the Firestones, "felt in a position to state" that he had had in January, the impression that this Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms and ~~that their ideas of these reforms must be submitted to the Finance Corporation.~~

"it was a pity that the committee could not get on direct terms" with the Firestones

The materials of the powers granted to the foreign specialists

He then added this astounding statement "It was essential to submit an idea of these to the Finance Corporation" * Here

~~This shows that~~ the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company ~~apparently understood each other~~

stand revealed as representing one and the same policy, under the same statesmanship, Reber.

Again and again the League committee sought to get on terms with the Firestone interests but had much difficulty. Two members talked with them and asked

xxx minutes Jan 28, p 9

* minutes, May 6, p 22. xx minutes, Jan

what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter "in a sympathetic spirit." That their presence in Geneva, (and they were in Geneva at least a part of the time and stopping at the same hotel with Reber), "should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested." *

Further than this they would not commit themselves ** Nevertheless Reber carefully protected their interests. As the experts plan was being completed & hammered out daily, Reber complained

"That the Liberian Government would be entitled to send a representative to the Council. Whereas, the Financial Advisor, who in part represented the Finance Corporation, would not." Lord Cecil replied daily that there was "no reason to suppose that the Finance Corporation would not find means of communicating its point of view to the Council." ***

37-7-65

** minutes May 17, 45

*** minutes Jan 30, 45 (preceding page)

* Wile Lighthall's statement May 14,

On May 18 the U S — govt expressed its confidence & declared that the problem of Liberia was not settled by "next autumn" the American government would find it necessary to reserve its freedom & its full liberty of action" *



(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

On May 19, the Committee of the Council ~~, mainly for financial reasons,~~ (mainly) adopted a curtailed and limited program for Liberia in place of the (first) plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provided:

"Administration.—Three foreign specialists (at $8,000 each) with three assistant specialists (at $6,000 each) to lend their assistance to the Government as commissioners for the administration of the three provinces proposed by the Government.

"Health.—Two foreign specialists to carry out the International Quarantine Regulations and the hospital and public health services.

37-7-66

"Finance.—The present Financial Adviser and his assistants, for whom the Loan Agreement with the American Finance Corporation provides, to be retained, with certain new arrangements.

"A Chief Adviser (at $12,000) appointed by the League of Nations to be attached to the central Government.

"In the event of difficulty in the application of the programme of assistance, provision is made for the possibility of recourse to the Council of the League.

"The Council's decision in such case would be unanimous, the vote of the Liberian representative not counting for the purpose of unanimity. In urgent cases, the President in office of the Council would be entitled to act on behalf of the Council, on condition of referring the matter to the Council at the earliest possible date.

"The Committee at the same time proposes to seek an understanding with the financial groups in Liberia, making it possible to obtain: (1) a moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the first loan; (2) the payment of the balance of the first block of this loan [$247,000] to serve as an initial fund for financing the programme of assistance; and (3) the readjustment of existing contracts, especially in connection with the scope of the concessions, the amount

* mimeographed notes sent out by the Secretary General at the request of Raben

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

of the rental due [50¢ an acre instead of 6¢ an acre] and the rate of interest of the loan."

"The Committee considers that, if the League of Nations is to give a favourable reply to Liberia's request for assistance, it can only lend its support to work which is going to be efficient.

"It is of opinion that the general lines it has indicated are a minimum below which it would appear impossible to go, if satisfactory results are to be achieved. At the same time, the Committee cannot recommend with any hope of success the opening of negotiations with The American groups concerned if the latter are not given legitimate guarantees under the plan.

"The Committee suggests that the Council should request the Liberian Government to state as early as possible whether it accepts the general principles of the ~~recommended plan of assistance.~~"

37-7-67

At the next meeting, ~~September~~ which did not take place until September 19, 1932, it was reported that the Liberian Government had accepted the plan in principle subject to certain reservations, but that the United States still expressed doubt ~~anxiety~~ as to the adequacy of the authority which it was proposed to confer upon the Chief Adviser. The amendments suggested by the Liberian Government were not important, and chiefly in the line of cutting down the initial expense ~~somewhat~~, making it impossible for Liberians to act as Deputy Provincial Commissioners, and making the Chief Adviser a member of the President's cabinet, with appeal to the Council of the League of Nations in case of disagreement. The Committee was disposed to agree with most of these suggestions, when suddenly at the meeting September 20, 1932, the United States proposed to lay aside the whole plan and make instead ~~that instead of considering amendments to the plan~~, a preliminary agreement ~~should be made~~, based on the establishment in Liberia of an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

proceed as soon as possible to Liberia and there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become effective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programme be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

37-7-68

" Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision." *

(Pages 3. and 4.)
Minutes of the 21st Meeting. Liberia.
League of Nations. U.S.

The Council was taken aback. Lord Cecil asked how the United States Government proposed to have the Chief Adviser chosen. Mr. Reber explained that his government "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment." The Chairman replied that under the ordinary procedure of the League the United States would be consulted ~~as to the appointment,~~ and also Liberia; ~~would be consulted,~~ but he wished further enlightment:

"What, for instance, pending an appeal to the Council, would be the fate of a decision reached by the Chief Adviser?" Reber answered: "The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision." **

(Page 5.)
21st Meeeting. League of Nations.
Liberia.

* Minutes Sept 22, pp 3, 4 ** do p 5

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This brought matters to a standstill, because it meant that when the Council was not in session, months might pass before any matter in dispute could be brought up, and that the Chief Adviser would be in effect the real ruler of Liberia. Mr. Grimes, Secretary of State, who was representing Liberia, asked time to consider this totally unexpected amendment. Monsieur Panafieu of France remarked that the American proposal involved a radical change in the procedure adopted by the Council May 20, and made the Council face a dilemma: "No reforms without money, and no money without reforms;" That the Council had presented to Liberia and Firestone interests what seemed to them a fair compromise;

37-7-69

"The only reason it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of assistance, had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle, and subject to certain reservations, of Annex III. of the scheme, the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure." *

* (Page 6.)
21st Meeting. Minutes. Liberia.
League of Nations.

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned in order that the delegates might present the matter to their governments. At the meeting September 23, the Liberian delegation said that the United States government "contemplates not only the rehabilitation but also the reorganization of Liberia. And that the power proposed was not in accordance with the Liberian constitution.

"Should the committee then adopt the proposals contained in the said statements,

"What would become of the Liberian government?" **

* Minutes, Sept 22, p. 6 ** Minutes Sept 23 pp. 5-4

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee then tried to make a modified statement of the power of the Chief Adviser, and also to get in touch with the Firestone interests, but could not, and were finally told, October 12, that the Firestones could not begin negotiations until November.

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said that: "The Committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government's request for assistance with the full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government, and also to the Finance Corporation in the hope that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to attend the Committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the Committee that it would have to wait for the endorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principles of the plan of assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the administrative part of the scheme. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment." At the moment, all the Committee could do was to report to the Council and leave it to the Council to take what steps it might consider necessary."

(Page 5.)
(League of Nations. Liberia. 25th Meeting.)

37-7-70

It was at this time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People heard of the impasse and appealed to the Secretary of State not to intervene on a decision in favour of the Firestone interests

~~At this point, upon remonstrance from the N.A.A.C.P., Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of State,~~ made ~~the~~ one astonishing ~~statement:~~ reply

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

A striking reminder that this is the Report of the Council Committee of the 69th session of the Council *

Copy A

37-7-71

* minutes, 69th Session, 3rd meeting p

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position in which the Liberian government has been ~~placed~~ forced by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the ~~forced~~ consequent inaction of the League, and by the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 23, 1932, ~~the following~~ a Joint Resolution; & ~~stop~~ suspend payment of interest + am

give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually."

Loomis, the Financial Adviser immediately protested saying this Liberian financial plight was not due entirely & to deductions but to failure to follow his advice!

37-7-72

(Cont. ~~Liberia, The League and the United States.~~)

He, therefore, advises against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover administration, (assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt,) the United States rushed a Major-General to Liberia, together with an expert from the State Department, to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell, and presumably to force the Liberian ~~government to accept a dictator nominated by the Firestone interests.~~ The official reason for this is:

Copy B

Liberia

(Insert 2.)

By the end of 1931, the deficit had reached nearly half-million dollars. The President, therefore, addressed a letter to the Finance Corporation of America pointing out that many government employees had had only one month's salary for a year; that public buildings were in need of repairs and public roads called for upkeep. He asked, therefore, for a postponement of payments. The Finance Corporation replied by criticizing conditions in Liberia, reciting rumors that Liberia was seeking financial aid elsewhere, and refusing to consent to any postponement of payments. By extraordinary effort, the interest charge on January 1 was paid but the effect of this was to sacrifice administrative efficiency, increase the floating debt, and ruin the credit of the government. The President, therefore, begged the Firestone Company for a loan of $25,000 to tide over the government. This was also refused.

Anxious not to default upon payments for the loan, the Secretary of the Treasury, in corroboration with the Financial Advisor and with the approval of the President, made detailed proposals for balancing the budget for the year 1932. The Firestone Company, instead of replying to these proposals, refused to discuss the subject and said that they were referring it to the League of Nations. The League of Nations were at the time considering the request for political assistance of the Liberian Government and its committee said in turn that nothing could be done unless the Firestone interests consented to modify their contracts. Liberia, both with regard to the loan and with regard to building. The corporation was, therefore, requested to send a representative to Liberia for negotiating these modifications.

This Firestone representative never appeared in Liberia, and in November, the American delegate Reber declared that before sending a representative to Geneva the Firestone Company was going to negotiate directly by sending

862.6-141

a representative to Liberia.

The President felt that Liberia was being manoeuvred into a situation by which it would be made to appear that she was withdrawing from the League to the League of Nations and entering into direct negotiations with the Firestone Company, while, on the other hand, when Mr. Lyle, representing the Finance Corporation, arrived in Liberia, he declared that he had no powers to conclude a definite agreement.

(Insert f 11.)

37-6-142

Meantime, the Liberian Committee of the League of Nations wired that the Finance Corporation could not co-operate with it until the Moratorium Act had been repealled. The President asked for a chance to present the Liberian point of view and refused to appeal or limit the Moratorium Act. A final meeting of the committee was called in London instead of Geneva and [redacted] report, together with a supplementary agreement proposed by the Firestone interests. This agreement the Liberian Secretary of State refused to accept unless it was modified in accordance with the reservations which he had made.

37-6-143

The Committee of the League of Nations therefore sent its own committee in the person of Doctor Mackenzie, one of the original investigators, to Liberia. Mackenzie and General Winship arrived August 20. Doctor Mackenzie told the President that the League was tired of the Liberian question and was not prepared to admit any further delay. He said that the agreement represented the maximum concession which the League was prepared to grant, and that there was no need for further appeal to the Council. He said that if Liberia did not agree she would be faced with many embarrassments and that the foriegn office in London had advised the United States government in such case to intervene. The President told Doctor Mackenzie that the Liberian government had not been responsible for the delay but that the delay had been caused by the Firestone interests.

Doctor Mackenzie had no powers to negotiate or make commitments binding upon the Council.

(Final Copies)

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

I remember standing once in a West African forest where the thin, green and silver trees loom straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, Assistant Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain ever driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. Co-operation which he had found was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if he thought that rubber could be grown in Liberia. These were rather ~~tonic~~ hectic times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to look over Liberia.

The history of this forest was rather singular. In 1906, Sir Harry Johnston had been sent to Liberia extraordinarily well backed by funds, for he published two enormous and costly volumes as a result of his trip.. And also as a result of his trip came a second English loan.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a colony in the modern world of industry. It seems easy to say that a colony like Liberia in a rich land ought to be self-supporting and easily secure machinery, experts and even modern luxuries, with the support of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they find that the price of their material can be so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. They can easily be thrown into bankruptcy. For instance, there was sugar in Liberia ~~raised~~ it after the Civil War,

and sent her ships built by her hands, carvening across the seas. She turned a pretty penny and seemed on the highroad to prosperity, until there came suddenly beet sugar, and its bonties, tariff, machinery and power capital put into the West Indies, and the monopoly of the American Sugar Refiners. You can still see the ruins of sugar plantations in Liberia along the St. Paul. The same thing happened with Piassapa, with coffee, and in different ways with palm oil. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia like many other small isolated countries, was incontinual financial difficulties. She needed expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, meant loss of political power. And she was jealous of her independence.

She tried in 1870, however, to borrow money in order to pay off her floating debt and to build roads. The loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and possibly by the Liberian official that negotiated it, so that at the end of the transaction, while she also owed $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was thrown in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not consider the borrowing of money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was seized. She was hemmed in from her hinterland, which ought to have extended far down Lake Chad; the English Government sliding off on one side, and the French on the other, even contracting their own maps and promises. The excuse was, here is an undeveloped country. Liberia must develop. Very well. Here comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. $500,000 is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was the raising of rubber, and this little forest in which I stood was one result. But nothing really come of the thing. The money was squandered by the Englishman in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. The soap interests of great planters had tried to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote for the then apparent Taft, and he appointed a Liberian commission. A Commission went out and there made negotiations for a collection of the Liberian debt. It was refunded and the new debt of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere. Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large foreign trade, was induced to declare herself in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan to be made her by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished. For five or six years, she staggered on unable to get capital, and consequently, unable to use the best machinery to prepare her coffee and palmoil and for export; Unable to build more than a few miles of road. Then came Solomon Porter Hood. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his instigation, as a gesture of good will, I already in Europe was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to be Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, at the instigation of Mr. King. The appointment was purely ornamental, I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa/and Liberia and tell them of the trenendous interest which American colored people had in them in America and of the political power which they they could use in its beHalf.

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imp rialism has done to Asia and Africa, but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal. I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that one thing above all that he must avoid was taking capital into a small country accompanied by officials who despised the natives and organized exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a development more like that which accompanied

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

British capital in Canada or Australian capital in the Pacific; That is, keep in the hands of the colored people, local and immigrant, some power of capital which would divert them and guide them, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare. I had no reply from my letter. Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary. When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my head began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if the leading, educated officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area of Liberia without price, and upon notification, the government is to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental on this land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept the loan. It was here that the largest fight ensued. The Firestone insisted that certain improvements must be made. That the state must have larger income, particularly that a modern harbor be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take their gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar. The Liberian Government finally insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the United States Trading

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

Company, all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Five Million Dollars was to be loaned, but not in piecemeal, andthe rate was to be 7%. So that Liberia proceeded to re-finance her foreign debt at 5% and her internal debt at 3% into one great debt of 7%. All of the state revenues were to go into the Firestone Bank and receive but 2% interest, and the installments of the loan were only to be doled out as the interest and other changes were paid. Nevertheless, this was in 1927. The boom of the world was on, and the boom struck Liberia.

It is tremendously difficult for a little country like that to maintain a government and keep up appearances. They must, if they are wise, maintain Ministers abroad and entertain ministers at home. They are, as colored people, peculiarly subjected to petty and hurting criticism concerning their homes and dress and food. And, on the other hand, income is wretchedly low. It makes officials susceptible to all degrees of cast and bribery. In this boom, the salaries were raised. Members of Congress, instead of getting $1,200 were to get $2,000. Members of the Cabinet, $4,000 instead of $3,000. Tremendous increases, and on the whole, they were increases that seemed gotten by the expanding business and the rosy prospects of the country. The only conspicuously large increase, as I have said, was that of King's, from $5,000 to $15,000. At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500.

In the meantime, things begin to happen. The British Rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from $1 to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes $50,000. He cuts the wages of his laborers in half, from 12¢ to 6¢ a day, and he does practically

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

nothing about the promised harbour. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. It was pointed out that King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that higher officials were implicated with him. The Acting Secretary of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's, while I am Secretary." The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that finally the government was compelled to take notice. One thing that they had saved from their surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was careful to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate certain reports as to slavery in Liberia, and an active slave trade in which some of the higher officials were participating in. The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored man, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia. This was a serious mistake which they probably did not realize when they accepted, and were probably led to accept because homes adequate for the entertainment of foreigners are not so plentiful in Monrovia, and because the Liberians themselves have been accused of trying to

(Con. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

influence the Commission, if they had been entertained in the President's mansion or at the homes of any government officials. The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones. But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It shed that there was slavery among the primitive tribes. Everyone knew this, of course. The same thing exists in all the neighboring territories and in the English territory of Sierra Leone. It is only a few years ago that any steps at all were taken to overthrewthe system. It is, of course, a system rather different from what is ordinarly understood by slavery, but it is liable to all sorts of abuse, and not at all consistent with advance and civilization. Certainly, there was pawning of children. Often today/~~they are~~ were sold to well-to-do Liberians in the towns who brought them up as servants and paid them by giving them some education and allowing them to learn English. The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were rasied among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabron and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. And that force was used to send them, and that both the President and the Vice President were involved in the profit-sharing from the proceedings of this labor, and that members of the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extorting and illegal taxation. Members of the government being accused in profiting in this graft. The resultant upheaval in Liberia forced the immediate resignation of Preident King and Vice President Yancy, and they were threatened with criminal prosecution. The Secretary of State, Edwin Barclay, nephew of Arthur Barclay mentioned before, who had never been accused of complicity with this slave-trading and graft, was named as temporary President and afterward elected for full term. The question was now,

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

how to reform these abuses and get rid of the stigma upon the good name of Liberia. Before, however, any real steps had been taken, the United States comes in and refuses to recognize Mr. Barclay. Barclay had already laid down a plan of reform and the Legislature had passed acts to meet every criticism and suggestion of the Investigating Committee. No taint or complicity and guilt had touched Barclay. Nevertheless, President Hoover refused to recognize him; Stimson sent him a number of impudent notes, which should have been addressed not to him, but to King, and Mitchel, the Colored United States Minister sent there was not allowed to present his credentials, and consequently had no way of getting any information concerning what was going on, except through the gossip of the local Firestone people. And in the Firestone people lay for all this .
In the first place, De La Rue, United States Financial Advisor, had wasted money, before he was sent down to help keep Haiti in debt. Loomis, who succeeded him, was ill-fitted for his position; had no constructive plans, and let matters drift. The Firestone employees drew off and made themselves a white caste, criticizing and even insulting Liberians, and helped to spread a world-wide propaganda against them. Liberia appealed to the League for assistance, and the League appointed a special committee of the Council, which which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit. This special committee sent three experts to study methods of reform in Liberia. Meantime, the Firestone people were spreading the story that Liberia was not making reforms, and that she was even punishing and murdering natives who had testified before the committee, and in addition to this, the full force of the world depression began to fall upon Liberia. Her income dropped; the prices of her products fell enormously in the World War, while the charges for the debt and

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

debt service soared, until at last in 1931, they were absorbing over three-fourths of the whole income of the country, and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months. Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people of open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed Ligthart of Holland, Brunot from France, and Dr. Mackenzie from England. Ligthart was an expert in finance, Brunot in _____, and Mackenzie in sanitation. They went to Liberia in 1931 and made a report with a detailed plan of the way in which Liberia could be assisted. Then, on account of the rumor that Liberia was punishing witnesses, Dr. Mackenzie went back again in 1932. The calumnies against Liberia kept up until thewhole world got the idea that Liberia was not only engaged in slavery and slave-trade, but refusing to do anything about it and persisting in her position.

Every effort was made to show that these accusationswere not true. The expert's commission testified that the slave-trading had been stopped. Laws against slavery had been passed, and that while tribal slavery had not been explained, this was because it was impossible to abolish it quickly. It must be a slow and delicate operation, but that work on it had begun.

Dr. Mackenzie reported that there was no evidence that Liberia was punishing witnesses. That the cause of the Kru disorders were entirely different and dated from long periods in the past. The League Council thereupon tried to lay down a plan to help in the rehabiliation of Liberia. They held twenty-five meetings on the question. Liberian officials sat with it, and the American representative who was supposed to represent the United States, but who lived in the same hotel with the representatives of the Firestone interests, and from time to time spoke for it before the Council.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

The plans the League Council agreed upon was accepted by Liberia and by the United States, but the Firestone Company induced the State Department to refuse co-operation unless the Chief Adviser was made a dictator who could carry out his plans in defiance of the Constitution and laws of Liberia. At this point, the N. A. A. C. P. remonstrated, and received a telegram from Secretary Stimson, in which the Secretary said that all the government was asking was that any officials sent there by the League of Nations should have sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the League to make it worthwhile sending them. That the United States had no time to intervene and was simply co-operating. The telegram referred to the conditions of slavery enforced labor, and said that the remedy suggested by the League had been subvisioned by non-partisan officials , "And we have urged only that these officials be promised in advance suggestions or authority to make them useful." Stimson denied proposed dictatorial powers, and made the astonishing statement: "The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of ~~pusiness~~ interest, but of order and humanity." Mr. Stimson surely did not know the facts of the case. He refused to recognize what Liberia had accomplished in stopping slavery and the slave trade and how the whole process had been hampered by his dogmatic refusal to recognize Barclay. That the representatives of the United States had more often represented Firestone that the State Department, and that from the beginning to the end, the League Council had criticized Firestone, the contract which they had made, the forced labor on their plantations, and the impossibility of getting any reasonable arrangement with them. The conditions of the

( Con. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

Firestone contract are impossible for a country in the situation that Liberia is in, and under the present world conditions.

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position in which the Liberian government has been placed by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the forced inaction of the League, and the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 23, 1932, the following Joint Resolution:

" Joint Resolution Authorizing the President of Liberia to Suspend Payment of Interest and Amortization of the 7% Gold Loan of 1926 and For Other Purposes."

"Whereas in consequence of the world wide depression the income of the Government of Liberia has been reduced to the point where it is insufficient to meet its ordinary administrative expenses, including the payment of Amortization and Interest on the Loan of 1926; and

"Whereas the Government of Liberia for more than a year has made several efforts and appeals to the Finance Corporation for relief from the consequent economic depression and result of financial strain imposed by the conditions of said Loan, without any success, and

"Whereas the first duty of the Government is to ensure its effective and efficient operation which cannot be done unless the civil establishment is regularly and adequately paid; and

"Whereas nearly the whole of the Revenue intake of the Government has, up to the present, been applied to the service of the 1926 Gold Loan, resulting in the non-payment of salaries of the civil establishment which has consequently resulted in a serious situation of economic distress;

"Therefore it is resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature

assembled:

Section I. That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and instructed to give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually.

Section 2. That pending the period contemplated in Section I. the President is further authorized:

(a.) To modify the existing fiscal organization as provided for in the Loan Agreement so as to reduce the number of Fiscal Officials to one Financial Adviser at a salary of Ten Thousand Dollars per annum; one Supervisor of Revenues at Four Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars per annum, and one Auditor at Four Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars per annum. These officials shall discharge the duties prescribed by the Loan Agreement except in so far as they may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Joint Resolution. The Supervisor of Revenues herein provided for shall combine and perform the duties of the Supervisor of Customs and Supervisor of Internal Revenue. The President shall give notice to the remaining officials of the termination of their agreements, and make such settlements as may be in accordance with their present contracts. The provision of this section shall not apply to the Liberian Assistant Auditor who shall be retained in service. And in the event of the illness, absence or inability of the Auditor, said Liberian Assistant Auditor shall discharge the duties of the Auditor.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury shall, without regard to priorities, apply all revenues of the Government to the payment of salaries of the civil establishment, the cost incident to ordinary Government expenses and supply accounts, in such sums as may be provided for under the Budget.

Section 3. Any surplus sums remaining over and above the total amounts authorized to be expended under the Budget shall be applied to the formation of a reserve fund which shall accumulate until payments on the Loan shall have been resumed in accordance with the provisions of this Joint Resolution, and shall then be applied to the payment of Interest, and Sinking Fund.

Section 4. In the event the League Plan of Assistance to Liberia which was tentatively approved by the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva on the 13th day of October A. D. 1932, pending the successful conclusion of negotiations with the financial groups concerned, shall eventually go into operation, after the final ratification by the Legislature of Liberia and the financial relief sought be obtained thereby, then the provisions of this Joint Resolution shall be so modified as to conform to said Plan.

This Joint Resolution shall be published in hand bills and shall take effect immediately.

Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Approved December 23, 1932."

In answer to this, President Hoover just before he left office appointed a Brigadier General and other officials to go to Liberia presumably to force her to comply with the Firestone monopoly.

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where the thin, green and silver trees loom straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain ever driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution which he had found was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if he thought that rubber could be grown in Liberia. These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to look over Liberia.

The history of this forest was rather singular. In 1906, Sir Harry Johnston had been sent to Liberia extraordinarily well backed by funds, for he published two enormous and costly volumes as a result of his trip. And also as a result of his trip came a second English loan.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a colony in the modern world of industry. It seems easy to say that a colony like Liberia in a rich land ought to be self-supporting and easily secure machinery, experts and even modern luxuries, with the support of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they find that the price of their material can be so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. They can easily be thrown into bankruptcy. For instance, there was sugar. Liberia raised it after the Civil War,

and sent her ships built by her own hands, carvening across the seas. She turned a pretty penny and seemed on the highroad to prosperity, until there came suddenly beet sugar, and its bounties; tariff, machinery and power, capital put into the West Indies, and the monopoly of the American Sugar Refiners. You can still see the ruins of sugar plantations in Liberia along the St. Paul. The same thing happened with Piassava, with coffee, and in different ways with palm oil. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia like many other small, isolated countries, was in continual financial difficulties. She needed expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, meant loss of political power. And she was jealous of her independence. She had a right to be jealous and proud. The record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken colony of the world's Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite best exaggeration, one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

She tried in 1870, however, to borrow money in order to pay off her flating debt and to build roads. The loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and possibly by the Liberian official that negotiated it; so that at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first time and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not consider the borfowing of money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was seized.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

She was hemmed in from her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; the English Government sliced off on one side, and the French on the other, even contradicting their own maps and promises. The excuse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop! Very well. Here comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was the raising of rubber, and this little forest in which I stood was one result. But nothing really came of the thing. The money was squandered by the Englishman in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. The soap interests of Great Britain had tried to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. Booker T. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote for the then heir-apparent, Taft, and he appointed a Liberian commission. A Commission went out and there made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. It was refunded and the new debt of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was induced to declare herself in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan to be made her by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished. For five or six years, she staggered on unable to get capital, and consequently, unable to use the best machinery to prepare her coffee and palm oil and for export; unable to build more than a few miles of road. Then came Solomon Porter. He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of goodwill, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them and in Africa and of the political power which they could use in its behalf, if they knew the facts.

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal. I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he

must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a development more like that which accompanies British capital in Canada or Australia or the Pacific; that is keep in the hands of the people of the same race, local and immigrant, some power over the capital which would divert it and guide them, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter. Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and if the leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished, one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area of Liberia without price, and upon notification, the government is to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental on this land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. Miss Graves says Liberia did not want the Loan.The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money. Liberia realized that if the money was borfowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France, but that if there was no American concession, they could expect no help from America. Liberia,

therefore, accepted the Firestone as the only way to get protection. On the other hand, Firestone accepted the loan so that the Liberian Government would be impoverished and be at the mercy of the Company.

Buell says:

"In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the United States told us to accept this loan. Upon further investigation the writer found that the State Department did not openly urge the Liberian Government to accept this loan, but it did state that in its opinion the Firestone investments offered a unique opportunity for the financial rehabilitation of Liberia and that it hoped that the Liberian Government would not make any amendments to a plan which would defeat the acceptance of the plan as a whole."

The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

The Liberian Government finally arranged that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

It is tremendously difficult for a little country like that to maintain a government and keep up appearances. They must, if they are wise, maintain ministers abroad and entertain ministers and consulates at Monrovia. They are, as colored people, peculiarly subjected to petty and hurting criticism concerning their homes and dress and food. And, on the other hand, their income is wretchedly low. It makes officials dangerously susceptible to all degrees of graft and bribery at the hands of rich and organized foreign industry. On the whole, Liberians have seldom betrayed their country for pay but some of them have, now and then, succumbed to petty pilfering. In this boom, the salaries were raised.

"The increase in salaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public work was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000, The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500.

"The loan agreement of 1926 led to an increase in public salaries. The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
C. 469. M. 238. Liberia.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

But the arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberty was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to "hum." More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goesto private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive.

Spectacular as has been the change, it should be pointed out that between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue—both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years. American capital then appeared to tempt Liberia with the hope of immediate and, in the eyes of the local people, fabulous gains. Whether these gains will be accompanied by the local injuries which have resulted from the plantation system in other parts of Africa will depend upon whether Mr. Firestone carries out his plans.

(Page 836.)
The Native Problem in Africa.
Raymond L. Buell.

These salaries (save the President's) were not high for a prosperous country such as Liberia dreamed of becoming. But they were too high for the facts and the paid white advisors encouraged further extravagance.

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office."

C. 469. M. 238. (Pages 30 and 31.)
6Liberia.

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in ~~debt~~ to and the

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

National City Bank.

Grimes declared that "When Loomis was appointed Financial Advisor, there was to be also a Supervisor of Customs, a Supervios of Internal Revenue, and Auditor and Assistant Auditor.' The person appointed as Supervisor of Customs had no experience in custom matters. Loomis has been in Liberia about two years. His criticisms were in favor of a reduction of the Liberian personnel and he had confined himself to criticism and never gave any constructive advice. He received a salary of $5,000 and as he was anxious to have his own salary increased to $12,500, it was by his advice that all Liberian salaries were raised.

League of Nations. Liberia. Tenth Meeting Held At Geneva.

Meantime, in the world, things began to happen. Prices fell. Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927 fell to $856,759 in 1930.

At the same time, the Firestone loan changes, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%. And almost all of these sums were sent out of the country.

Nor was that all: The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from $1 to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes $50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 peuce a day; he does practically nothing about the promised harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

shady transactions, and that higher officials were implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest they lose their investment and grip upon the country. Their labor supply began to dwindle and it is alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabon and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply in Africa always approaches slavery: requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone Company, all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Five Million Dollars was to be loaned, but in piecemeal, and the rate was to be 7%. All of the state revenues were to go into the Firestone Bank and they had to pay 1½% for the right of deposit—though the African Company Bank cleared only 1/2%, and the installments of the loan were only to be doled out as the interest and other charges on the part advanced were paid.

The Liberian loans, therefore, have been as follows:

1870.....From England.....$500,000 at 7%, issued at 70.

1906.....100,000 at 6%.

1911.....International Loans....$2,000,000 at 5%.

1914-1918, from the United States $35,000

1926.....Finance Corporation of America.....$2,253,000 at 7%, sold at 90.

Actual receipts.....$2,027,700

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

$156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advanceexcept on new conditions they were depending on for rubber.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." According to the Christy, Johnson, Barclay Report, August, 1930, there was a Labor Bureau for supervising labor and procuring labor established in 1912, but this was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent."

Buell says:

"Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor in other parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied. The concession Agreement Number Two imposes on the government the obligation to co-operate in securing these men. As Liberian officials and chiefs are already accustomed to imposing compulsion whether in securing men for road work or for Fernando Po, there is no reason to believe that they will employ any different methods in obtaining labor for the Firestone Plantations."

(Page 834.) The Native Problem in Africa. Raymond L. Buell.

Firestone by agreement has the right to take 1/20 of all the land in Liberia or a million acres. In the Firestone agreement is this section:

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Their report was printed May 21, 1932. It consisted of a short, general description of the land and people and the form of government. Then it treated health, economic and financial conditions, and a detailed plan of assistance.

It is notable that of the 50 pages of report and appendices, only one-third of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, practically the whole report being on economic conditions and the Firestone contract. The report says on the abolition of slavery and forced labor:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia; found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour, and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed."

Later, after Dr. McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged intimidation of native witnesses, while the British had taken it upon themselves to make an independent investigation. At the 17th meeting of the Committee, May 17, the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

"It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented, at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given evidence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

"On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations."

(Page 14. Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting. Liberia. League of Nations.)

To this, the Liberian government added, in an appendix to the report, these details:

The Government of Liberia had taken the following action to carry out the recommendations of the Christy Commission:

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

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|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a policy has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease.<br>Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programmed to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers<br>Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

American immigration to be encouraged.

Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has even been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof.

(Page 61. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

The experts in presenting their plan of relief emphasized the difficulties presented by the Firestone concession and gave details of this extraordinary bargain:

"It is impossible to examine Liberia's financial situation without taking into account the fact that there is a close connection between this loan and the Firestone concession, as we have explained under the heading "Firestone Plantations, Ltd." This concession was granted on conditions very favourable to the lessee. The situation may be expressed in figures if we calculate the receipts which the Liberian Government obtains under this concession. Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan $53,650. If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188 instead of $43,320."

(Page 32. C. 469. M. 238. League of Nations. Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government.)
(Italics in original report.)

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Nevertheless, the Committee recommended an elaborate plan of re-habilitation based on arrangements to secure the second half of the Firestone loan of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian government by $100,000 and employ six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year, 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses, geographical, mineralogical, etc., surveys, public health, and roads and bridges are extending to a cost of $398,000 a year.

(Do. Page 25.)
C. 469. M. 238.
League of Nations.

This would make an annual budget of $95,000, of which $624,350 would go for foreign experts and loan charges.

Liberia objected: According to the carefully considered opinion of the Government, such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increased nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning under the present arrangement. The adoption, then, of the recommendations of the Brunot Commission, on this subject would place the Liberian government in the immoral position of contracting obligations which its present resources will not permit it to meet. Coupled with this, a survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that the adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee began to consider the Experts' report, January 25, 1932, and continued until May 21. Some members were frank about the Firestone contract.

"Was it reasonable," said Madariaga of Spain, January 28, "to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil? Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."

M. de Madariaga. (Spain)
11th Meeting, p. 9. January 28.

The experts recommended that the Firestone contract be modified by limiting the land it could take, by increasing the rent from 6 cents an acre to 50 cents, and by amending the labor contractso as to avoid forced labor. Reber, the American representative, was told by Lord Cecil that everyone admitted that some modification of these terms were both necessary and possible. Reber, while he disclaimed representing the Firestones, "felt in a position to state" that he had had January, the impression that this Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms and that their ideas of these reforms must be submitted to the Finance Corporation. This shows that the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company apparently understood each other perfectly. At the eleventh meeting, January 30, it was reported that the Firestone Company and Finance Corporation had been asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter in a sympathetic spirit. That their presence in Geneva, (and they were in Geneva and stopping at the same hotel with Reber), should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

On May 19, the Committee of the Council, mainly for financial reasons, adopted a curtailed and limited program for Liberia in place of the plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provided:

"Administration.—Three foreign specialists (at $8,000 each) with three assistant specialists (at $6,000 each) to lend their assistance to the Government as commissioners for the administration of the three provinces proposed by the Government.

"Health.—Two foreign specialists to carry out the International Quarantine Regulations and the hospital and public health services.

"Finance.—The present Financial Adviser and his assistants, for whom the Loan Agreement with the American Finance Corporation provides, to be retained, with certain new arrangements.

"A Chief Adviser (at $12,000) appointed by the League of Nations to be attached to the central Government.

"In the event of difficulty in the application of the programme of assistance, provision is made for the possibility of recourse to the Council of the League.

"The Council's decision in such case would be unanimous, the vote of the Liberian representative not counting for the purpose of unanimity. In urgent cases, the President in office of the Council would be entitled to act on behalf of the Council, on condition of referring the matter to the Council at the earliest possible date.

"The Committee at the same time proposes to seek an understanding with the financial groups in Liberia, making it possible to obtain: (1) a moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the first loan; (2) the payment of the balance of the first block of this loan ($247,000) to serve as an initial fund for financing the programme of assistance; and (3) the readjustment of existing contracts, especially in connection with the scope of the concessions, the amount

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

of the rental due (50¢ an acre instead of 6¢ an acre) and the rate of interest of the loan.

"The Committee considers that, if the League of Nations is to give a favourable reply to Liberia's request for assistance, it can only lend its support to work which is going to be efficient.

"It is of opinion that the general lines it has indicated are a minimum below which it would appear impossible to go, if satisfactory results are to be achieved. At the same time, the Committee cannot recommend with any hope of success the opening of negotiations with The American groups concerned if the latter are not given legitimate guarantees under the plan.

"The Committee suggests that the Council should request the Liberian Government to state as early as possible whether it accepts the general principles of the recommended plan of assistance."

At the next meeting, September 19, 1932, it was reported that the Liberian Government had accepted the plan in principle subject to certain reservations, but that the United States still expressed anxiety as to the adequacy of the authority which it was proposed to confer upon the Chief Adviser. The amendments suggested by the Liberian Government were not important, and chiefly in the line of cutting down the initial expense somewhat, making it impossible for Liberians to act as Deputy Provincial Commissioners, and making the Chief Adviser a member of the President's cabinet, with appeal to the Council of the League of Nations in case of disagreement. The Committee was disposed to agree with most of these suggestions, when suddenly at the meeting September 20, 1932, the United States proposed that instead of considering amendments to the plan, a preliminary agreement should be made, based on the establishment in Liberia of an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

proceed as soon as possible to Liberia and there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become effective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programme be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision."

(Pages 3. and 4.)
Minutes of the 21st Meeting. Liberia.
League of Nations. U.S.

The Council was taken aback. Lord Cecil asked how the United States Government proposed to have the Chief Adviser chosen. Mr. Reber explained that his government "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment." The Chairman replied that under ordinary procedure both the United States would be consulted as to the appointment, and also Liberia would be consulted, but he wished further enlightment.

"What, for instance, pending an appeal to the Council, would be the fate of a decisionf reached by the Chief Adviser?" Reber answered: "The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision."

(Page 5.)
21st Meeeting. League of Nations.
Liberia.

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

This brought matters to a standstill, because it meant that when the Council was not in session, months might pass before any matter in dispute could be brought up, and that the Chief Adviser would be in effect the real ruler of Liberia. Mr. Grimes, Secretary of State, who was representing Liberia, asked time to consider this totally unexpected amendment. Monsieur Pansfieu of France remarked that the American proposal involved a radical change in the procedure adopted by the Council May 20, and made the Council face a dilemma. "No reforms without money, and no money without reforms." That the Council had presented to Liberia and Firestone interests what seemed to them a fair compromise.

"The only reason it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of assistance had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle, and subject to certain reservations, of Annex III. of the scheme, the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure."

(Page 6.)
21st Meeting. Minutes. Liberia.
League of Nations.

Thereupon, the meeting adjourned in order that the delegates might present the matter to their governments. At the meeting September 23, the Liberian delegation said that the United States government "contemplates not only the rehabilitation but also the reorganization of Liberia. And that the power proposed was not in accordance with the Liberian constitution.

"Should the committee then adopt the proposals contained in the said statements?"

"What would become of the Liberian government?"

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

The Committee then tried to make a modified statement of the power of the Chief Adviser, and also to get in touch with the Firestone interests, but could not, and were finally told, October 12, that the Firestones could not begin negotiations until November.

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said that:

"The Committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government's request for assistance with the full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government, and also to the Finance Corporation in the hope that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to attend the Committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the Committee that it would have to wait for the endorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principles of the plan of assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the administrative part of the scheme. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment. At the moment, all the Committee could do was to report to the Council and leave it to the Council to take what steps it might consider necessary."

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Mr. Reber said that as soon as the plan had been approved by the United States Government its text was sent to the Finance Corporation, but that he would ask the United States Government again that negotiations between the Finance Corporation and the Liberian Government should begin as early as possible. Mr. Reber said that the Finance Corporation did not intend to enter into negotiations on the general administrative principles of the plan. Mr. Grimes said that during the last few years salaries had been reduced in Liberia on three occasions; on the second occasion, a 50% reduction. Beside that, most salaries had not been paid during the last seventeen months.

"The provisional draft by the Committee was adopted. But Mr. Grimes remarked that the plans had been accepted by the Committee, the Liberian Government, and the Government of the United States, and yet the resolution appeared as difficult to realize as ever. The Chairman said: "To a certain extent, therefore, the Committee found itself at the mercy of the Finance Corporation."

(25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.)

At this point, upon remonstrance from the N.A.A.C.P., Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of State, made the astonishing statement:

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

Mr. Stimson surely did not know the facts of the case. He refused to recognize what Liberia had accomplished in stopping slavery and the slave trade and how the whole process had been hampered by his dogmatic refusal to recognize Barclay. That the representative of the United States had more often represented

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Firestone than the State Department, and that from the beginning to the end, the League Council had criticized Firestone, the contract which they had made, the forced labor on their plantations, and the impossibility of getting any reasonable arrangement with them. The conditions of the Firestone contract are impossible for a country in the situation that Liberia is in, and under the present world conditions."

At the 69th session of the Council of the League of Nations, October 13, it was said:

"Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countries being interdependent."

(Page 11. Liberia. Sixty-Ninth Session of the Council. Minutes.)

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position in which the Liberian government has been placed by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the forced inaction of the League, and the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 30, 1932, the following Joint Resolution:

"Joint Resolution Authorizing the President of Liberia to Suspend Payment of Interest and Amortization of the 7% Gold Loan of 1926 and For Other Purposes."

"Whereas in consequence of the world wide depression the income of the Government of Liberia has been reduced to the point where it is insufficient to meet its ordinary administrative expenses, including the payment of Amortization and Interest on the

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Loan of 1926; and

"Whereas the Government of Liberia for more than a year has made several efforts and appeals to the Finance Corporation for relief from the consequent economic depression and result of financial strain imposed by the conditions of said Loan, without any success, and

"Whereas the first duty of the Government is to ensure its effective and efficient operation which cannot be done unless the civil establishment is regularly and adequately paid; and

"Whereas nearly the whole of the Revenue intake of the Government has, up to the present, been applied to the service of the 1926 Gold Loan, resulting in the non-payment of salaries of the civil establishment which has consequently resulted in a serious situation of economic distress;

"Therefore it is resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:

Section I. That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and instructed to give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually.

The Financial Adviser Loomis, who, as Lighthart, the League of Nations expert said: "Represented only the interests of the Firestone Company," declared that "The world depression, while it may be the cause of a small part of the financial distress in Liberia, is decidedly not the major cause of diminished revenues. "

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

He, therefore, advises against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover administration, assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt, the United States rushed a Major-General to Liberia, together with an expert from the State Department, to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell, and presumably to force the Liberian government to a dictator nominated by the Firestone interests.

37-9-5

# LIBERIA

An abstract from the League of Nations documents: for report of the Committee of the Council appointed to study the problem arising out of the request for assistance submitted by the Liberian government. The committee's task was limited by the existence of two contracts: the Loan Contract with the American Finance Corporation, and the agreement with the American Firestone Company. "These contracts are the essential facts in the situation and have necessarily limited the action of the committee."

C. 469. M. 238. 1932, VII.
Geneva, May 21. Page 5.

Report of the experts designated by the Committee of the Council of the League of Nations to study, etc.

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."

DO. Page 9.

The Liberian Government has passed the necessary laws to abolish slavery and enforced labor. It only remains to put them in force. Action must be both immediate and gradual. Immediate, in making known the new laws and warning the chiefs, and gradual, in that the domestic economy of tribes must not be suddenly or dramatically disturbed.

DO, Page 16.

Our examination leads us to believe that the average, annual income of Liberia can be increased when our program is put into effect to $650,000. Against these receipts, there are prior obligations on account of the 1926 loan, with interest, sinking fund, commission and salaries of the present American financial controllers amounting in round figures to $279,000. By consolidating with 3% bonds, the arrearages in salaries and unpaid supplies, we would have for interest

(Cont. Liberia.) C. 469. M. 238.

and sinking fund the first year $40,000. The ordinary expenditures of the government are now $419,195 but by economies this may be reduced by $100,000, so that future budgets would be brought town $584,545. This would give margin of $65,000, which is not sufficient for improvements. We suggest, therefore, negotiations between the two corporations, which would abolish the requirement that the annual revenue reach $800,000, before the second block of the loan can be paid. This is especially advisable since no interest or sinking fund payments can be made this year; that is, 1932, and the situation leads to a vicious circle.

37-9-6

DO. Pages 23-24.

Six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year; 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses, geographical, mineralogical, etc., surveys, public health, and roads and bridges are extending to a cost of $398,000 a year.

DO. Page 25.

Future expenditure may be approximately estimated to this plan as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Averaged annual revenue | $650,000 |
| Payments on account of the second block of the loan | 300,000 |
| A total of | $950,000 a year. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Expense, loan charges | 226,350 |
| Internal debt | 40,000 |
| Ordinary Expenditures | 265,000 |
| Cost of expert's program | 388,000 |
| Unforseen expenditures | 20,650 |
| Total | 950,000 |

DO. Page 25-26.

(Cont. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

"We hope that some of these foreign specialists may be recruited from among the representatives of the Negro race, who in various countries of the world have gained the experience which their Liberian brothers still lack."

DO. Page 26.

The International Commission of Inquiry summarizes its suggestions and recommendations as follows:

The policy of the "open door".

37-1-7

Extension of education to all alike.

Native policy to be radically reconstructed.

Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken.

Policy of suppression to be abandoned.

Humiliation and degradation of Chiefs to cease.

Re-establishment of tribal authority of Chiefs.

Complete re-organization of administration of the interior.

Removal of present District Commissioners.

Substitution of European or American Commissioners with assistant Commissioners.

Institution of some form of Civil Service.

Re-arrangement of the Political Divisions of the country.

Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition.

Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease.

Road programme to be curtailed.

Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers.

American immigration to be encourage.

Ditto. Pages 27-28.

(Cont. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

The Liberian Loans are as follows:

1870.....From England.....$500,000 at 7%, issued at 70.

1906.....100,000 sterling at 6%.

1911.....International Loan2,000,000 at 5%.

1914-1918, from the United States
35,000
1926.....Finance Corporation of America
2,253,000 at 7%
Sold at 90

Actual receipts.2,027,700

37-9-8

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to 1,146,716 with interest, re-payment of the debt to the United States, purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds, paying the Liberian frontier force and varia other debts, with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466.

"The distressing thing is that the above measured amount of $156,000 has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberiah Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office."

(Pages 30, 31.)

It is impossible to consider Liberia's financial situation without taking into account that there is a close connection between the 1926 loan and the Firestone concession. The concession was granted on conditions very fairably to the Firestone Company. They have now 50,000 acres. If the rubber crop is estimated at 400 pounds an acre, the exports will amount to 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at present is about 5½¢ a pound. Even if it went up to 20¢ a pound, the crop would fetch over $4,000,000, of which the Liberian government would receive 1% or $40,000. Firestone pays a rental of 6¢ an acre, or $3,000; that is, Liberia does not receive from Firestone an amount

When the agreement was concluded, the Customs duties and head monies were estimated to bring in $384,881 and $20,947 respectively, or about half the amount indicated in the contract. It was therefore impossible to anticipate when the second part of the loan could be obtained. It has, in fact, not been paid, and, as is clearly shown by the following figures, the portion of the loan actually obtained was not used for productive expenditure.



37-9-9

Up to the present, the following sums have been utilised:

$11,730.39 for special health measures;
$156,439 for public works, labour, plant, etc.

Out of the first instalment it is still possible to obtain $247,000 at 90 per cent—i. e.$$22,300, plus the balance of the United States Company amounting to $14,665.04; while from these sums must be deducted an amount of $37,668.29, which, according to the 1931 draft budget, is still outstanding for old debts. The exact amount still available out of the first instalment of the loan for productive expenditure is, therefore, $367,466.48.

The interest and redemption of a loan should primarily be provided for by means of an increase in receipts due to the development of the country, and it is clear that the trifling sum available for this purpose is much below the most modest requirements.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 239.)

sufficient to pay the officials responsible for the service of the Loan. These officials cost $53,650, If the contributions paid by Firestone are recommended the basis of the present price of rubber, the amount would be $13,000 instead of $43,000.

(Page 32.).....

The burdens placed on the Liberian Republic by the contract are aggravated by the fact that the economic situation of the country is bad and that Liberian revenues are rapidly diminishing as a result of the fall in prices provoked by the world's crisis."

37-8-10

Page 32.....

To show the falling off of government receipts, we have the following figures:

For the 4th quarter of 1930, receipts.....180,600
" " 1st quarter of 1931.....163,000
" " 2and quarter of 1931.....125,200

Despite this, out of the quarterly year of taxes, a sum of $79,000 must be set aside for the service of the loan.

Page 32.....

The loan agreement of 1926 led to an increase in public salaries. The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, 1,654,869. Inother words, there came a period of inflation and boom.

Page 33.....

The experts who made this report, consisting of M. Brunot, an expert at general administration, and a Frenchman; M. Legthert, a financial expert, and a Dutchman; and Dr. Mackenzie, an expert in medical and public health questions and an Englishman. Reber, the American represnetative, is a good-looking, young man with an Oxford accent, but with lo mentality. The report of the League experts overemphasized

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

the difference between Americo-Liberians and natives. There has been a great deal of intermarriage between the two, so that there is scarcely a Liberian without modern native blood. Moreover, natives continually have been represented in the government. The Vice President inaugurated, when he represented the United States at the 2nd innauguration of Mr. King, was a native. The clergyman who opened the recent independent celebration was a Grebo. The little council to Hamburg, Germany was a Vai. The Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Liberia is a native. Natives have always for years been members of the cabinet. Fully half of the civilized Liberians are natives, and the other half related to or inter-married with natives.

37-9-11

Both Buell and Miss Craves disagree with the report of the Commission, inbelieving that the policy of Liberian government with the natives has been more successful than that of the British in Sierra Leone, and less oppressive than that of the British Government in Africa. In the 48,000 acres laid out by the Firestone Plantations there are permanent roads and bridges and a hospital, but these roads are barred from inhabitants not working on the Firestone concessions. There ought to be thoroughfares. There are only company stores where employees can become permanently in debt. Liberia wished the Firestone concession but it did not wish the Loan and the Loan was forced through against the opinion and without the knowledge of the best of the government officials. The Commission recommends the increase of the "hut tax but the hut tax is very unjust, taxing rich and poor alike, and encouraging crowding. Only by an improved system of education can Liberia possibly become a united Negro Republic. Experts report:

The Liberian Government has passed the necessary laws, and it only remains to put them into force. To that end the action to be undertaken by the suggested district commissioners must be immediate

and gradual.

It must be immediate in the sense that, from the moment they come into contact with the population, their duty will be to make the laws passed and the sanctions attaching to them publicly known through "palavers and notices", and to warn paramount chiefs personally of the responsibilities they incur if they hinder the liberation of domestic slaves or bondsmen who desire their freedom.

37-9-12

Furthermore, with a view to facilitating emancipation, "Liberty Villages", with sufficient tillable land, will be established at each administrative post.

The action must be gradual in the sense that, in such a delicate matter, certain to cause a disturbance, however salutary, in the domestic economy of tribes some of which are still a direct search for slaves or hired workers who might be detained against their will. It must moreover, be understood that this period of compromise should not last longer than the time necessary for exploring and penetrating the hinterland.

In a word, the law will be executed in two stages: first, notice should be given everywhere of the complete abolition of slavery and former slaves helped to freedom. Secondly, penalties should be imposed on recalcitrant slave-owners. The history of the neighbouring countries shows that a few examples will suffice.

As regards forced labour, only communal work for the construction and maintenance of roads in the territory of the tribe in question should remain compulsory; this correponds both with the customs of the natives and with the provisions of the Convention on forced labour which Liberia has ratified.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

The Council Committee found that the suggestion of an outlay of $398,000 by an expert commission was ridiculously large. "We have only eliminated expenditure on education from our initial program because the first essential is to establish order, health and prosperity in the country. But education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim, that of a free and united Negro nation.

Experts Report. Page 26.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

37-9-13

Comments by Miss Graves on the salary and suggestions of the Commission. "If the policy means more concessions, Liberia will be ruined. Natives have never been shut out of any of the schools. There is no barrier in Liberia, comparable to that between non-African and African in colonies ruled by whites. If the barriers between the civilized and uncivilized are to be broken down then tribal government must be broken up, and this the Commission opposed.

The value of all exports from Liberia in 1927 was $1,497,214, and 1930, $856,759, a falling off of $640,454. Beside the main cost of the Firestone Loan, the Company has a bank at Monrovia called the United States Trading Company, in which tax receipts must be deposited and which is a depository for the service of the loan. The bank receives a commission of 1½% on the sums derived from taxation and deposited with it, and 1% on transfers to New York. The increase in salaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public work was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000, The salary of Secretaries and Departments from $3,000 to $4,000.

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

The duties levied on products in Liberia are high as compared with the fix duty of 1% on the rubber of the Firestone Plantation Company. They vary from 1 3/8% to 25% on the value of the exports. The Financial Advisor and the foreign officials by the Loan agreement are to receive reasonable leaves of absence at full pay. The Firestone Company was to make improvements of the harbor but has done practically nothing. It is immuned from taxation and paying a low duty on exports. The Firestone Bank pays 2% for government deposits and "The Fiscal Agent shall not be answerable for the default or misconduct of any agent or attorney appointed by it."

Official Report. Page 46.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

37-9-14

Firestone by agreement has the right to take 1/20 of all the land in Liberia or a million acres. In the Firestone agreement is this section:

(h). The Governkent warrants to the Lessee the title to all lands selected by it upon which the Government shall accept the rental or compensation as herein provided and will defend and protect such title for the benefit of the Lessee.

Article. II. Paragraph H.
Page 50. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." Firestone Company can select lands anywhere it pleases. And as a matter of fact it disposses natives without compensation. There is a notification that tribal reserves are excluded from the obligations of this agreement, and that disputes as to such lands, "shall be finally determined by the Secretary of the Interior of Liberia on a reference by the lessee."

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

Miss Graves and I have heard many Liberians assert that natives have been driven off their lands without compensation, and if they refused to go, the forest was set on fire." Miss Graves says Liberia did not want the Loan. The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money. Liberia knew that if the money was borrowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France, and if there was no American concession, they could expect no help from America. They, therefore, accepted the Firestone as the only way to get . On the other hand, Firestone accepted the loan so that the Liberian Government would be impoverished and be at the mercy of the Company.

37-9-15

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and the President gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on the adoption of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, Secretary of State, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 3. On the same day, the note of the Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiredPresident who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature passed the following laws:

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.

An act providing for the re-organization of the hinderland.

An act forbidding pawning.

An act creating for public health and sanitary service.

An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Charge d' Affaires, with a request made for the government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received from the government. Nevertheless, the American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931, presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. The President replied that he could not do this without violating his oath, but the Government said that it had no objection to appeals to the League of Nation, and asked them to nominate capable persons which Liberia could not procure among her own citizens to help in re-organizing the country. It was expected that the League of Nations would nominate such experts. Instead, the request for assistance was made has, perhaps unintentionally, been magnified into a problem and Liberia held before the world as though the government were a criminal at the bar of justice, with a large section of the press of the world publishing all manner of false and scandalous statements against the Republic.

Liberia. C.469. M. 238.

The Loan charges interest, salary, etc., under the agreement to take in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%. Almost all of these sums were sent out of the country.

32-9-16

Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

The Loan charges interest, salary, etc., under the agreement to take in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%. Almost all of these sums were sent out of the country.

"The relief suggested by the Brunot Commission is that an arrangement should be made whereby the second instalment of the five million dollar loan credit originally contracted for in 1926 would be made available to the Government of Liberia; but, according to the carefullyconsidered opinion of the Govern ent, such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increased nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning under the present arrangement. The adoption, then, of the recommendations of the Brunot Commission, on obligations which its present resources will not permit it to meet. Coupled with this, a survey of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end. During the life of the present Loan Agreement, existing statutes and regulations governing the collection of Customs and excise will remain in force, and the foreign fiscal officials agreed upon to function thereunder will be retained, subject to any arrangements which, as contemplated under proposal three, may be made direct with the Finance Corporation of America.

In very seriously considering this phase of the subject, the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government are impressed that

27-9-17

the course indicated below would be of more beneficial influence in rehabilitating the economy of the country than the proposals of the Brunot Commission—viz.:

(1.) Realizing that the slump in the markets hitherto opened to the exportable products of the Republic has contributed largely to the present financial and economic crisis, new markets be sought in which the products can be sold to better advantage, higher prices secured, and the area of distribution extended. This result, it is hoped, will be an incentive to greater production, which will be reflected beneficially on the revenues and economy of the Republic. Simultaneously, the preparation for market be controlled by Government with the object of seeing to it that the quality of produce is improved.

37-9-18

With a view to effecting this, the Government is already establishing model agricultural stations in the several provinces, which policy is receiving the wholehearted co-operation of the paramount chiefs.

(2.) To surround investments with such legal protection as to attract capital, foreign as well as domestic, in industrial, agricultural and mineral enterprises with the object of developing the natural resources of the country, opening new avenues of labour, and improving the economic condition of the Liberian population.

(3) By negotiations with the Firestone Plantations Company and the Finance Corporation respectively for such modification of the present agreements between the said companies and the Republic as will result in an amelioration of the terms of the present existing contracts now found to be onerous and arranging for such readjustments as will permit a more equitable circulation of money to the mutual benefit of all parties thereto."

Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

The Government of Liberia has taken the following action to carry out the recognition of the Christy Commission:

| | |
|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of Education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a polich has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease. Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31st, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programme to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |

37-9-19

Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

| | |
|---|---|
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers.<br>Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |
| American immigration to be encouraged. | Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has even been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof. |

37-9-20

Page 61. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

In the draft of the detailed plan of assistance prepared by experts it said:

"The Financial Advisor, should he deem this desirable, himsself make without intermediary, any payments to the persons entitled. The revenues and receipts shall be applied first to the payment of expenses of collection and administration of the revenues and receipts and to the salaries of the Foreign Advisors."

(Page 65.)
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

"Following the discussions in the Committee, certain members thereof stated in the sixty-sixth session of the Council that:

"Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countries being interdependent."

(Page 11.)
Liberia.Sixty-Ninth Session of the Council. Minutes.

Liberia. C. 662. M. 319.

Dr. McKenzie was sent on a mission to the Kru Coast to see if the Krus were being punished for complaining against the government.

Briefly, it may be said that the whole Kru coast from Nana Kru to Grand Cess, some sixty miles of sea-coast, and the corresponding parts of the interior, were fully armed and were engaged in hostilities either with the Government or amongst themselves. At the time of my arrival, with the exception of two tribes (Old Sasstown and Borroh), the immediate cause of the fighting was inter-tribal.

37-9-21

It should be mentioned that the movement had beeninstigated by, and was receiving sympathetic support from, political leaders in Monrovia amongst the civilized Krus, but these agitators, after stirring up the trouble, did not remain with the tribes during the fighting, but retired to the safety of Monrovia.

Finally, the whole position was being very closely watched by the Kru colonies in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, who either made effort themselves to come to join in the fighting or to smuggle in arms and ammunition to the dissident tribes. I constantly received evidence of the close communications proceeding between the dissident Krus in Liberia and those in the adjacent colonies, these communications being kept up by means of runners through the bush or canoes.



His report gives no support to the idea that the trouble among the Krus was due to the attempt of the government to punish them. He succeeded in stopping all fighting, disarming the tribes and establishing the authority of the paramount chiefs. According to the Christy, Johnson, Barclay Report, August, 1930, there was a Labor Bureau for supervising labor and procuring labor established in 1912, but this was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor

for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due churches and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent."

37-9-22

" Our experience which we have had with loans have been very disastrous to the country." Statement by Mr. Grimes at the Sixth Meeting of the Committee on Liberia, January 25, 1932. At the 8th meeting of the Committee of the Council on Liberia, January 27, 1932, Monsieur M. Ligthart said that in the opinion of the experts "It was most unfortunate from the economic point of view that Liberia had granted a concession to the Firestone Company. At the tenth meeting of the Committee, Friday, January 29, Mr. Ligthart said: "At present the only interests represented by the Financial Advisor were those of the Firestone Company." Mr. Grimes gave instances. He said: "That the Financial Advisors had expended considerable sums on the purchase of raw material and machinery. Machines had been charged to the Liberian government at the price of superior quality machines, whereas they had been found to be inferior in use. No government official had had any part in these negotiations.

(See 10th Meeting of the Committee, January 29, 1932.)

Grimes continued: "When Loomis was appointed Financial Advisor, there was to be also a Supervisor of Customs, a Supervisor of Internal Revenue, and Auditor and Assistant Auditor. The person appointed as Supervisor of Customs had no experience in custom matters. He was a fairly competent engineer and had built an excellent lighthouse. Loomis had been in Liberia about two years. His criticisms were in favor of a reduction of the Liberian personnel and he had confined himself to criticism and never gave any constructive advice. The Advisor who received a salary of $5,000 was anxious to have his salary increased

to $12,500. As a result of the alterations in the salary schedule during the loan negotiation, the Financial Advisor's salary had been raised from $5,000 to $12,500, and President King's from $5,200 to $15,000. Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said at the Tenth Meeting, Friday, January 29, that the position was a delicate one, both for the League of Nations, and the Liberian Government. That Mr. Ligthart and Brunot had regretted "that the system of economic development forced on Liberia by the Firestone Company was not the one most adapted to the interests of the country." It was not an easy matter, therefore to advise the government to commit itself still further with the Firestone policy. Monsieur Zaleski said at the meeting January 29:

37-9-23

M. Zaleski observed from the draft budget that the cost to Liberia of the new plan would amount to $398,000, whereas the state's total revenue was $650,000. To put the experts' shheme into execution would cost Liberia more than half its annual revenue. He noted, further, that the salaries of 21 foreign officials would amount to $138,000, i.e. one-third of the total cost of carrying out the plan or one-fifth of the country's total budget. Would it be reasonable to ask the Liberian Government to spend such a large amount on the salaries of 21 foreigners, leaving one half of the revenue for the rest of the country's administration?

(Page 11.)



Mr. Reber said at the eleventh meeting, January 30, that the House had loaned Liberia the wages of Dr. Smith but he had been unable to keep his work for lack of necessary authority. Miss Graves says that Mr. Smith was so insulting that it was impossible to co-operate with him, but, on the other hand, both Mr. Howells and Dr. McKenzie found the Liberians very willing. Mr. Garey at the eleventh meeting

League of Nations. Liberia. Eleventh Meeting Held at Geneva.

January 30 said that he had heard the that the question of slavery was at the root of the whole evil but there was nothing in the expert's report on this subject. At the same meeting, M. Brunot, one of the experts, said: "As regards the forced labor which prevailed on the Firestone Plantation, the government had stopped the procedure of District Commissioner recruiting the labor necessary for these plantations. M. Brunot in the eleventh meeting, January 30, said that while the experts were in Liberia that they had not opposed any of the exportation of labor which the Christy Commission noted. That domestic slavery still existed but that slavery in a country such as Liberia could not be abolished by mere law.

37-9-24

"M. de Madariaga (Spain) endorsed the tribute paid by M. Reber to the experts.

He wished incidentally (and on this point the well-known policy of the present Spanish Government certainly authorized him to speak quite freely) to remark that the authors of the International Commission of Inquiry's report had been somewhat lacking in impartiality and a sense of proportion when they referred from the standpoint of slavery to the situation existing in Liberia and at Fernando Po. It was a well-known fact that there were about five million slaves in the world and those who might have existed in Liberia or Fernando Po when the Christy Commission was conducting its investigations in Liberia formed a very small proportion of the total.

Was it reasonable, also, to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil. Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not. There had been talk of the unhealthy co-existence in the same country of a corporation which

was financially very strong and a state which was very feeble. It was a well-known fact that the Firestone Company's labour requirements were too much for the resources of the country, although only 150,000 out of the million acres leased to the Company were being worked! The ideal solution would, obviously, be for the League of Nations to say that the present situation was a bad one and should be radically changed, but that would not be a practical solution. What should really be done was to try by negotiations to get the Firestone Company to adapt itself to the labour and the social conditions of the country. Secondly, no money should be borrowed, if at all possible, or alternatively the smallest loan possible should be taken. What was the good of borrowing money for Liberia, if the League found itself forced in its turn to dissimulate the fact that the existence in such a country of the Firestone Company's plantations was pernicious to the population? To reduce the amount to be borrowed, attempts should be made to send to Liberia only the fewest possible advisers or to carry the cost of those advisers in the budget of the League or of certain states which would agree to accept the charge. Or Governments might be asked to lend for advisory purposes some of their administrative officials or the rate of reform might be slowed down. In this connection he might point out that, as the educational reforms had been postponed, the other reforms could also wait a little; at any rate the scheme of reform should be submitted to a competent department of the League of Nations. It was specially important to put the advisors under the orders of one of their number.

37-9-25

(Page 9.)
League of Nations. Liberia. Eleventh Meeting Held at Geneva.

At the eleventh meeting, January 30, 1932, the Count Saint Quentin of France thought it "Indispensable to enter into relations with the Firestone Company whose consent to a re-organization of the Liberian

debt was an essential preliminary to the loan on which would depend the execution of the reforms."

Mr. Loveday reported at the eleventh meeting, January 30, that M. Ligthart and himself had had an interview a few moments earlier with representatives of the Firestone Company and Finance Corporation. They had been asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter in a sympathetic spirit. That their presence Geneva should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested.

37-9-26

"As regards the danger in which Liberia might be involved through the development of the Firestone undertakings which it had been feared might lead to too rapid an absorption of the population by the company's establishments, the representative of the Firestone Company had stated that the entire policy of the company aimed at reconciling the interests of Liberia with its own. The company, which took a long view of the position, certainly did not wish to affect the structure of native society; on the contrary it was prepared to accept the opinion of the most competent experts with regard to the recruiting of native labour.

(Page 15.)

League of Nations. Liberia. Twelfth Meeting.

The Committee of the League of Nations, at their 12th meeting, February 1, inserted the following paragraphs in their statement:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia, found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour, and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed".

37-9-27

The Committee also decided to insert in paragraph 15, after the words "the important Firestone plantations", the following amendment submitted by M. de Madariaga:

"In the opinion of certain members of the Committee, the co-existence in Liberia of a weak state and a powerful foreign undertaking gives rise to disadvantages which have been pointed out by the experts and which the reading of the report makes clear. It seems to those members of the Committee that it is the duty of the League of Nations to use all means at its disposal in order to find a solution of the problem on a sound basis, taking account of the fact that the loan contract and the Firestone concessions form an important element in the difficulty. These members consider it to be indispensable that the rate of development of the plantations should be adapted to the economic and social conditions of Liberia. It would also be extremely desirable for the financial burdens of the loan to be reduced to an amount compatible with the financial and economic resources of the country, even if the pace of the reform in the Government of Liberia has to be slowed down."

(Pages 13. and 14.)
League of Nations. Liberia. Minutes
of the Twelfth Meeting.

League of Nations. Liberia. Thirteenth Meeting.

Atthe 13th Meeting, Friday, May 6, the President, Lord Cecil emphasized the fact that everyone admitted that some modifer of the Firestone terms were both necessary and possible. Reber, while he disclaims representing the Firestones, felt in a position to state that in January, he thought that the Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms and that their ideasof these reforms must be submitted to the Finance Corporation. This shows that the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company apparently are one and the same thing. The Committee tried to telephone the Firestone Corporation concerning its proposal but up to November 15 no reply had come.

37-9-28

League of Nations. Liberia. Fourteenth Meeting.

Thursday, May 12, 1932, at the 14th meeting, Dr. McKenzie stated that in spite of the difficulties and obstacles due to the lack of resources, the Liberian government was making every effort to follow up the work initiated by Dr. Howells in the field of public health. At the 14th meeting, Thursday, May 12, Reber thought that the main question connected with the establishment of the plan of assistance to Liberia was that of authority and powers to be vested in the Foreign Specialist. In other words, he was to make a denunciation.

37-9-29

League of Nations. Liberia. 15th Meeting.

At the 15th meeting, May 14, 1932, M. Ligthart said that he had tired to find out if the Finance Corporation would accept the expert's proposal, but he had received no reply." In these circumstances, it was difficult to draw a financial plan."

League of Nations. Liberia. 15th Meeting.

37-9-30

League of Nations. Liberia. 17th Meeting.

At the 17th meeting of the Committee, March 17, 1932, Mr. Reber said: "That the Liberian Government would be entitled to send a representative to the Council. Whereas, the Financial Advisor, who in part represented the Finance Corporation, would not." Lord Cecil replied that there was no reason to propose that the Finance Corporation would not find means of communicating its point of view to the Council. At the 17th meeting of the Committee, May 17, the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented,at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given ev dence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations.

(Page 14.)
Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting.
Liberia. League of Nations.

League of Nations. Liberia. 18th Meeting.

At the 18th meeting, May 19, Mr. Reber had no idea what attitude the Finance Corporation would adopt, but thought that they would feel that much depended upon Liberia's acceptance of the plan. The American Government had already expressed regret at the long delay and viewed the situation with great apprehension.

League of Nations. Liberia. 18th Meeting.

37-9-31

League of Nations. Liberia. 19th Meeting.

At the 19th meeting, September 14, 1932, the proposed plan, dated May 21, had been sent to Liberia, and accepted in principle, subject to certain reservations. On the other hand, the United States adhered to their previous statement in which they expressed some anxiety as to the adequancy of the authority which it had proposed to confer on our Shipping Advisor. It had been proposed that the matter might be discussed between the Firestone Company and the Liberian Government, and the Firestone Company thought that until the United States Government was satisfied that Firestone Company should not attend the Committee's meeting.

League of Nations. Liberia. 21st Meeting.

At the 21st meeting, September 22, Mr. Reber said that the United States believed that two conditions were essential: first, a Shipping Advisor with powers adequate to insure the effective operation of the plan. Secondly, that the system should not be too ..... defined in advance. That the Advisor, in consultation with the Liberian government, should be allowed to adapt the system to meet varying systems as they arose. Consequently, instead of discussing amendments

League of Nations. Liberia. 21st Meeting. (Cont.)

to annex three, it had not yet been accepted by the House, he proposed that a preliminary agreement should be concluded so that the Advisor might be empowered to draw up a shceme of the support, and he proposed this declaration:

"In order to accomplish the reorganization and rehabilitation of the country Liberia hereby solicits the establishment in Liberia of an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall proceed as soon as possible to Liberia and there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become effective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programme be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision."

(Pages 3. and 4.)
Minutes of the 21st Meeting.
Liberia. League of Nations.
U.S.

The Chairman inquired how the House government composed of the chief advisors should be chosen. Mr. Reber replied that the United States would be glad to express its views with regard to appointment. The chairman said that naturally the United States would be allowed to express an opinion and naturally the Liberian government would also be concluded. He thought that certain points in the declaration were not expected. For instance, in case of an appeal to the Council, it would

37-9-32

League of Nations. Liberia. 21st Meeting. (Cont.)

"Mr. Reber replied that the idea was to avoid a stoppage of the execution of the scheme. The intention was that the Adviser should endeavour to reach an agreement with the Liberian authorities on the spot. The advice of the Adviser would continue to be acted upon until the Council had given its final decision. The United States Government hoped, however, that no need for such a procedure would ever arise."

37-9-33

(Page 5.)
21st Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.

Mr. Grimes of Liberia asked time to consider this amendment which was totally unexpected. M. Pedroso said that this decision greated an entirely new situation. He asked an adjournment in order that the members might consult with their governments. In this he was supported by M. Panafieu, who said that the American proposal seemed likely to involve a radical change in the procedure adopted. "In order to escape from the dilemma in which it was placed, no reforms without money, and mo money without reforms. The Committee on the council had proposed to submit simultaneously to the Liberian Government and the representatives of the American Company, what seemed to them a fare compromise.

"The only reason it had asked the Liberian Government first of all to accept in principle the broad outlines of the scheme of assistance had been on account of the reservations made at the time by the American representative, and now, at the very moment when the Government of Monrovia had signified its acceptance in principle, and subject to certain reservations, of Annex III. of the scheme, the Committee was asked to follow a different procedure."

(Page 6.)
21st Meeting. Minutes. Liberia. League of Nations.

22nd Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.

Lord Cecil said he would also have to cut the President's Cabinet. It would be difficult to ask a committee of the council to throw over that which it had done and adopt an entirely new plan. At the 22nd meeting of the Committee, September 23, 1932, Mr. Grimes said that the United States Government contemplates not the rehabilitation but also the re-organization of Liberia, and then to give the Chief Advisor the power asked against Liberia's Constitution. Should the Committee adopt the proposals made: What would become of the Liberian Government and the force which has labored? Would it be allowed to function or would it thereby be compelled to abdicate? Lord Cedil agreed that there was force in the point raised by Mr. Grimes. At the

37-9-34

22nd Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.

At the 23rd meeting of the Committee, September 26, 1932, the power of the Chief Advisor was discussed. It was decided to grant the Chief Advisor ample and just authority for the effective execution in accordance with its powers defined in the plan of assistance. Mr. Grimes proposed this proviso:

"The Liberian Government may, if it considers it necessary, refer any question to the Council of the League of Nations, or such Committee as the Council might appoint for the purpose, including any question as to whether the recommendations of the Chief Adviser are compatible with the constitution of Liberia; Provided that in the event the questions submitted hinge upon the constitutionality of a certain measure proposed, then the Liberian Government may also request the Council to ask the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice according to the Covenant, and also provided, that whenever a dispute turns upon the constitutionality

23rd Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (Cont.)

of a certain procedure, the proposed action shall be suspended pending the decision of said Permanent Court of International Justice."

(Page 8.)
League of Nations. 23rd Meeting.
Liberia.

37-9-35

Reber proposed to substitute:

"Should any difference arise between the Chief Adviser and the Liberian Government, the Liberian Government undertakes to comply with the recommendations made by the Chief Adviser pending a decision of the Council, to which Liberia shall always have the right to refer all such questions for final settlement."

(Page 11.)
League of Nations. 23rd Meeting.
Liberia.

25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (

At the 25th meeting, October 12, Mr. Reber said:

"The full text of the revised plan, as adopted by the Committee on September 27th, together with supplementary information, had been, on October 5th, the earliest possible moment after the receipt of certain supplementary information regarding the status of the plan, transmitted to the Finance Corporation, with a letter which read in part as follows:

"In the opinion of the Department these general principles are susceptible of use as a basis for the further developments of the Liberian problem through direct negotiations between the Finance Corporation and Liberia. In making the text available to you the Department accordingly endorses in reference to sense the general principles contained therein."

Inreferring to this letter of October 5th, the Finance Corporation's reply stated in part as follows:

"The general principles are receiving our careful study and although we are not satisfied that the general principles are as yet in a form to afford a solution we are willing to send a representative to Geneva to explore in negotiation the possibility of agreement on a plan mutually acceptable and that will be of practical benefit to Liberia and her people."

Mr. Reber informed the Committee that the Finance Corporation had also stated that while it was making every effort to study the proposals it would not be in a position to send a representative to engage in negotiations before November.

25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (Cont.)

Mr. Buchanan said that last May the American representative was stressing the gravity of the situation and was now saying that we must wait until November. Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said that:

"The Committee found itself in a difficult position. He would remind Mr. Reber that the League had originally entertained the problem raised by the Liberian Government's request for assistance with the full approval of the Government of the United States. Last May a provisional agreement had been reached, which was communicated to the United States Government, and also to the Finance Corporation in the hope that the Finance Corporation would send a representative to Geneva to attend the Committee's present session. At that time the Finance Corporation did not inform the Committee that it would have to wait for the endorsement of the United States Government before taking any move on its own account. To judge by the extracts read by Mr. Reber from the Finance Corporation's reply to the United States Government, it appeared that although the Government had endorsed the general principles of the plan of assistance, the Finance Corporation was not satisfied with the administrative part of the scheme. This was a strange attitude for a commercial body to assume towards the League of Nations, and he thought that the Committee of the Council was surely entitled to more courteous treatment. At the moment, all the Committee could do was to report to the Council and leave it to the Council to take what steps it might consider necessary."

37-9-37

25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (Cont.)

Mr. Reber said that as soon as the plan had been approved by the United States Government its text was sent to the Finance Corporation, but that he would ask the United States Government again that negotiations between the Finance Corporation and the Liberian Government should begin as early as possible. Mr. Reber said that the Finance Corporation did not intend to enter into negotiations on the general administrative principles of the plan. Mr. Grimes said that during the last few years salaries had been reduced in Liberia on three occasions; On the second occasion, a 50% reduction. Beside that, most salaries had not been paid during the last seventeen months..

37-9-38

The provisional draft by the Committee was adopted. But Mr. Grimes remarked that the plans had been accepted by the Committee, the Liberian Government, and the Government of the United States, and yet the resolution appeared as difficult to realize as ever. The Chairman said: "To a certain extent, therefore, the Committee found itself at the mercy of the Finance Corporation."

Our examination leads us to believe that the average, annual income of Liberia can be increased when our progr m is put into effect to $650,000. Against these receipts, there are prior obligations on account of the 1926 loan, with interest, sinking fund, commission and salaries of the present American financial controllers amounting in round figures to $279,000. By consolidating with 3% bonds, the arrearages in salaries and unpaid supplies, we would have for interest

(Cont. Liberia.) C. 469. M. 238.

and sinking fund the first year $40,000. The ordinary expenditures of the government are now $419,195 but by economies this may be reduced by $100,000, so that future budgets would be brought town $584,545. This would give margin of $65,000, which is not sufficient for improvements. We suggest, therefore, negotiations between the two corporations, which would abolish the requirement that the annual revenue reach $800,000, before the second block of the loan can be paid. This is especially advisable since no interest or sinking fund payments can be made this year; that is, 1932, and the situation leads to a vicious circle.

DO. Pages 23-24.

If the present contract can thus be arranged the committee recommends this budget.

League of Nations. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.
Request of Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government

It is impossible to examine Liberia's financial situation without taking into account the fact that there is a close connection between this loan and the Firestone concession, as we have explained under the heading "Firestone Plantations, Ltd." This concession was granted on conditohs very favourable to the lessee. The situation may be expressed in figures if we calculate the receipts which the Liberiah Government obtains under this concession. Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan ($53,650). If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188, instead of $43,320.

The government was in the hands of a small clique of land-holding aristocrats and most of its functions in private hands. The change from this oligarchy was difficult and costly.

There is a time when the interests of petty bourgeoisie and a proletariat coincide in the necessity of a joint fight with feudal aristocracy. This is a situation which American communists do not conceive. We have never for a momehtclaimed that the white race with all its ..... has any monopoly on sealaways. We Negroes have our full share. What we object to is to be rated as a people composed entirely of scoundrels, and then despite that, to having some of our soundrels picked out for especial reward.

The National City Bank capitalized Haiti's debt at the peak and now at the nadir it wants the payment of these debts, both the just and unjust, at ruinous interest. Just so Firestone and Liberia. The result is not simply response, but European World War, because of jealous competition for such profits. No wonder France offers Germany in the shape of colonies a share of the loot. Because economic advantage so often coincided with moral zeal in the attack on slavery in the South, the South saw only hypocrisy, and for the same reason, in the defense of slavery, the North saw only selfish cruelty. And yet, both these attitudes might find singular union in the same soul.

The Committee of Experts recommended an elaborate program of existence based on foreign financial aid. This program included the abolition of slavery and forced labor; a native policy, including indirect government through the chiefs, and an improved system of education. These administrative reforms were to be carried out by a new division of provinces, under eight foreign and seven Liberian administrators. There is also to be a new organization of native justice among the tribes. In addition to the administrative reforms, there is to be a program of public health assistance and an elaborate program of financial assistance. No expenditure is planned for education because it is said that the first essential is to establish order, health and prosperity, but "education alone, of course, will enable the Liberian Republic to attain its ideal and its aim; that of a free and united nation." Funds for education would be released after a two-year geographical, mineralogical and botanical survey of the country was made.

The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money, and Liberia realized that if the money was borrowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France and England; but that if there were no American concession, they could expect no help from America.

Buell says: "In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the United States told us to accept this loan." *

Liberia, therefore, accepted the Firestone conditions as the only way to get protection, but ~~as well as capital. On the other hand, Firestone insisted on the loan, as it now seems, so that the Liberian Government would be at the mercy of the Company.~~

~~The Liberian Government finally~~ insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company", all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90, making $2,027,700 in actual receipts.

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advance except on certain conditions. Beside this, a

* Buell, p. 845

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

(h.) The Government warrants to the Lessee the title to all lands selected by it upon which the Government shall accept the rental or compensation as herein provided and will defend and protect such title for the benefit of the Lessee.

Article. II. Paragraph H.
Page 50. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

(Slave Ranks banning extremism & thrift)

Liberia is not faultless. But her crime is of the black
& poor in a race white world; & that portion of
the world where color is ruthlessly exploited as a foundation for American
& European wealth. The success of Liberia as a Negro republic would
threaten the whole Colonial slave labor system. The promoters of Colored labor
Castle stand ever ready therefore to cajole, bribe or force Liberia into their system.
Most Liberians like have stood firm for independence, but some like
Roye and King have yielded to graft & been cheated by money
lenders or bribed by white slave traders. Today the Firestone
interests are straining every nerve & build a white ruling caste
in Liberia, built on money and force from the United States. Themselves slave traders in effect, they have subsidized a campaign of
false hood against Liberia's desperate efforts at internal reform.
They have hindered Liberia's efforts & finance, & powerful malefactors
by hiring Ex-President King as attorney; by prevailing on the
State Department not to recognize the reforms of Barclay; by defying
the efforts of the League of Nations; & by threatening Liberia with force
while charging her with fraud.

Thus we stand the United States army toward Liberia & guarantee
Firestone's profits, or smash another Haiti in the attempt.

37-7-73

(Convicted in public mind)

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

(h.) The Government warrants to the Lessee the title to all lands selected by it upon which the Government shall accept the rental or compensation as herein provided and will defend and protect such title for the benefit of the Lessee.

Article. II. Paragraph H.
Page 50. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

# LIBERIA, THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED STATES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I remember standing once in a West African forest where ~~the~~ thin, ~~green~~ and silver trees loomed straight and smooth in the air. There were two men with me: one was a black man, Solomon Hood, United States Minister to Liberia; a man of utter devotion, whose solicitude for the welfare of Liberia was like a sharp pain ~~ever~~ driving him on. And he thought he had found the solution. The solution ~~which he had found~~ was the white man beside us. He was a rubber expert sent by the Firestone Corporation of the United States to see if ~~he thought that~~ rubber could be grown in Liberia. These were rather ticklish times in the rubber situation. England was attempting to corner the world's production and prices were shooting up. Henry Ford flew South to seek plantations. Edison experimented with new plants. Firestone sent his representative to ~~look over~~ Liberia.

The history of this forest was rather singular. In 1906, Sir Harry Johnston had been sent to Liberia extraordinarily well backed by funds, for he published two enormous and costly volumes as a result of his trip. And also as a result of his trip came a second English loan.

Most people cannot easily visualize the peculiarly helpless position of a ~~colony~~ small outland in the modern world of industry. It seems easy to say that a ~~colony~~ like Liberia ~~in a rich land~~ ought easily to be self-supporting and ~~easily~~ secure machinery, experts and ~~even~~ modern luxuries, with sale ~~the support~~ of its raw material. But this is much more easily said than done. In the first place, they must raise the raw materials which the world at the moment demands, and they find that the price of their material ~~can be~~ so manipulated that there is absolutely no dependence to be put on it. They can easily be thrown into bankruptcy. For instance, ~~there~~ was sugar. Liberia raised it after the Civil War,

47-9-11

47-9-12

At present the only interests represented by the financial advisers were those of the Firestone Company

Lighthouse 10th meeting Jan 29 32

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(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

and sent her ships built by her own hands, carrying across the seas. She turned a pretty penny and seemed on the highroad to prosperity, until there came suddenly beet sugar, and its bounties; tariff, machinery and power; capital put into the West Indies, and the monopoly of the American Sugar Refiners. You can still see the ruins of sugar plantations in Liberia along the St. Paul. The same thing happened with Piassava, with coffee, and in different ways with palm oil. In fact, between changing and disappearing markets, freight-carrying monopoly, high cost of machinery, and absence of expert knowledge, Liberia like many other small, isolated countries, has been in continual financial difficulties. She needs expert advice but expert advice from white men, accompanied by invested capital, means loss of political power. And Liberia is indeed jealous of her independence, — She had a right to be jealous and proud. The record of peace, efficiency and ability made by this little poverty-stricken settlement of the Rejected and Despised, sitting on the edge of Africa and fighting the world in order to be let alone is, despite querulous Criticism one of the most heartening efforts in human history.

47-9-13

Again and again Liberia has been forced to seek Salvation in loans of foreign capital She tried in 1870, however, to borrow money in order to pay off her floating debt and build roads. The loan of $500,000 was placed in London but she was unmercifully cheated, both by English brokers and possibly by the Liberian officials that negotiated it; so that at the end of the transaction, while she owed nearly $500,000, she received probably less than $70,000. For the first time and only time in her career she came near revolution, and the President who was suspected of cheating her was drowned, perhaps accidentally, in the bay.

For a long time, Liberia would not again consider the borrowing of money. But pressure was brought upon her. Her territory was Threatened and a Campaign of rebuke & abuse leveled at her.

the establishment in Liberia of 47-9-14 Copy (A.)

an agency of the League of Nations headed by a Chief Adviser who shall proceed as soon as possible to Liberia and there in consultation with the President of Liberia prepare a progressive and practical programme of administration and reform to become effective upon the deposit of the text with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Liberia requests that this programme be based upon the recommendations and principles already developed by the International Committee on Liberia.

Liberia hereby agrees to grant to the Chief Adviser ample and adequate authority for the effective execution by him of the programme. In case of a difference of opinion as to what constitutes such authority or as to an interpretation of plan the opinion of the Chief Adviser shall rule except that Liberia shall always have the right to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations or to an agency thereof in Geneva for final decision."

(Pages 3. and 4.)
Minutes of the 21st Meeting.
Liberia. League of Nations.
U.S.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

She was ~~hemmed in from~~ Checked of her hinterland, which ought to have extended back to Lake Chad; ~~the English Government~~ England sliced off claims on one side, and ~~the French~~ France blithely on the other, ~~even~~ contradicting their own maps and promises. The excuse was: Here is an undeveloped country; Liberia must develop! Very well. Here in 1906 comes Sir Harry Johnston and his backers. He forms, when he returns to England, the Liberian Development Company. Five Hundred Thousand Dollars is to be invested. Roads are to be built. Industries established, and among the new industries was ~~the~~ the raising of rubber, and this little forest ~~in which~~ where I stood was one result; but ~~nothing really came of the thing.~~ There were few other results The money was squandered by the Englishmen in charge of it, and again Liberia was left holding the bag. The only tangible result was proof that a good rubber tree would grow in Liberia, and this was the report of the Firestone expert in 1923.

Just before the war, Liberia had made a move toward American protection. ~~The~~ Sunlight soap interests of Great Britain ~~had tried~~ were then trying to get a concession which would monopolize her palm oil. When she refused, an attempt was made to spread sedition among her militia and get them to revolt. England sent her impudent notes (research for payment of defaulted loans) and was undoubtedly on the point of seizing the country. Liberia moved swiftly. She sent a delegation to America, who appealed to Booker T. Washington. ~~[redacted]~~ Mr. Washington appealed to Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt needed the Negro vote for the then heir-apparent, Taft, and he appointed a Liberian commission. A Commission went out and there made negotiations for a refunding of the Liberian debt. It was refunded and the new debt of $2,000,000 raised at 5%. It looked as though at last Liberia had got a start, because, while a Financial Adviser with large powers was the string attached to this new loan, nevertheless, there was no American disposition to interfere with Liberian independence

47-9-15

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

Then, suddenly, there came the World War, and smashed all these dreams. Liberia, despite her large German trade, was ~~induced~~ forced to declare ~~herself~~ in favor of the Allies, and one element of the inducement was a loan ~~to be made~~ promised her by the United States government. Before this went through, the war was over and Congress refused to confirm the loan. Again, Liberia was on the rocks. She sent another delegation over here, headed by President King, but little was accomplished. For five or six years, she staggered on, ~~unable to get capital, and con-~~ but at last slowly began to gain

"Between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue—both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years."* But she was handicapped. She needed roads, machinery, local industry. She needed ~~capital~~ foreign capital and she feared foreign capital

Then came Solomon Porter (Hood as United States minister), He knew Firestone slightly. He corresponded with him. The rubber situation developed. King was re-elected President, and at his inauguration, as a gesture of goodwill, I was designated by cable at the instance of William H. Lewis, working through his schoolmate, President Coolidge, to act as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. The appointment was purely ornamental, but I did all I could to co-operate with Hood and Africa and Liberia and tell them of the tremendous interest which American colored people had in them, and ~~in Africa~~ of the political power which they could use in its behalf, if they knew the facts.

47-9-16

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* The Native Problem in Africa.
Raymond L. Buell, ~~1926~~ —II, 1936

Firestone determined to enter into contract with Liberia to start rubber plantations and began negotiations. On my return to the United States, I wrote to him. I know what modern capital does to poor and colored peoples. I know what European imperialism has done to Asia and Africa; but, nevertheless, I had not then lost faith in the capitalistic system, and I believed that it was possible for a great corporation, headed by a man of vision, to go into a country with something more than the mere profit ideal. I tried to state this to Mr. Firestone. I intimated that the one thing above all which he

47-9-17

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

must avoid was taking capital into a small country and putting it under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation. I tried to point out that by using trained American Negroes, he might avoid this situation in Liberia, and have a more normal development ~~more like that which accompanies British capital in Canada or Australia or the Pacific; that is keep~~ by putting in the hands of the people of the same race, local and immigrant, some power over the invested capital which would divert it ~~and guide them~~, at least to some extent, toward ends of social welfare, rather than mere profit. I had no reply from my letter. Perhaps it never got by the Third Assistant Secretary.

When I heard of the terms which Firestone demanded in Liberia my heart began to fall. The Liberians resisted, and ~~if the~~ many leading officials had had their way, the contract would never have been signed. But there is no doubt in my mind now but that President King's increase in salary under the contract, from $5,200 to $15,000, was nothing less than a bribe, and there may have been many other transactions. At any rate, without the knowledge of many of the higher officials, and against the protest of some, a contract was signed which gave Firestone the right to select wherever he wished in Liberia one million acres of land, fully one-twentieth of the whole land area of Liberia without price, and upon notification, the government was to warrant his title. Moreover, the rental on this land was put at a ridiculous figure, 6¢ an acre, and also, Firestone demanded that Liberia accept a loan.

It was here that the stiffest fight ensued. ~~Miss Graves says~~ Liberia ~~did not want~~ objected to the Loan. The Firestone Company refused to come unless Liberia borrowed this money. Liberia realized that if the money was borfowed of the Firestone Company the State Department would protect Liberia from aggressions by France and England, but that if there was no American concession, they could expect no help from America. [redacted],

47-9-18

represnetative, is a good-looking, young man with an Oxford accent, but with No mentality. The report of the League experts overemphasized



the difference between America-Liberians and natives. There has been a great deal of intermarriage between the two, so that there is scarcely a Liberian without modern native blood. Moreover, natives continually have been represented in the government. The Vice President inaugurated, when he represented the United States at the 2nd innauguration of Mr. King, was a native. The clergyman who opened the recent independent celebration was a Grebo. The little council to Hamburg, Germany was a Vai. The Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Liberia is a native. Natives have always for years been members of the cabinet. Fully half of the civilized Liberians are natives, and the other half related to or inter-married with natives.

Both Buell and Miss Graves disagree with the report of the Commission, in believing that the policy of Liberian government with the natives has been more successful than that of the British in Sierra Leone, and less oppressive than that of any white government in Africa.

It is tremendously difficult for a little country like that to maintain a government and keep up appearances. They must, if they are wise, maintain Ministers abroad and entertain ~~ministers at home~~ ministers & consulates at Monrovia. They are, as colored people, peculiarly subjected to petty and hurting criticism concerning their homes and dress and food. And, on the other hand, their income is wretchedly low. It makes officials dangerously susceptible to all degrees of ~~cast~~ graft and bribery. In this boom, the salaries were raised. Members of Congress, instead of getting $1,200 were to get $2,000; Members of the Cabinet, $4,000 instead of $3,000. These were not large increases, and on the whole, they were increases that seemed gotten justified by the expanding business and the ~~rosy prospects~~ natural development of the country. The only conspicuously large increase, as I have said, was that of King's, from $5,000 to $15,000. At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500.

The increase in salaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public work was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000, The salary of Secretaries and Departments from $3,000 to $4,000.

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

47-9-20

The loan agreement of 1926 led to an increase in public salaries. The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, 1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom.

C 469 M 238

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But this arrangement was just changed in 1926 — boom times for the world. Liberia was shared as never before by a wave of prosperity

Buell who made Liberia and this period world

~~As a result of the entrance of the Firestone Plantation Company, Monrovia has awakened from a half-century's stupor, and~~ business has begun to "hum." More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goes to private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive.

Spectacular as has been the change, it should be pointed out that between 1922 and 1925 the Liberian Government made slow but steady progress, as a result of which revenue—both internal and external—was increasing. The economic and financial future of the country looked brighter than for many years. American capital then appeared to tempt Liberia with the hope of immediate and, in the eyes of the local people, fabulous gains. Whether these gains will be accompanied by the social injuries which have resulted from the plantation system in other parts of Africa will depend upon whether Mr. Firestone carries out his plans.

12-9-21

(Page 836.)
The Native Problem in Africa.
Raymond L. Buell.

Buell says:

"In response to the question why they agreed to this loan in the face of early opposition and manifestly unfavorable terms, all of them gave the same reply: The State Department of the United States told us to accept this loan."

therefore, accepted the Firestone conditions as the only way to get protection as well as capital. On the other hand, Firestone ~~accepted~~ insisted on the loan as it now seems so that the Liberian Government would be ~~impoverished and be~~ at the mercy of the Company.

The Firestone Company insisted that certain public improvements in Liberia must be made; that the state must have larger income, and particularly that a modern harbor should be built so that the passengers and freight would not have to take that gloriously exciting but dangerous and costly ride in the surf boats over the bar.

The Liberian Government finally ~~arranged~~ insisted that the loan should be made not by the Firestone Corporation but by some other corporation. That was easily adjusted. In comes the National City Bank, and when the mists have cleared away, the Finance Corporation, the Firestone Rubber Company, the new local bank, known as the "United States Trading Company," all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone.

Liberia was to receive a 7% loan of $2,500,000 with the right to increase this eventually to $5,000,000. The first installment was marketed at 90 making $2,027,700 actual receipts.

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest; re-payment of the debt to the United States; purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds; paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts; with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but this the Firestone interests refuse to advance except on certain conditions. Besides this a corps of highly paid American financial experts were to be hired and paid for by Liberia and the Firestone bank was to be the depository of all state revenues and act as financial agent.

477-9-22

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These salaries (some the presidents) were not huge for a prosperous country such as Liberia dreamed of becoming. But they were too huge for the facts and the timid white advisors encouraged further extravagance

"The distressing thing is that the above measured amount of [for public works etc.] $156,000 has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office."

C 469 M 238 (Pages 30, 31.)

This gentleman was subsequently hissed on D C Hall by the U.S. government to keep them liable in debt & the National City Bank. ~~Loomis the financial boss was ill fated~~

Grimes ~~continued~~ declares that: "When Loomis was appointed Financial Advisor, there was to be also a Supervisor of Customs, a Supervisor of Internal Revenue, and Auditor and Assistant Auditor. The person appointed as Supervisor of Customs had no experience in custom matters. ~~He was a fairly competent engineer and had built an excellent lighthouse.~~ Loomis had been in Liberia about two years. His criticisms were in favor of a reduction of the Liberian personnel and he had confined himself to criticism and never gave any constructive advice. ~~The Advisor who~~ He made received a salary of $5,000 was anxious to have his own salary increased

47-9-23

League of Nations. Liberia. Tenth Meeting Held at Geneva.

It was by his advice that all Liberian salaries were raised to $12,500 A-

Meanwhile, in the world, things began to harden Prices fell. Palm kernels which sold for $72 a ton in 1924 were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports which was $1,497,214 in 1927 fell to $856,759 in 1930.

As the same time the Firestone loan charges

The ~~loan~~ charges, including interest, amortization exchanges, salary of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement took ~~to take~~ in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%. And almost all of these sums were sent out of the country.

Nor was this all! The British Rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from $1 to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes 350,000, and ~~He~~ cuts ~~the~~ wages of his laborers in half, from ~~12¢ to 6¢~~ 1 shilling to 6 pence a day, ~~and~~ he does practically

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(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

nothing about the promised ~~harbors~~ As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia.

The former opponents of the loan became vocal

It was pointed out that King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more shady transactions, and that higher officials were implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest they lose their investment & quit when the country. Their labor supply began to dwindle and it is alleged the Spanish & French interests assisted in Monrovia when cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabon and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply in Africa always approaches slavery: the requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chiefs and compelled to obey according & clan laws. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English French & Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor the

47-9-24

the Firestone loan changes, including interest, amortisation expenses, salaries of fiscal officers, etc., under the agreement, took in 1928, 20% of the total annual revenue of the country; 1929, 26%, 1930, 32%, 1931, 54.9%; ~~and almost all of these sums were sent out of the country.~~ It is said that the Acting Secretary of State in the United States was alarmed at the situation, and when he heard of a similar engineering contract in Abyssinia, said: "My God, there's not going to be another such contract as Liberia's, while I am Secretary."

"nearly the whole revenue intake of the government!"

~~But~~ The arrangement was put through in 1926—boom times for the world. Liberia was stirred as never before by a vision of prosperity. Buell, who visited Liberia at this period, wrote:

"Business has begun to "hum." More hard money is in circulation than ever before. While most of this goesto private interests, the government has already also secured a few thousand dollars a year additional revenue. Many American missionaries and educators are enheartened; they now believe that Liberia will survive."

The American "experts" in finance encouraged Liberia to spend.

"The increase in salaries, after the loan agreement of 1926, was as follows: A new department, that of public works, was created. The salary of a Senator was raised from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of a deputy, from $1,200 to $2,000. The salary of President King, from $5,200 to $15,000. The salary of the Vice President, who was a native, from $3,000 to $4,000, The salary of Secretaries and Departments, from $3,000 to $4,000."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

At the same time, it's interesting to learn that the white Financial Adviser, appointed by the United States Government, in conjunction with the Firestone interests, also got a raise from $5,000 to $12,500, which of course Liberia found

~~"The loan agreement of 1926 led to an increase in public salaries.~~

"The total government budget in 1925-26 was $859,464 in 1927-1928, $1,529,840, 1928-1929, $1,654,869. In other words, there came a period of inflation and boom."

The Expert's Report. Page 33.
C. 469. M. 238. Liberia.

477-9-26

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

Company," all represent one and the same investment of capital by Firestone. Five Million Dollars was to be loaned, but [redacted] in piecemeal, and the rate was to be 7%. So that Liberia proceeded to re-finance her foreign debt at 5% and her internal debt at 3%, into one consolidated debt at 7%. All of the state revenues were to go into the Firestone Bank and receive but 2% interest, and the installments of the loan were only to be doled out as the interest and other charges were paid.

they have to pay 1% for the right of deposit - though the West African Currency Board charges only ½%

on the last advance

"All Liberian loans therefore have been as follows:



(Cont. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

47-9-26

The Liberian Loans are as follows:

1870.....From England.....$500,000 at 7%, issued at 70.

1906.....£100,000 sterling at 6%.

1911.....International Loan $2,000,000 at 5%.

1914-1918, from the United States $35,000

1926.....Finance Corporation of America $2,253,000 at 7%
Sold at 90

Actual receipts $2,027,700

This was expended to redeem 5% bonds amounting to $1,146,716 with interest, re-payment of the debt to the United States, purchasing of $175,000 in internal bonds, paying the Liberian frontier force and various other debts, with $11,730 for special health measures, and $156,439 in public works. There is still available from the first installment of the loan, $367,466, but thus the Firestone interests refuse to advance capital on new conditions

Million Dollars was to be loaned, but in piecemeal, and the rate was to be 7%. All of the state revenues were to go into the Firestone Bank and they had to pay 1½% for the right of deposit—though the African Company Bank cleared only 1/2%, and the installments of the loan were only to be doled out as the interest and other charges on the part advanced were paid.

The Liberian loans, therefore, have been as follows:

1870.....From England.....$500,000 at 7%, issued at 70.

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Actual receipts.....$2,027,700

47-9-29.

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## LIBERIA DECLARES LOAN MORATORIUM.

### American Government's Protest.

GENEVA, January 31.

A situation almost identical with that in the Anglo-Persian oil dispute has arisen in connection with the plan of assistance for Liberia.

It was revealed to-day at a meeting of the League Committee of which Lord Cecil is President that in December last year the Liberian Legislature declared an indefinite moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the loan granted to Liberia by the American Finance Corporation.

The American Government has declared that it regards "the unilateral action taken by Liberia in suspending this contract with an American corporation as not only an effort to repudiate a legitimate contract, but also an effort to nullify the engagement made by Liberia in Geneva."

Until the suspension of this contract has been revoked it will be impossible for the Finance Corporation to continue negotiations on the plan of assistance. In view, however, of the financial difficulties of Liberia the Corporation is prepared to recognise a temporary de facto moratorium while negotiations in Geneva are being concluded. But it insists firmly on the December suspension being revoked at once.

The Committee, faced with this circumstance to-day, despatched a telegram to the President of Liberia calling attention to the conditions upon which negotiations can be re-opened.—"Morning Post."

## NIGERIA TO LONDON IN THIRTEEN DAYS.

"As regards the danger in which Liberia might be involved through the development of the Firestone undertakings which it had been feared might lead to too rapid an absorption of the population by the company's establishments, the representative of the Firestone Company had stated that the entire policy of the company aimed at reconciling the interests of Liberia with its own. The company, which took a long view of the position, certainly did not wish to affect the structure of native society; on the contrary it was prepared to accept the opinion of the most competent experts with regard to the recruiting of native labour.

47-9-28

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

National City Bank.

Grimes declared that "When Loomis was appointed Financial Advisor, there was to be also a Supervisor of Customs, a Supervios of Internal Revenue, and Auditor and Assistant Auditor. The person appointed as Supervisor of Customs had no experience in custom matters. Loomis has been in Liberia about two years. His criticisms were in favor of a reduction of the Liberian personnel and he had confined himself to criticism and never gave any constructive advice. He received a salary of $5,000 and as he was anxious to have his own salary increased to $12,500, it was by his advice that all Liberian salaries were raised.

League of Nations. Liberia. Tenth Meeting Held At Geneva.

Meantime, in the world, things began to happen.

## BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS).

### At the B.I.F.

The above bank are again associated with Barclays Bank, Ltd., in their stands at the British Industries Fair, from February 20 to March 3, namely :—

DD. 73, National Hall, Olympia, London, and

5c/4, Castle Bromwich, Birmingham. at which exhibits of produce, etc., from the territories served by the bank will be displayed.

Their representatives are present to give information in respect of the various territories in which Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) is established, while banking facilities will be provided by Barclays Bank, Ltd.

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A marriage has been arranged, and will shortly take place, between Robert de Stapelden Stapledon, of the Nigerian Administrative Service, youngest son of Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Stapledon, of Wellesbourne, Northam, Devon, and Marjorie Winifred (Cissie), elder daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. R. N. Radford and Mrs. Radford, of Stanwell, Westward Ho!, Devon.

* * *

### Deaths.

The death has taken place of Mr. Albert Brown, of Messrs. Griffiths, McAlister and Co., Ltd., Liverpool, who was for many years previous to 1926 on the staff of the

~~How would the advice of the experts outside the~~
Doubtless Liberians Natives were only too eager to get bonus salaries but even on accident matters of public works the American advisers were just as careless!

"The distressing thing is that the above mentioned amount of $156,000 (for public works) has been squandered as a result of the deplorable advice given to the Liberian Republic by the Financial Advisor at that time in office."

C. 469. M. 238. (Pages 30 and 31.)
6Liberia.

This gentleman was subsequently passed on to Haiti by the United States government to keep that black island in debt and the

47-9-31

National City Bank

Suddenly the ~~bubble of prosperity burst in New York~~
Shadow of the Great Depression begins to move across the world

The British rubber monopoly breaks. The price of rubber falls from $1 to 5¢. Far from needing a million acres, Firestone takes $50,000, and cuts wages of his laborers in half, from 1 shilling to 6 pence a day; he does practically nothing about the promised $300,000 harbor. As the commercial and industrial situation began to tighten, opposition began to seethe in Liberia. The former opponents of the loan became vocal. It was pointed out that King was getting rich, not simply by his connection with Firestone, but by other and more

# NEW FACTS about LIBERIA

## Britain Has Been Hoodwinked

*(Specially Contributed)*

WHEN the charges of conniving at slave trading were first made against certain Liberian officials, the so-called trustees of the darker races, foremost among them the British people, ignorant, or pretending lack of knowledge, of the real circumstances that had given rise to the indictment, strongly urged that an immediate investigation be undertaken.

The Liberian Government again—as it so often has been—the victim of circumstances, was anxious to co-operate in exposing and remedying the state of affairs which existed, and welcomed the suggestion of an investigation by an accredited international commission. Though realising the motives underlying the investigation and the injury which was being deliberately directed against the Republic, the Liberian Government confirmed the appointment of the members of the Commission and gave them every facility in carrying out their work. The Liberian Government issued a proclamation, inviting all individuals and parties in Liberia, interested in the investigation, to give evidence before the Commission. It is of more than ordinary interest to note that, of all the people in Liberia who came forward to give evidence, an overwhelming majority were dissatisfied and disappointed political aspirants, who were less concerned with the desire of the Commission to ascertain the actual facts than they were with scoring off petty jealousies. None the less, it was such evidence which for the most part was accepted, often without verification, and which was set down verbatim in the volume which came to be known as the Report of the International Commission on Slavery in Liberia.

An interesting analogy to what occurred in Liberia is afforded by the hypothetical example of a commission set up in England to investigate certain actions of the British Government, which would hear and accept most of the evidence from members of the Communist Party in England. One can well realise the extravagant criticisms which would be levelled against the Monarchy and the irresponsible charges of corruption against those in high places, which would be made. True, no one who knew England would give either the criticisms or the charges more than a moment's thought. For the most part they would be looked upon as amusing, but read outside England they would shock people less well-informed, who might in their ignorance feel that the evidence furnished sufficient background upon which to put the British Government on trial. And yet this is what has happened in Liberia.

During the last three years, the League of Nations has been wrestling with the Report of the Commission, and the delay has caused serious harm to the Republic, both from a financial and moral point of view. The uncertainty regarding the future course of action has prevented the Liberian Government from undertaking any new schemes, and it was not until recent months that the recommendations of the International Commission were modified and adopted by the League and accepted by the Liberian Government as mutually satisfactory.

### "CATSPAWS IN A . . . INTERNATIONAL GAME"

Briefly, the Liberian Government, with the object of showing its desire to find an equitable solution, accepted, not without some reluctance, a five-year plan which included the appointment of one general adviser and five other officials, on the understanding that the League should grant financial assistance in order to permit of the plan being carried out. This proviso by the Liberian Government was essential, for the country is already overburdened with a loan carrying the most onerous conditions, and it is, in fact, already in arrears in the payment of its employees.

It was this appeal for assistance by Liberia which opened up a new chapter in the Liberian crisis. Now, and only now, have Great Britain and certain other countries come to realise that they have been used as catspaws in a pretty international game, in which it seems that they are going to get little credit and a good deal of criticism.

It was only when Liberia asked for financial assistance that Britain began to see that something more than the love of humanity had prompted the charges of slavery and cruelty, which had been made against the Liberian

Government. During recent months, it has become increasingly obvious to several members of the League of Nations that the accusations of slavery and forced labour which were made against Liberia were actually nothing more than a phase in a policy of propaganda, cunningly and maliciously conceived in America with a view to strengthening American dominance in Liberia.

For instance, the uprising among the Kroos, which was greatly magnified and used as an illustration of the way in which the Liberian Government sought to impose extreme hardships upon certain native tribes, was found, upon investigation, to be little more than tribal warfare over boundaries — and even here it was possible to trace foreign political agitation as one of the primary causes of the uprising.

It is noticeable that the hostile attitude adopted by some members of the League towards Liberia in the early stages of the crisis has undergone a remarkable change, and this is no doubt due to the fact that whatever may have been, and still are, the feelings towards Liberia, they are not particularly anxious to be used by another country as tools in a trial of international diplomacy. Such has been the change of front by some members, that they have shown an almost embarrassing willingness to assist in revising the recommendations of the Commission in a way which benefits Liberia, *but which does not altogether suit America.*

### Alleged One-sided Agreements

The reason for this is not far to seek. It was clear that before the League of Nations could give serious consideration to Liberia's request for financial aid, an examination of the present financial commitments of the country would have to be undertaken. It is alleged that the officials of the League were not long in discovering that Liberia's financial problem was almost wholly due to the agreements with the Firestone Company and the Finance Corporation of America. These agreements, it is alleged, are one-sided and almost wholly in favour of the American interests, and they call for the financing of certain public works and improvements, which it is also alleged have not yet been carried out.

Examination of the agreements by the League experts is alleged to have shown that the interest, sinking fund, and other charges on the loan from American interests to Liberia absorbed some 60 per cent. of the entire revenue of the country. The League, acting upon the advice of its experts, suggested that the rate of interest on the loan should be reduced, and that the rental paid by the Firestone Company should be increased.

It was these suggestions, made, let it be emphasised, by the League of Nations and not by the Liberian Government, which show up the real intentions which underlie American activity and interest in Liberia. Acting upon the findings of its experts, the League approached the American Government with a view to influencing the American interests to reconsider the terms of the agreements, and to pay the Liberian Government the balance due on the loan, in order to facilitate the operation of the League's plan of assistance. The League pointed out that, without such assistance, the recommendations could not be carried out.

In response to this appeal, the American Government stated that as soon as the League had concluded the administrative side of the plan, the American interests would be prepared to enter into negotiations with the Liberian Government upon the lines indicated. The League is reported to have concluded its side of the business and to have informed the American Government in this sense. No effort, it is alleged, has been made by the American interests to confer with the League of Nations or Liberia, although America has shown a particular interest in endeavouring to influence the appointment of an American as general adviser under the plan formulated by the League.

It is reported that since the League has failed to arrange for some adjustment in the terms of the agreements which Liberia has with the American interests, the Liberian Legislature has passed an Act suspending interest for two years on the loan and reducing the pay of the officials appointed under the terms of the loan.

This is where the matter stands for the present. Only three questions remain to be answered. If the only interest which America had in the recent outcry against Liberian officials was to reform the administration of the country, why does she withhold her help now that everything has been done to meet her wishes? The second question is even more pertinent. What do those countries who helped America to raise the storm think, now that America shows no particular interest in co-operating with them in improving the conditions which were criticised so strenuously? Thirdly, are we to assume that now that the American interests have rightly been thwarted in their wishes, they have no further interest in Liberia?

47-9-33

The one Affleck Davidson
who tried to treasure some pair
of corduroys was peremptorily dismissed
He sued for salary & who would
you imagine is Broadway attorney?
Ex P. King, Ed. Stone Trader! Irmaly
under understand in the course

47-9-34

U.S. has discredited Barclay

Barclay + Russia discredited King, who

has not been discredited

was depending on for rubber (10)

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." According to the Christy, Johnson, Barclay Report, August, 1930, there was a Labor Bureau for supervising labor and procuring labor established in 1912, but this was not operative until 1926, when it was used to supply labor for the Firestones. "It provided for labor agents to be designated by the President, fees for every employer engaging a laborer, not deductible from wages, and fees due ~~churches~~ chiefs and head men for every laborer furnished a labor agent."

~~League of Nations. Liberia. Tenth Meeting Held at Geneva.~~

Buell says:



47-7-35

Thus under this system, which is similar to that which has produced wholesale compulsory labor inother parts of Africa, the Firestone Plantations Company is making it financially worth while for the government and for the chiefs to keep the plantations supplied. The concession Agreement Number Two imposes on the government the obligation to cooperate in securing these men. As Liberian officials and chiefs are already accustomed to imposing compulsion whether in securing men for road work or for Fernando Po, there is no reason to believe that they will emoloy any different methods in obtaining labot for the Firestone Plantations.

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

shady transactions, and that other higher officials are implicated with him. The Firestone interests became alarmed lest ~~they lose~~ their ~~investment and grip upon the country~~ labor supply ~~began to~~ dwindle ~~and~~ when it ~~is~~ was alleged that Spanish and French interests appeared in Monrovia with cash in large sums for labor in the French Gabon and Spanish Fernando Po.

Now labor supply for modern industry in Africa always approaches slavery: requisition is made on the heads of the clans for so many men. They are selected by the chief and compelled to obey according to clan law. This kind of compulsory labor is common in English, French and Belgian Africa. It was precisely this kind of labor that Firestone was depending on.

Has contract had a clause:

"The government further agrees that it will encourage, support and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply."

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417-9-36

* II h 934

Firestone by agreement has the right to take 1/20 of all the land in Liberia or a million acres. In the Firestone agreement is this section:

(h). The Governkent warrants to the Lessee the title to all lands selected by it upon which the Government shall accept the rental or compensation as herein provided and will defend and protect such title for the benefit of the Lessee.

Article. II. Paragraph H.
Page 50. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

Firestone Company can select lands anywhere it pleases. And as a matter of fact it disposses natives without compensation. There is a notification that tribal reserves are excluded from the obligations of this agreement, and that disputes as to such lands, "shall be finally determined by the Secretary of the Interior of Liberia on a reference by the lessee."

(C 469 M 238 1 50)

(Liberia.

Miss
have been
refused to

When the Firestone organization came [illegible] being sent out of Liberia the coming of French and Spanish Colons they raised the cry of slavery & the King of Liberia echoed it.

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

Miss Graves [redacted] heard many Liberians assert that natives have been driven off their lands without compensation, and if they refused to go, the forest was set on fire."

The unrest in Liberia and accusations became so sharp that ~~finally the government~~ was compelled to take notice. One thing that ~~they~~ Liberia had saved from ~~their~~ its surrender to the Firestones was that in case of dispute they could refer the matter to the League of Nations, and Liberia was careful to keep her membership in the League of Nations. She, therefore, asked the League of Nations to send a Commission to investigate ~~certain~~ there reports ~~as to~~ slavery in Liberia, and an active slave trade in which some of the higher officials were participating. The League of Nations appointed a committee, headed by Christy, an Englishman, with a colored ~~man~~ American, Charles S. Johnson, appointed by President Hoover, and the grand old man Arthur Barclay, one of the finest products of Liberia, as a third member. This Commission made its report in 1930. In all but one respect, it was a thorough and frank report. In that one respect, it failed, and that was because Christy and Johnson were guests of the Firestone interests while in Liberia. This was a serious mistake which they probably did not realize when they accepted, ~~and~~ they were ~~probably~~ doubtless led to accept because homes adequate for the entertainment of foreigners are not so plentiful in Monrovia, ~~and because the Liberians themselves have been~~ unless they alone will (Officials & others Christy treated similarly here) accused of trying to

47-9-38

(Con. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

influence the Commission, ~~if they had been entertained in the President's mansion or at the homes of any government officials.~~ The result was that this commission in making its report trod softly and gently when it came to the Firestones. But in other respects, it made a careful investigation. It showed that there was slavery among the primitive Liberian tribes. Everyone knew this, of course. The same thing exists in all the neighboring territories, and in the English territory of Sierra Leone, ~~It~~ is only a few years ago that steps were begun to overthrow the system. It is, of course, a system different from industrial slavery, but it is liable to abuse, and is consistent with advance and civilization. Secondly there was pawning of children. Often children were sold to well-to-do Liberians in the towns who brought them up as servants and paid them by giving them some education and allowing them to learn English. The third accusation was much more important, and that was that laborers were recruited among the tribes and sent out of the country to the French colony of Gabun and to the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. ~~And that~~ military force was used ~~to compel them,~~ and both President King ~~and the~~ Vice President Yancy were involved in profit-sharing from the proceeds of this slave-trade, some other officials ~~and that~~ members of the frontier force were used in obtaining this labor, and also in extortion and illegal taxation. ~~Members of the government being accused in profiting in this graft.~~ The resultant upheaval in Liberia forced the immediate resignation of Preident King and Vice President Yancy, and they were threatened with criminal prosecution. The Secretary of State, Edwin Barclay, nephew of Arthur Barclay mentioned above, who was not accused of complicity with this slave-trading and graft, was named as temporary President and afterward elected for full term. ~~The question was now,~~ What action would Liberia take

4-7-9-39

The Report of the International Commission of Inquiry was filed at Monrovia September 8, 1930. The Legislature met the second Monday of October, and the President, King, gave his annual message October 30. After the report had been received and various petitions, a select committee of the House of Representatives reported December 2, and on the adoption of that report, President King, Vice President Yancy and other officials were retired from office. Edwin Barclay, nephew of Arthur Barclay one of the commissioners Secretary of State, was selected to fill out the unexpired term, and took the oath, December 5. On the same day, the note of the United States Secretary of State, dated November 17, was presented to the retiring President who transmitted it to the Legislature. The Legislature passed the following laws:

An act prohibiting the export of contract labor overseas.

An act providing for the re-organization of the hinderland.

An act forbidding pawning.

An act creating for public health and sanitary service.

An act permitting unrestricted trade in the Republic.



(Liberia. C. 469. M. 838.)

All these were in line with the demand for reform contained in the note of the government of the United States. Copies of the laws were communicated to the American Chargé d' Affaires, with a request made for that government to nominate experts for the health and interior administration. No reply was received ~~from the government. Nevertheless~~, the American, British and German legations, on January 1, 1931, presented notes to the Government of Liberia demanding that the government ask the Council of the League of Nations to appoint an International Governing Commission to take over Liberia and administer the affairs of the country. The President, Barclay, replied that he could not do this without violating his oath, but the Government said that it had no objection to an appeal to the League of Nations ~~and asked them~~ asking it to nominate capable persons which Liberia could not procure among her own citizens to help in re-organizing the country. It was expected that the League of Nations would nominate such experts. Instead, the request for assistance ~~was made has, perhaps unintentionally, been~~ was magnified into a ~~problem and~~ Liberia held before the world as though the government were a criminal at the bar of justice, with a large section of the press of the world publishing all manner of false and scandalous statements against the Republic.



President Barclay had never been accused of having had any part in the election-stealing

12

847.6-40

Madariaga resented these exaggerations

"M. de Madariaga (Spain) endorsed the tribute paid by M. Reber to the experts. (11th meeting p 9)

He wished incidentally (and on this point the well-known policy of the present Spanish Government certainly authorized him to speak quite freely) to remark that the authors of the International Commission of Inquiry's report had been somewhat lacking in impartiality and a sense of proportion when they referred from the standpoint of slavery to the situation existing in Liberia and at Fernando Po. It was a well-known fact that there were about five million slaves in the world and those who might have existed in Liberia or Fernando Po when the Christy Commission was conducting its investigations in Liberia formed a very small proportion of the total.

17-9-41

The United Elders without waiting further Liberian action peremptorily refused to recognize President Barclay and practically called him a liar. Yet Barclay had already laid down a plan of reform and the Legislature had passed acts to meet every criticism and suggestion of the Investigating Committee. No taint or complicity and guilt had touched Barclay. Nevertheless, President Hoover refused to recognize him; Stimson sent him a number of ~~impudent~~ insulting notes, which should logically have been addressed not to him, but to ex-President King, ~~and~~ Mitchel, the Colored United States Minister sent ~~there~~ and was not allowed to present his credentials, and consequently had no way of getting any information concerning what was going on, except through the ~~gossip of the~~ local Firestone people.

Thereafter the U.S. government in effect handed Firestone Rubber Company its monopoly in Monrovia + Geneva and the whole burning issue of the controversy becomes the question of a new contract which will let Firestone rule Liberia

~~27~~ 22

47-9-42

~~The League of Nations committee Confirmed Dr~~

Liberia objected to this plan

This appeal was made and ~~Dec 3, 1930~~, the League appointed a special committee of the Council, which which a representative of the United States Government, Reber, was to sit.

It encountered the full force of the depression that struck Liberia.

Prices fell.

Palm kernels, which sold for $72 a ton in 1928, were at $62 in 1929 and $24 in 1931. The value of all Liberian exports, which was $1,497,214 in 1927 fell to $856,759 in 1930.

At the same time, the debt service was absorbing over three-fourths of the whole income of the country, and the civil servants had been without pay for seventeen months. .Liberia had asked that experts be appointed who were not from countries which had colonies. She wanted people ~~of~~ with open mind. But the League ignored that request, and appointed, March 3, 1931

~~The experts who made this report, consisting of~~ M. Brunot, ~~a~~ Frenchman, expert in general administration; ~~and a Frenchman~~; M. Ligthart, a Dutchman, a financial expert; ~~and a Dutchman~~, and Dr. Mackenzie, an Englishman, expert in medical and public health questions, ~~and an Englishman~~.

This committee of experts started documents during March & April. They reached Liberia June 13 and left July 26th, 1931

"We worked throughout in close contact with the Liberian government, which endeavored to assist us and supplied us with such information as it possessed."

L of N doc. C 469 M 238, 1932 VII Geneva, May 21 '32 ~~DO~~. Page 9.

47-9-13

These reports were finished May 21 1932. It consisted of a short general description of the land & people and the forms of government. Then it treated several ~~conditions~~ economic & financial conditions & a detailed plan of assistance. It is notable that of the ~~65~~ 50 pages of report & appendixes only one line of a page is devoted to the question of slavery, principally to which report deny on economic conditions & the Firestone contract. The report says on the abolition of slavery & forced labor

Loomis,

constructive plans, and let matters drift. The Firestone employees drew off and made themselves a white caste, criticizing and even insulting Liberians, and helped to spread a world-wide propaganda against them. Liberia appealed to the League of Nations for assistance, and

Redrafted memorandum by the United States Chairman of Liberian

" The Liberian Government has passed the necessary laws, and it only remains to put them into force. To that end the action to be undertaken by the suggested district commissioners must be immediate

(Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.)

and gradual.

" It must be immediate in the sense that, from the moment they come into contact with the population, their duty will be to make the laws passed and the sanctions attaching to them publicly known through "palavers and notices", and to warn paramount chiefs personally of the responsibilities they incur if they hinder the liberation of domestic slaves or bondsmen who desire their freedom. . . .

" Furthermore, with a view to facilitating emancipation, "Liberty Villages", with sufficient tillable land, will be established at each administrative post.

" The action must be gradual in the sense that, in such a delicate matter, certain to cause a disturbance, however salutary, in the domestic economy of tribes some of which are still a direct search for slaves or hired workers who might be detained against their will. It must moreover, be understood that this period of compromise should not last longer than the time necessary for exploring and penetrating the hinterland.

" In a word, the law will be executed in two stages: first, notice should be given everywhere of the complete abolition of slavery and former slaves helped to freedom. Secondly, penalties should be imposed on recalcitrant slave-owners. The history of the neighbouring countries shows that a few examples will suffice.

" As regards forced labour, only communal work for the construction and maintenance of roads in the territory of the tribe in question should remain compulsory; this correponds both with the customs of the natives and with the provisions of the Convention on forced labour which Liberia has ratified."

League of Nations. Liberia. Twelfth Meeting.

The Committee of the League of Nations, at their 12th meeting, February 1, inserted the following paragraph in their final statement:

"The experts on their arrival in Liberia, found that the Liberian Government had already passed laws forbidding slavery and forced labour, and actually the experts found that the exportation of forced labour had been suppressed".

To this the Liberian government added in an appendix the report [illegible] details

Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

The Government of Liberia has taken the following action to carry out the recommendations of the Christy Commission:

| | |
|---|---|
| The policy of the open door. | Permission to trade throughout the country by recent legislation unrestricted. |
| Extension of education to all alike. | No section of the population has ever been debarred from taking advantage of all educational facilities available. |
| Native policy to be radically reconstructed. | Reconstructed in so far as criticism was justified. |
| Barrier between civilized and uncivilized to be broken. | No such barriers have ever been erected. |
| Policy of suppression to be abandoned. | Such a polich has never been pursued. |
| Humiliation and degradation of chiefs to cease. Re-establishment of tribal authority of chiefs. | Provided for by new Interior Regulations, May 31st, 1931. |
| Complete reorganization of administration of the interior. | Effected. |
| Removal of present District Commissioners. | Effected. |
| Substitution of European or American Commissioners with Assistant Commissioners. | Provision made herein for employment of a limited number of foreign assistants. |
| Institution of some form of civil service. | Has to be gradually undertaken. |
| Rearrangement of the political divisions of the country. | Effected. |
| Pawning and domestic slavery to be made illegal as preliminary to total abolition. | Already totally abolished. |
| Shipment of labourers to Fernando Po to cease. | Effected. |
| Road programme to be curtailed. | A matter purely of internal economy, former methods, however abandoned. |

47-9-40

Later after, Dr McKenzie had taken another trip to Liberia to look into the alleged re-
-commendation of Native workmen, while the British has taken it
upon themselves to make an independent investigation

At the 17th meeting of the Committee, May 17, the Chairman, Lord Cecil, said:

It would be remembered that in January last it had been alleged that this action represented, at least in part, reprisals against the tribes, certain of whose members had given evidence before the Christy Commission or the Brunot Commission.

On that point he was happy to state that neither of the two reports contained evidence of such allegations.

Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.

| | |
|---|---|
| Much stricter control of Frontier Force soldiers.<br>Reconsideration of duties of Frontier Force soldiers. | Revised manual prepared by American military adviser approved by Legislature and now in force. |
| American immigration to be encouraged. | Immigration from the United States of America and elsewhere has even been encouraged, and there has never been a law or regulation to put any barrier in the way thereof. |

[Page 61. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.]

20 The experts ~~sent~~ in ~~1929~~ presently drew plans of relief 18
~~organized~~ The difficulties created by the Firestone concession began delaying ~~their~~ ~~debates~~ of this ~~extraordinary~~ organ.

-1-

League of Nations. Liberia. C. 469. M. 238.
Request of Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government

47-9-47

" It is impossible to examine Liberia's financial situation without taking into account the fact that there is a close connection between this loan and the Firestone concession, as we have explained under the heading "Firestone Plantations, Ltd." This concession was granted on conditohs very favourable to the lessee. The situation may be expressed in figures if we calculate the receipts which the Liberiah Government obtains under this concession. Reckoning that an area of 50,000 acres will shortly have been planted, it will take about five years for the whole plantation to reach its full output. If the crop is estimated at 400 lb. per acre, the exports will amount to about 9,000 tons. The price of rubber at New York is at present about 5½ cents per lb. But even assuming a price of 20 cents per lb.—which in present circumstances seems impossible to attain in five years—the crop would fetch $4,032,000, of which the Liberian Republic would receive 1 per cent or $40,320. In addition, Firestone pays a rental of 6 cents per acre, which gives $3,000. The Republic of Liberia thus receives from Firestone $43,320, an amount which is not sufficient even to pay the officials responsible for the service of the loan ($53,650). If the contributions to be paid by Firestone are reckoned on the basis of the present price of 5½ cents per lb. for rubber, the amount is only $13,188, instead of $43,320.

(Page 32.)
C. 469. M. 238.
League of Nations. Request for Assistance submitted by the Liberian Government.

(Italics in original report.)

Nevertheless the Committee

22 16

recommended an elaborate plan of re-establishment based ~~eight years and seven letters~~ on arrangements to reduce the annual debt of the Republic of $2,500,000. They would then reduce the expenses of the Liberian government by $100,000 and by employing

Six experts with salaries varying from $5,000 to $12,000 a year; 8 Administrators at a total annual salary of $52,000, 6 medical officers, at a total salary of $41,000 and traveling expenses, geographical, mineralogical, etc., surveys, public health, and roads and bridges are extending to a cost of $398,000 a year.

[DO. Page 25.]

This would make an annual budget of $950,000 of which $624,350 would go for foreign experts and loan charges Liberian officials;

according to the carefullyconsidered opinion of the Government, such a solution would not only not solve the problem, but would rather render the same more acute. For, first of all, the annual interest would be increased nearly, if not more than, 100 per cent; the percentage earmarked annually for amortisation would be correspondingly greater, and the number of foreign officials recommended by the Brunot Commission would be twenty-one instead of the six functioning under the present arrangement. The adoption, then, of the recommendations of the Brunot Commission, on this subject would place the Liberian government in the unusual position of continuing

obligations which its present resources will not permit it to meet. Coupled with this, a survey of the situation has convinced the Liberian Government that adoption of the suggestions of the Brunot Commission would powerfully contribute to the financial ruin of the Republic, since no one can presently foresee how soon the world economic depression, which has largely been responsible for the present situation, will end.

847.9-48

Jan 24 1931 -



The Committee began to consider the Experts' report Jan 25 1932 and continued until May 21st
Some members were frank about the Firestone contract.
"Was it reasonable" said Madariaga of Spain, Jan 28

"to urge forward reforms in Liberia before they attacked the root of the evil. Would it not be better before considering whether they should or should not introduce reforms, should or should not borrow money, to decide whether the Firestone Company would remain in Liberia or not."

(Spain) M. de Madariaga 11th session p 9 Jan 28

The experts recommended that the Firestone contract be modified by lowering the land it could take, by increasing the rent from 6 cents an acre to 50 cents by amending the labor contract so as to avoid forced labor. Reber the American representative was then ~~that some modification of the contract~~ by Lord Cecil

that everyone admitted that some modification of these ~~Firestone~~ terms were both necessary and possible. Reber, while he disclaims representing the Firestones, felt in a position to state that he had had in January, ~~he thought~~ the impression that the Company would modify conditions, but that such modification would depend upon the reforms and that their ideas of these reforms must be submitted to the Finance Corporation.

This shows that the American State Department, the Finance Company and the Firestone Company apparently ~~are one and the same thing. The~~ understood one another perfectly. At the

~~Mr. Loveday reported at the~~ eleventh meeting, January 30, ~~that Mr.~~ it was reported that
~~Ligthart and himself had had an interview a few moments earlier with representatives of~~ the Firestone Company and Finance Corporation. ~~They~~ had been asked what attitude they would adopt to the plan of the experts. They could not give a definite reply but promised that the company would consider the matter in a sympathetic spirit. That their presence Geneva should not be interpreted as denoting a desire to invest fresh capital in Liberia, but merely as a proof of the interest with which they had in Liberia and in the money which they had already invested.

(and they were in Geneva and stopping at the same hotel with Reber)

On May 19 the Committee of the Council, mainly for financial reasons, adopted a curtailed & limited program for reform in place of the plan of the experts. This plan as published May 21 provided:

47-9-49

[at $8,000 each]

"Administration.—Three foreign specialists with three assistant specialists (at $8,000 each) to lend their assistance to the Government as commissioners for the administration of the three provinces proposed by the Government.

"Health.—Two foreign specialists to carry out the International Quarantine Regulations and the hospital and public health services.

"Finance.—The present Financial Adviser and his assistants, for whom the Loan Agreement with the American Finance Corporation provides, to be retained, with certain new arrangemants.

"A Chief Adviser (at $12,000) appointed by the League of Nations to be attached to the central Government.

"In the event of difficulty in the application of the programme of assistance, provision is made for the possibility of recourse to the Council of the League.

"The Council's decision in such case would be unanimous, the vote of the Liberian representative not counting for the purpose of unanimity. In urgent cases, the President in office of the Council would be entitled to act on behalf of the Council, on condition of referring the matter to the Council at the earliest possible date.

"The Committee at the same time proposes to seek an understanding with the financial groups in Liberia, making it possible to obtain: (1) a moratorium on the interest and sinking fund payments of the first loan; (2) the payment of the balance of the first block of this loan (of $247,000) to serve as an initial fund for financing the programme of assistance; and (3) the readjustment of existing contracts, especially in connection with the scope of the concessions, the amount of the rental due (50¢ an acre instead of 6¢ an acre) and the rate of interest of the loan.

"The Committee considers that, if the League of Nations is to give a favourable reply to Liberia's request for assistance, it can only lend its support to work which is going to be efficient.

47-9-52

"It is of opinion that the general lines it has indicated are a minimum below which it would appear impossible to go, if satisfactory results are to be achieved. At the same time, the Committee cannot recommend with any hope of success the opening of negotiations with the American groups concerned if the latter are not given legitimate guarantees under the plan.

"The Committee suggests that the Council should request the Liberian Government to state as early as possible whether it accepts the general principles of the recommended plan of assistance."

47-9-51

"The relief suggested by the Brunot Commission is that an 47-9-52
arrangement should be made whereby the second instalment of the five million dollar loan credit originally contracted for in 1926 would be made available to the Government of Liberia; but

Committee tried to telephone the Firestone Corporation concerning its proposal but up to November 15 no reply had come. 47-9-53

At the 14th meeting, Thursday, [illegible]
question connected with the establishment of the plan of assistance to Liberia was that of authority and powers to be vested in the Foreign Specialist. ~~In other words, he was to make a denunciation.~~

There had been talk of the unhealthy co-existence in the same country of a corporation which



(League of Nations. Liberia. Eleventh Meeting Held at Geneva.)

was financially very strong and a state which was very feeble. It was a well-known fact that the Firestone Company's labour requirements were too much for the resources of the country, although only 150,000 out of the million acres leased to the Company were being worked! The ideal solution would, obviously, be for the League of Nations to say that the present situation was a bad one and should be radically changed, but that would not be a practical solution. What should really be done was to try by negotiations to get the Firestone Company to adapt itself to the labour and the social conditions of the country. Secondly, no money should be borrowed, if at all possible, or alternatively the smallest loan possible should be taken. What was the good of borrowing money for Liberia, if the League found itself forced in its turn to dissimulate the fact that the existence in such a country of the Firestone Company's plantations was pernicious to the population? To reduce the amount to be borrowed, attempts should be made to send to Liberia only the fewest possible advisers or to carry the cost of those advisers in the budget of the League or of certain states which would agree to accept the charge. Or Governments might be asked to lend for advisory purposes some of their administrative officials or the rate of reform might be slowed down. In this connection he might point out that, as the educational reforms had been postponed, the other reforms could also wait a little; at any rate the scheme of reform should be submitted to a competent department of the League of Nations. It was specially important to put the advisors under the orders of one of their number.

47-9-54

47-9-55



(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Mr. Reber said that as soon as the plan had been approved by the United States Government its text was sent to the Finance Corporation, but that he would ask the United States Government again that negotiations between the Finance Corporation and the Liberian Government should begin as early as possible."

47-9-56

The Financial Adviser Loomis, who, as Lighthart, the League of Nations expert said; ~~"Represented~~ represents only the interests of the Firestone Company," declared that "The world depression, while it may be the cause of a small part of the financial distress in Liberia, is decidedly not the major cause of diminished revenues. "

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(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

It was at this time that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People heard of the impasse and appealed to the Secretary of State not to insist on a dictator in Liberia at the behest of the Firestone interests.

Mr. Stimson made this astonishing reply:

"The Firestone interests have no immediate connection with the present problem. Their conduct in Liberia has not been made the subject of criticism by any investigating body. The present problem is not one of business interest, but of order and humanity."

A striking rejoinder to this is the ~~Report of the Council Committee~~ statement made by members of the Committee at the 69th Session of the Council.*

> "Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countires being interdependent."

This, then, is the situation, and because of the impossible position into which the Liberian government has been forced by the refusal of the United States to recognize it, by the consequent inaction of the League, and by the attitude of the Firestone interests, her legislature passed December 23, 1932, a Joint Resolution to ~~suspend payment of interest~~ and amortization give notice to the Finance Corporation of America that the Government of Liberia can no longer continue the payment of the expenses incident to the service of the Loan, and that from June 30th, 1932 the payment of Interest and Amortization is suspended until such time as the revenues of the Government for

*Minutes, 69th Session, 3rd Meeting. P.11; quoted from the Official Journal, March 1932 (part II, p. 526.)

477-9-67

the course indicated below would be of more beneficial influence in rehabilitating the economy of the country than the proposals of the Brunot Commission—viz.:

(1.) Realizing that the slump in the markets hitherto opened to the exportable products of the Republic has contributed largely to the present financial and economic crisis, new markets be sought in which the products can be sold to better advantage, higher prices secured, and the area of distribution extended. This result, it is hoped, will be an incentive to greater production, which will be reflected beneficially on the revenues and economy of the Republic. Simultaneously, the preparation for market be controlled by Government with the object of seeing to it that the quality of produce is improved.

With a view to effecting this, the Government is already establishing model agricultural stations in the several provinces, which policy is receiving the wholehearted co-operation of the paramount chiefs.

(2.) To surround investments with such legal protection as to attract capital, foreign as well as domestic, in industrial, agricultural and mineral enterprises with the object of developing the natural resources of the country, opening new avenues of labour, and improving the economic condition of the Liberian population.

(3) By negotiations with the Firestone Plantations Company and the Finance Corporation respectively for such modification of the present agreements between the said companies and the Republic as will result in an amelioration of the terms of the present existing contracts now found to be onerous and arranging for such readjustments as will permit a more equitable circulation of money to the mutual benefit of all parties thereto."

47-9-58

two consecutive years shall have amounted to Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars annually."

Loomis, the Financial Adviser, immediately protested, saying that Liberia's financial plight was not due mainly to the depression but to failure to follow his advice!

He, therefore, advised against "such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation." As a result, and as a dying gesture of the Hoover administration, (assented to, we are told, by President Roosevelt,) the United States rushed a Major-General to Liberia, together with an "expert from the State Department," to replace the colored Minister, Charles E. Mitchell.

The official reason for this is:

47-9-56

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Firestone than the State Department, and that from the beginning to the end, the League Council had criticized Firestone, the contract which they had made, the forced labor on their plantations, and the impossibility of getting any reasonable arrangement with them. The conditions of the Firestone contract are impossible for a country in the situation that Liberia is in, and under the present world conditions."

At the 69th session of the Council of the League of Nations, October 13, it was said:

"Whenever a powerful commercial concern interfered in a country which was particularly weak economically and politically, there occurred between the economic entity and the political entity a symbiosis which clearly was a very bad thing, not only for the political welfare of the country in question, but also for the general welfare of the world, all countries being interdependent." X

X (Page 11. Liberia. Sixty-Ninth Session of the Council. Minutes.)

47-9-40

(Cont. Liberia, The League and the United States.)

Loan of 1926; and

"Whereas the Government of Liberia for more than a year has made several efforts and appeals to the Finance Corporation for relief from the consequent economic depression and result of financial strain imposed by the conditions of said Loan, without any success, and

"Whereas the first duty of the Government is to ensure its effective and efficient operation which cannot be done unless the civil establishment is regularly and adequately paid; and

"Whereas nearly the whole of the Revenue intake of the Government has, up to the present, been applied to the service of the 1926 Gold Loan, resulting in the non-payment of salaries of the civil establishment which has consequently resulted in a serious situation of economic distress;

"Therefore it is resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:

"Section I. That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and instructed to

During the life of the present Loan Agreement, 47-9-62
existing statutes and regulations governing the collection of Customs and excise will remain in force, and the foreign fiscal officials agreed upon to function thereunder will be retained, subject to any arrangements which, as contemplated under proposal three, may be made direct with the Finance Corporation of America.

In very seriously considering this phase of the subject, the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government are impressed that

Liberia. C. 662. M. 319.

Meantime Dr. McKenzie was sent on a mission to the Kru Coast to see if the Krus were being punished for complaining against the government. ~~Briefly, it may be said~~ He reported that the whole Kru coast from Nana Kru to Grand Cess, some sixty miles of sea-coast, and the corresponding parts of the interior, were fully armed and were engaged in hostilities either with the Government or amongst themselves. At the time of my arrival, with the exception of two tribes (Old Sasstown and Borroh), the immediate cause of the fighting was inter-tribal.

It should be mentioned that the movement had been instigated by, and was receiving sympathetic support from, political leaders in Monrovia amongst the civilized Krus, but these agitators, after stirring up the trouble, did not remain with the tribes during the fighting, but retired to the safety of Monrovia.

Finally, the whole position was being very closely watched by the British Kru colonies in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, who either made effort themselves to come to join in the fighting or to smuggle in arms and ammunition to the dissident tribes. I constantly received evidence of the close communications proceeding between the dissident Krus in Liberia and those in the adjacent colonies, these communications being kept up by means of runners through the bush or canoes.

47-9-63



His report gives no support to the idea that the trouble among the Krus was due to the attempt of the government to punish them. He succeeded in stopping all fighting, disarming the tribes and establishing the authority of the paramount chiefs.

The committee of the League Council have now devoted 2 meetings to thrashing out a small plan. The Firestone Concession was referred by Emmanuel M. Barnett one of the [illegible] chiefs [illegible]

The Committee also decided to insert in paragraph 15, after the words "the important Firestone plantations", the following amendment submitted by M. de Madariaga:

"In the opinion of certain members of the Committee, the co-existence in Liberia of a weak state and a powerful foreign undertaking gives rise to disadvantages which have been pointed out by the experts and which the reading of the report makes clear. It seems to those members of the Committee that it is the duty of the League of Nations to use all means at its disposal in order to find a solution of the problem on a sound basis, taking account of the fact that the loan contract and the Firestone concessions form an important element in the difficulty. These members consider it to be indispensable that the rate of development of the plantations should be adapted to the economic and social conditions of Liberia. It would also be extremely desirable for the financial burdens of the loan to be reduced to an amount compatible with the financial and economic resources of the country, even if the pace of the reform in the Government of Liberia has to be slowed down."

(Pages 13. and 14.)
League of Nations. Liberia. Minutes
of the Twelfth Meeting.

477-9-64

27 47-9-65

~~25~~

League of Nations. Liberia. Thirteenth Meeting.

At the 13th Meeting, Friday, May 6, the President, Lord Cecil emphasized the fact

~~26~~ 28 47-9-66

League of Nations. Liberia. 18th Meeting.

At the 18th meeting, May 19, Mr. Reber had no idea what attitude the Finance Corporation would adopt, but thought that they would feel that much depended upon Liberia's acceptance of the plan. The American Government had already expressed regret at the long delay and viewed the situation with great apprehension.

League of Nations. Liberia. 18th Meeting.

On this day the Committee of the Council reported outlining its work

Copy (A)

of discussion outlined the general principles of the plan which

47-9-67

League of Nations. Liberia. 21st Meeting.

At the 21st meeting, September 22, Mr. Reber said that the United States believed that two conditions were essential: first, a ~~Shipping~~ Chief Advisor with powers adequate to insure the effective operation of the plan. Secondly, that the system should not be too ..... defined in advance. That the Advisor, in consultation with the Liberian government, should be allowed to adapt the system to meet varying systems as they arose. Consequently, ~~instead of discussing amendments~~

30 47-9-68

How was this Chief Adviser to be chosen? asked Lord Cecil. Reber replied that the U.S. "would be glad to have an opportunity of expressing its views with regard to the appointment"

The chairman said that naturally the United States would be allowed to express an opinion and naturally the Liberian government would also be con~~cluded~~ included. He thought that certain points in the declaration were not ~~expected. For instance, in case of an appeal to the Council, it would~~ explicit what for instance, happening on appeal to the Council would be the fate of a decision reached by the Chief Adviser?

~~-30-~~

(League of Nations. Liberia. 21st Meeting. (Cont.))

47-9-69

The Liberian Government has passed the ~~necessary laws to abolish~~ slavery and enforced labor. It only remains to put them in force. Action must be both immediate and gradual. ~~Immediate, in making known~~ the new laws and warning the chiefs, ~~and gradual, in that~~ the domestic economy of tribes must not be suddenly or dramatically disturbed.

L of N doc. C 469 M 238, 1932 VII Geneva, May 21
~~30,~~ Page 16.

this declaration: he proposed 47-9-70

"In order to accomplish the reorganization and rehabilitation of the country Liberia hereby solicits

~~29~~

(22nd Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.)

Lord Cecil said he would also have to ~~out the President's Cabinet~~ consult the government. It would be difficult to ask a committee of the council to throw over that which ~~he~~ had done and adopt an entirely new plan." At the 22nd meeting of the Committee, September 23, 1932, Mr. Grimes said that the United States Government contemplated not the rehabilitation but also the re-organization of Liberia, and that ~~the~~ to give the Chief Advisor the power asked against Liberian's Constitution. Should the Committee adopt the proposals made: What would become of the Liberian Government and the guarantees for ~~force~~ which has labored? Would it be allowed to function or would it thereby be compelled to abdicate?" Lord Cecil agreed that there was force in the point raised by Mr. Grimes. ~~At the~~

~~22nd Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia.~~

At the 23rd meeting of the Committee, September 26, 1932, the power of the Chief Advisor was discussed. It was decided to grant the Chief Advisor ample and just authority for the effective execution in accordance with its powers defined in the plan of assistance. Mr. Grimes proposed this proviso:

"The Liberian Government may, if it considers it necessary, refer any question to the Council of the League of Nations, or such Committee as the Council might appoint for the purpose, including any question as to whether the recommendations of the Chief Adviser are compatible with the constitution of Liberia; Provided that in the event the questions submitted hinge upon the constitutionality of a certain measure proposed, then the Liberian Government may also request the Council to ask the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice according to the Covenant, and also provided, that whenever a dispute turns upon the constitutionality

47-9-71

of a certain procedure, the proposed action shall be suspended pending the decision of said Permanent Court of International Justice."

(Page 8.)
League of Nations. 23rd Meeting.
Liberia.

Reber proposed to substitute:

"Should any difference arise between the Chief Adviser and the Liberian Government, the Liberian Government undertakes to comply with the recommendations made by the Chief Adviser pending a decision of the Council, to which Liberia shall always have the right to refer all such questions for final settlement."

(Page 11.)
League of Nations. 23rd Meeting.
Liberia.

47-9-72

25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (

At the 25th meeting, October 12, Mr. Reber said:

"The full text of the revised plan, as adopted by the Committee on September 27th, together with supplementary information, had been, on October 5th, the earliest possible moment after the receipt of certain supplementary information regarding the status of the plan, transmitted to the Finance Corporation, with a letter which read in part as follows:

"In the opinion of the Department these general principles are susceptible of use as a basis for the further developments of the Liberian problem through direct negotiations between the Finance Corporation and Liberia. In making the text available to you the Department accordingly endorses in reference to sense the general principles contained therein."

In referring to this letter of October 5th, the Finance Corporation's reply stated in part as follows:

"The general principles are receiving our careful study and although we are not satisfied that the general principles are as yet in a form to afford a solution we are willing to send a representative to Geneva to explore in negotiation the possibility of agreement on a plan mutually acceptable and that will be of practical benefit to Liberia and her people."

Mr. Reber informed the Committee that the Finance Corporation had also stated that while it was making every effort to study the proposals it would not be in a position to send a representative to engage in negotiations before November.

847.9-73

35 ~~352~~ 47-9-74

25th Meeting. League of Nations. Liberia. (Cont.)

Mr. Buchanan said that last May the American representative was stressing the gravity of the situation and was now saying that we must wait until November.

47-9-75

"Joint Resolution Authorizing the President of Liberia to Suspend Payment of Interest and Amortization of the 7% Gold Loan of 1926 and For Other Purposes."

"Whereas in consequence of the world wide depression the income of the Government of Liberia has been reduced to the point where it is insufficient to meet its ordinary administrative expenses, including the payment of Amortization and Interest on the

X Monthly Summary, p. 11

47-9-76

"Following the discussions in the Committee, certain members thereof stated in the sixty-sixth session of the Council that:

~~52~~ 37

Oct 12, 1932 the Committee reported again to the Council

Copy B

It presented a formal plan of organization providing for 3 Provincial Commissions, each under a Corps of "Messengers". These Commissioners are to be foreigners. Their three assistants may be foreigners or Latins as the Chief Adviser decides. There are to be two medical officers, ~~a Financial adviser recommended by the President of the U.S.~~ All these will be nominated by the Council, approved by the President of Latvia & appointed by him. The Financial adviser will be nominated by the President of the U.S. ~~A Chief adviser shall be appointed by the Council, with the consent of the Government of Latvia.~~ Copy C & D

At the 69th session of the Council Oct 13 it was read

17-9-77

Mr. Stimson surely did not know the facts of the case. He refused to recognize what Liberia had accomplished in stopping slavery and the slave trade and how the whole process had been hampered by his dogmatic refusal to recognize Barclay; that ~~the~~ Liberian ~~representative of the United States~~ had more often represented

47-9-78

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

The plans the League Council agreed upon ~~was~~ were accepted by Liberia and by the United States, but the Firestone Company induced the State Department to refuse co-operation unless the Chief Adviser was made a dictator who could carry out his ~~plans in defience of the Constitution~~ and laws of Liberia. At this point, the N. A. A. C. P. remonstrated, and received a telegram from Secretary Stimson, in which the Secretary said that all the government was asking was that any officials sent there by the League of Nations should have sufficient assurance of support and authority from both Liberia and the League to make it worthwhile sending them. That the United States had no time to intervene and was simply co-operating. The telegram referred to the conditions of slavery enforced labor, and said that the remedy suggested by the League had been subvisioned by non-partisan officials; "And we have urged only that these officials be promised in advance suggestions or authority to make them useful." Stimson denied proposed dictatorial powers, and made the astonishing statement:

This special committee sent three experts to study methods of reform in Liberia. Meantime, ~~the Firestone people~~ Firestone were spreading ~~the story~~ that Liberia was not making reforms, and that she was even punishing and murdering natives who had testified before the committee, and in addition to this, the full force of the world depression began to fall upon Liberia. ~~Her income dropped; the prices of her products fell anormously in the World War, while the charges~~ for the debt and the charges for the debt service

Lieber is a good looking young man with an Oxford accent but no eloquence or capacity either to tell time for diplomatic reasons why. He represented the State Department but lived at the same hotel with the Firestone folk & missed the statements of the Committee concerned or expressed the Firestone interests

47-9-80

(Cont. Liberia, the League and the United States.)

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury shall, without regard to priorities, apply all revenues of the Government to the payment of salaries of the civil establishment, the cost incident to ordinary Government expenses and supply accounts, in such sums as may be provided for under the Budget.

Section 3. Any surplus sums remaining over and above the total amounts authorized to be expended under the Budget shall be applied to the formation of a reserve fund which shall accumulate until payments on the Loan shall have been resumed in accordance with the provisions of this Joint Resolution, and shall then be applied to the payment of Interest, and Sinking Fund.

Section 4. In the event the League Plan of Assistance to Liberia which was tentatively approved by the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva on the 15th day of October A. D. 1932, pending the successful conclusion of negotiations with the financial groups concerned, shall eventually go into operation, after the final ratification by the Legislature of Liberia and the financial relief sought be obtained thereby, then the provisions of this Joint Resolution shall be so modified as to conform to said Plan.

This Joint Resolution shall be published in hand bills and shall take effect immediately.

Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Approved December 23, 1932."

To this the Armand adviser replied

847-9-81

The Financial Adviser's Ppotest to the Joint Resolution

WHEREAS, it is my opinion that the world depression, while it may be the cause for a small part of the financial distress in Liberia, is decidedly not the major causes of diminished revenues. Local financial distress is mainly, if not entirely, due to failure on the part of the Government to put into effect recommendations, for economy in Government operation, submitted repeatedly by the Financial Adviser to the Government ment during the past four years, and to failure or inability of the Government to open up the hinterland of trade and commerce; to induce traders to extend their business inland; and to enlighten the natives peoples to the advantages of modern civilization. When development of the country's resources is begun, hampering restrictions on traders are entirely and permanently removed, and foads are built, an era of prosperity in Liberia will commence.

The Financial Adviser's Protest to the Joint Resolution.

417-9-82

"As I feel it my duty as Financial Adviser, when I am given the opportunity, to honestly advise the Government according to my experience and convictions, I most strongly urge that no such unfriendly and unreasonable legislation, as that of which I am now advised be enacted; or, if enacted, that such Act be immediately repealed. The Government should approach its creditors and the Finance Corporation (whose Representative is at present in Monrovia in answer to the letter of the Government dated September 23, 1932, requesting modification of terms of the Loan Agreement), and in a mutual, friendly and businesslike discussion, request assistance in stabilizing and improving the financial affairs of the Government."

The Financial Adviser's Protest to the Joint Resolution.

Section 2. That pending the period contemplated in Section I. the President is further authorized:

(a.) To modify the existing fiscal organization as provided for in the Loan Agreement so as to reduce the number of Fiscal Officials to one Financial Adviser at a salary of Ten Thousand Dollars per annum; one Supervisor of Revenues at Four Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars per annum, and one Auditor at Four Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars per annum. These officials shall discharge the duties prescribed by the Loan Agreement except in so far as they may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Joint Resolution. The Supervisor of Revenues herein provided for shall combine and perform the duties of the Supervisor of Customs and Supervisor of Internal Revenue. The President shall give notice to the remaining officials of the termination of their agreements, and make such settlements as may be in accordance with their present contracts. The provision of this section shall not apply to the Liberian Assistant Auditor who shall be retained in service. And in the event of the illness, absence or inability of the Auditor, said Liberian Assistant Auditor shall discharge the duties of the Auditor.

47-9-83

21

Liberia

When the agreement was concluded, the Customs duties and head monies were estimated to bring in $384,881 and $20,947 respectively, or about half the amount indicated in the contract. It was therefore impossible to anticipate when the second part of the loan could be obtained. It has, in fact, not been paid, and, as is clearly shown by the following figures, the portion of the loan actually obtained was not used for productive expenditure.



Up to the present, the following sums have been utilised:

$11,730.39 for special health measures;
$156,439 for public works, labour, plant, etc.

Out of the first instalment it is still possible to obtain $247,000 at 90 per cent—i. e.$222,300, plus the balance of the United States Company amounting to $14,665.04; while from these sums must be deducted an amount of $37,668.29, which, according to the 1931 draft budget, is still outstanding for old debts. The exact amount still available out of the first instalment of the loan for productive expenditure is, therefore, $367,466.48.

The interest and redemption of a loan should primarily be provided for by means of an increase in receipts due to the development of the country, and it is clear that the trifling sum available for this purpose is much below the most modest requirements.

Lord Cecil, the Chairman, said at the Tenth Meeting, Friday, January 29, that the position was a delicate one, both for the League of Nations, and the Liberian Government. That Mr. Ligthart and Brunot had regretted "that the system of economic development forced on Liberia by the Firestone Company was not the one most adapted to the interests of the country." It was not an easy matter, therefore to advise the government to commit itself still further with the Firestone policy. Monsieur Zaleski said at the meeting January 29:

M. Zaleski observed from the draft budget that the cost to Liberia of the new plan would amount to $398,000, whereas the state's total revenue was $650,000. To put the experts' scheme into execution would cost Liberia more than half its annual revenue. He noted, further, that the salaries of 21 foreign officials would amount to $138,000, i.e. one-third of the total cost of carrying out the plan or one-fifth of the country's total budget. Would it be reasonable to ask the Liberian Government to spend such a large amount on the salaries of 21 foreigners, leaving one half of the revenue for the rest of the country's administration?

(Sent) February, 1935.
Current History
New York Times

37-10-24

# KEEPING BLACKS AND WHITES APART

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Granted a world made suddenly smaller, with all its ends in collision, and race friction is inevitable. But the cost of human friction, of group antagonisms, of national hates and racial prejudices, is so high, so appalling, that no work in social betterment demands more serious and constant effort. Here start all problems of Peace and War, Poverty, Sex education and government. We may not escape the fact that in the silent, continuous clash of black and white folk in America, we have, in microcosm, World War on a universal scale. We may minimize this, deny it newspaper headlines, rostrum openings and radio broadcasts; and yet the bitter clash of Europe, Asia and Africa, the ever-threatening war of worlds, can best be made unthinkable by first rendering possible the peaceful living together and cultural development of white and black in our own nation. The failure to do this links the attempt of Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia and its oil, with peonage in the Mississippi Valley.

No more critical moment ever faced black America than faces it today; not in 1830, nor in 1861, nor in 1867. What are the facts? The appeal of the Negro for elementary justice in this nation today still falls on deaf ears. Three-fourths of us are disfranchised, yet no writer on democratic reform or Third Party movements says a word about Negroes. The Bull Moose movement refuses to notice them; the La Follette Third Party barely mentioned them; the Socialists still keep them in the background. Our children are systematically denied education; yet the National Education Association has no word of protest, and when it asks for national aid to education it insists that discrimination shall be perpetuated by the present local authorities with no check on inter-racial injustice. Once or twice a month Negroes convicted of no crime are openly and publicly lynched, and even burned; yet a National Crime Convention is only brought to perfunctory and unwilling notice of this by mass picketing, and all but illegal agitation. A man with every qualification is refused a position simply because his great-

grandfather was black; yet this raises not a ripple of comment or protest.

Already, long before the Depression, Negroes in the South were losing "Negro" jobs; that is, they were losing their right to that part of the world's work assigned them by common custom; poorly paid and largely undesirable toil, but withal life-supporting. New techniques, new enterprises, mass production, impersonal ownership and control, have been largely displacing the skilled white and Negro worker, in tobacco manufacturing, in iron and steel, in lumbering and mining, and in transportation, and is now confining Negroes more and more to common labor and domestic service of the lowest paid and worst conditioned varieties. In the new textile, chemical and other manufactures, Negroes were from the first nearly excluded, and just as slavery excluded the poor white from paying agriculture, so freedom excludes the poor Negro from rising and expanding manufacture. On the other hand, the world-wide fall of agriculture has carried the mass of black farmers down to the level of landless tenants and peons, despite heroic endeavor among the few.

37-10-25

The world war and its wild aftermath, seemed for a moment to open a new door; two million black workers rushed North to work in iron and steel, make automobiles and pack meat, build houses and do the heavy toil in factories. They met, first, the closed trade union which excluded them from the best paid jobs, and pushed them into the low wage gutter, denied them homes and mobbed them; and then the Depression met them.

In the Depression, Negro workers, like white workers, have lost their jobs; have had mortgages foreclosed on their farms and homes; have used up their small savings. But in the case of the Negro worker, everything was worse in larger or smaller degree; the loss was greater and more permanent; technological displacement, begun before the depression, was accelerated. The unemployment and fall in wage struck black men sooner, will last longer, and went to lower levels.

In the rural South Negro public schools almost ceased, while Southern city schools are crowded to suffocation. The Booker Washington High School in Atlanta, built for 1,000 pupils, has 3,000 attending in double daily sessions.

Above all, Federal and State Relief did not clearly envisage the Negro; it was easily explicable human nature that the unemployed white man, and the starving white child should be relieved first by local authorities who regarded them as

fellowmen, and often regarded Negroes as sub-human.

It might happen that while the white worker was given more than relief and helped to his feet, the black worker was pauperized by being just kept from starvation; and even when finally plans are making for national rehabilitation, and the re-building of the whole industrial system, such plans before they can be laid, call for decisions as to the Negro's future and his relations to industry and culture in this country which the country is not prepared to make, and consequently refuses to consider.

37-10-26

In the Tennessee Valley beneath the Norris Dam, where do Negroes come in? And what shall be their industrial place? In the attempt to re-build agriculture, the Southern landholder will in all probability be put on his feet, but the black tenant has been pushed to the edge of dispair. In the matter of housing, no comprehensive plan for Negro homes has been thought out, and only two or three local projects planned; nor can broad plans be made until the nation or the community decides where it wants or will permit Negroes to live. In subsistence homestead no plans for Negroes have been made because Negroes protested at segregation and whites, who wanted cheap local labor, protested, too.

The thing which the colored people of America are coming to face calmly is the fact that most white Americans do not like them, and are not planning for their survival, or for any definite future for them, which involves free, self-assertive modern manhood. This does not mean all Americans. A saving few are intelligent upon and worried about the Negro problem. A still larger group are not ill-disposed but they fear prevailing public opinion. The great mass of Americans, however, are the same sort of high-class morons that characterize average humanity. They muddle along with their own affairs and scarcely can be expected to take the affairs of strangers, or people whom they half-hear and half-despise, seriously and to heart.

For many years it was the theory of most Negro leaders that all this was the insensibility if ignorance and inexperience; that white America did not know or realize the continuing plight of the Negro. Accordingly, for the last two decades, we have striven by book and periodical, by speech and appeal, by various more dramatic methods of agitation, to put the essential facts before the American

people. There can be no doubt today but what America knows the facts; and yet she is still largely indifferent and unmoved.

There is, therefore, but one way, and that is a concentration of inner Negro forces--a group movement among Negroes, particularly along economic lines, involving increased racial separation and voluntary segregation, taking advantage of every single point that will increase group loyalty, and making a new religion out of the necessities of our old slavery. White people are convinced that this cannot be done. Even some Negroes say it cannot be done, but we must do it or we die.

37-10-27

Nor are Negroes nearly as helpless and impotent as they think. They are no longer wards nor children. They have been spiritually debauched by philanthropy and made physically afraid by an inferiority complex. And yet, they have large and larger numbers of well-educated men and women; they have acquired some skill and saved some capital; and for two generations they have had varied experience in organizing to fight for their rights and for recognition from their fellowmen.

The main difficulty of the Negro's position is that never since emancipation has he had adequate economic foundation.

Thaddeus Stevens recognized this and sought to transform the emancipated freedmen into peasant proprietors. If he had been able to do this, he would have changed the economic history of the United States and perhaps saved the American farmer from his present plight. But to furnish fifty million acres of good land to the Negroes would cost more money than the North was willing to pay, and was regarded by the South as highway robbery. The free Negroes of Louisiana tried to accomplish the same thing by voluntary cooperative effort, using funds furnished by the bounties of Negro soldiers. But they were overwhelmed by political turmoil before their scheme got well started. The Negroes of South Carolina tried to divide up the large plantations and distribute them among small owners by state appropriations, but they were outrageously cheated by the landholders.

The whole attempt to furnish land and capital for the freedmen fell through, and no comprehensive economic plan was advanced until the day of Booker T. Washington. Washington had a vision of building a new economic foundation for Negroes by incorporating them into industry. He wanted to make them skilled workers by industrial education,

and expected small capitalists to rise out of their ranks. His mistake was to assume that the economic development of America in the 20th Century was going to be similar to that in the 19th Century, with free industrial opportunity, cheap land and unlimited resources, under the control of small competitive capitalists. He lived to see industry more and more concentrated under the power of great capital; land monopoly extended, and the technique of industry changed by wide introduction of machinery.

37-10-28

The result was that industrial methods changed faster than Hampton or Tuskegee could accomodate their curricula; the chance of an artisan becoming a capitalist grew less and less even for white Americans, while the whole relation of labor to capital became less a matter of technical skill than of basic organization and aim.

Those of us who in that day opposed Mr. Washington's plans did not forsee just the type of change that was coming, but we were convinced that the Negro could only succeed in industry and in life as he had intelligent leadership and far-reaching ideals, and that, therefore, the object of education must be not simply "to make men artisans but to make artisans men;" to give the Negro race in America such intelligent leadership that when change and crisis came, they could guide themselves to safety.

Curiously enough, this is exactly the situation which now is upon us. The increase in the number of college-trained Negroes has been enormous. Between 1823 and 1912, five thousand Negroes were graduated from college. Between 1912 and 1934, the number of graduates have reached the neighborhood of 40,000, and today, we have nearly 25,000 in college each year. To these must be added the hundreds of thousands who have received high school training or its equivalent.

The educated group among American Negroes is still small, but it is large enough to begin systematic planning for the preservation of the group through economic advancement. The first definite movement of this younger group was toward direct alliance of the Negro with the labor movement. It has been argued by men like Ira Reid and Abram Harris that Negroes are predominantly a labor group; that they have no common ground with capitalists but should reenforce the labor movement by their votes and action. But white labor today as in the past refuses to respond to these overtures.

For a hundred years, beginning in the thirties and forties, the white laborers of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, beat, murdered and drove away fellow workers because

they were black and had to work for what they could get. Seventy years ago in New York, the center of the new American labor movement, white laborers hanged black ones to lampposts instead of helping fight to free them from the worst of modern slavery. At Chicago and St. Louis, New Orleans and San Francisco, black men carry the scars of the bitter hatred of white laborers for them. Today it is white labor which keeps Negroes out of decent low cost housing, which confines the protection of the best unions to "white" men, which often will not sit in the same hall with black folk who already have joined the labor movement. White labor has to hate scabs; but it hates black scabs not because they are scabs but because they are black. It mobs white scabs to force them into labor fellowship. It mobs black scabs to starve and kill them. In the present fight of the American Federation of Labor against company unions it is attacking the only union which Negroes can join, and it is doing this by means of a labor monopoly which refuses often to recognize even union labor if it is black.

37-10-29

Thus, the Negro's fight to enter organized industry has made little headway. No Negro, no matter what his ability, can be a member of any of the railway unions: he cannot be an engineer, fireman, conductor, switchman, brakeman, or yardman. If he organizes separately, he may, as in the case of the Negro Fireman's Union, be fought and even killed by the white firemen; or in the case of the Pullman Porter's Union, he may receive empty recognition without any voice or collective help. The older group of Negro leaders recognize this and simply say it is a matter of continued striving to break down these barriers.

Such facts are slowly forcing Negro thought into a new position. This position maintains the point of view of labor rather than capital; but it assumes welcoming arms no more from the labor monopolist who mann armies and navies to keep Chinks, Japs and niggers in their places, than from the Captains of Industry who spend millions to make laborers think that the most worthless white man is better than any colored man.

The Negro must prove his necessity to the labor movement; the absolute impossibility of leaving him out of the foundation of the new industrial state. He must settle beyond cavil the question of his economic efficiency as a worker, a manager and a controller of capital.

The dilemma of these younger thinkers gives older men, like James Weldon Johnson, a chance to insist that the older formulae are still the best; that we can only survive by being integrated into the nation and that we must consequently fight segregation now and always and force our way by appeal, agitation and law.

This group, however, does not seem to recognize the fundamental economic basis of social growth and the changes which face American industry today. Greater democratic control of production and distribution is bound to replace present monarchical and monopolistic methods.

In this broader and more intelligent democracy, we can hope for progressive softening of the asperities and contradictions of race prejudice, but we cannot hope for its complete and swift disappearance. And above all, the doubt, deep-planted in the American mind, as to the Negro's ability and efficiency as worker, artisan, and ruler of men, will fade very slowly. Thus with increased democratic control of industry and capital, the place of the Negro will be increasingly a matter of human choice, of willingness to recognize ability across the barriers of race, of putting fit Negroes in places of power and authority by public opinion. At present, on the railroads, in manufacturing and mechanical industries, in the telephone, telegraph and radio business, and in the larger divisions of trade, it is only now and then, and under exceptional circumstances, that any Negro, no matter what his ability, gets an opportunity for position and real power. Only in those lines where individual enterprise still counts, as in some of the professions, in a few of the trades, in a few branches of retail business, and in artistic careers, can the Negro expect a narrow opening.

37-10-30

Nevertheless, Negroes and other colored folk exist in larger and growing numbers. Slavery, prostitution to white men, theft of their labor and material has not killed them and cannot kill them. They are growing in intelligence and dissatisfaction. They occupy strategic positions, within nations and beside nations, amid valuable raw material and on the highways of future expansion. They will survive, but on what terms and condition?

Keeping Blacks and Whites Apart. Copy 133 - 136

Starting here, a new school of Negro thought is arising. They believe, too, in the ultimate uniting of mankind and in a unified American nation, with economic classes and racial barriers leveled; but they believe this is ideal and is to be realized only by such intensified class and race consciousness as will bring irresistible force rather than mere appeal to bear on the motives and actions of men.

The peculiar relation of Negroes to this land offers a peculiar chance. Negroes cast today probably two million votes in a total of 40 million and their vote will increase. This gives them, particularly in Northern cities, and at critical times, a chance to hold a very considerable balance of power and the mere threat of this being used intelligently and with determination may often mean much. The consuming power of 2,800,000 Negro families has recently been estimated at 166 million dollars a month--a tremendous power when intelligently directed. Their man power as laborers probably equals that of Mexico or Yugoslavia. Their illiteracy is much lower than that of Spain or Italy. Their estimated per capital wealth ($215--Tuskegee Year Book) about equals that of Japan ($244--Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Volume 23, p. 450.)

For a nation with this start in culture and efficiency to sit down and await the salvation of a white God is idiotic. With the use of their political power, their power as consumers, and their brains, added to that chance of personal appeal which proximity and neighborhood always gives to human beings, Negroes can develop in the United States an economic nation within a nation, able to work through inner co-operation, to found its own institutions, to educate its genius, and at the same time, without mob violence, or extremes of race hatred, to keep in helpful touch and large co-operation with the mass of the nation. This has happened more often than most people realize, in the case of groups not so obviously separated from the mass of people as American Negroes are. It must happen in our case, or there is no hope for the Negro in America.

Any movement toward such a program is today hindered by the absurd Negro philosophy of Scatter, Suppress, Wait, Escape. That is, many even of our educated young leaders think that because the Negro problem is not in evidence where there

37-10-31

Keeping Blacks and Whites Apart.

are few or no Negroes present, this indicates a way out! They think that the problem of race can be settled by ignoring it and suppressing all reference to it. They think that we have only silently to wait for the white people to settle the problem for us; and finally and predominantly, they think that the problem of 12 million Negro people, mostly poor, ignorant workers, is going to be settled by having their more educated and wealthy classes gradually and continually escape from their race into the mass of the American people, leaving the dregs to sink, suffer and die.

37-10-32

Proponents of this program claim, with much right, that the plight of the masses is not the fault of the emerging classes; that the slavery and exploitation which has reduced Negroes to their present level or at any rate hindered them from rising, is the fault of the white world; and that the age-long process of raising a group is through the escape of its upperclass into welcome fellowship with risen peoples; that for the intelligencia among Negroes to bend their backs to the task of lifting the mass of people would mean their own ultimate submergence. There is logic in this answer, but futile logic.

If the leading Negro classes cannot assume and bear the uplift of their own proletariat, they are doomed for time and eternity. It is not a case of ethics; it's a plain case of must.

And the method by which this may be done is, first, for the American Negro to achieve a new economic solidarity. This is not turning to the older program of Booker T. Washington, although Mr. Washington envisaged something of this in collusion with the co-operation of white capitalists. He thought Negro capitalists would gain the opportunity to exploit their own masses, and that the mutual interests of capital would integrate these black masters of industry into the group of the ruling captains of industry throughout the nation. This plan failed and can never be restored. But just as the Jews in the dawning of the new capitalism had a chance to enter the new organization of industry, and become intrenched there before the masses of the world foresaw the trend, just so today there is a chance for the Negro to organize in fact the co-operative and socialistic state within his own group, and by letting his farmers feed his artisans, and his technicians guide his home industries, and his thinkers plan this integration of co-operation, while

his artists dramatize and beautify the struggle to achieve economic independence. To doubt that this is possible is to doubt the essential humanity and the quality of brains which American Negroes have.

No sooner is this proposed than a xgreat fear sweeps over the older group of Negroes. They cry "No Segregation." No further yielding to prejudice and race separation. Or, in other words, any effort at group planning for the benefit of American Negroes on the part of a Negro intelligensia is going to involve organized and deliberate self-segregation. There are plenty of people in the United States who would be only too willing to take advantage of a plan of this sort to increase such legal and customary segregation between the races as already exists. This threat which many Negroes see is no mere mirage. What of it? It must be faced. If the salvation, economic and spiritual, of the American Negro calls for an increase in the American race segregation and prejudice, then increase must come. Notwithstanding this, American Negroes have got to plan for their economic salvation and the social survival of their fellows, and they have got to do this with the firm belief that the survival of colored folk in America means in a real sense the survival of colored folk in the world, and the building of a full humanity instead of a petty white tyranny. Control of their own education, which is the logical and inevitable end of separate schools, would not be an unmixed ill; it may prove a supreme good. Once Negro schools meant poor schools. They need not today; they must not tomorrow. Separate Negro sections will increase race antagonism, but they will also increase economic co-operation, organized self-defense and necessary self-confidence. Of course, the extreme development of this might even lead to complete separation or expulsion. What of it? Better stand in isolation or leave as men, or die as fighters, or be kicked out by superior power, than live as willing slaves and affable spineless peons.

The immediate reaction of most white and colored people to this suggestion will be that the thing cannot be done. Negro scholars have from time to time emphasized the fact that no nation within a nation can be built because of the attitude of the dominant majority, and because all legal and police power are out of our hands, and because large industry, like steel and electric power, are organized on a

37-10-32

Keeping Blacks and Whites Apart.

national basis and impenetrable by small groups. White folk, on the other hand, simply say that granting certain obvious possibilities, the American Negro has not the ability to engineer so delicate a social operation calling for such self-restraint, careful organization, and ingenious leadership.

In answer to both these groups, it may be said that this matter of a nation within a nation has already been partially accomplished in the organization of a Negro church, the Negro school and retail Negro business; and with all the justly due criticism, the result has been astonishing. The great majority of American Negroes are divided, not simply for religious, but for a large number of social purposes, covering a considerable part of their life into self-supporting economic units, self-governed, self-directed. And the greatest present difficulty is that these organizations have no logical and reasonable norms and do not attract the best and most vigorous and most educated elements of the group.

At present, American philanthropy stands almost check-mated before the Negro problem. The task is so enormous that philanthropy simply cannot attack it. It cannot undertake to put idle Negroes to work so long as white employers will not hire them, and white laborers will not work beside them. It cannot support Negro schools, when states and cities, and even the Federal government, deliberately and openly neglect these schools and discriminate against them. It cannot even relieve Negro distress and starvation if it has to work, as it must, through local and prejudiced agents.

It is becoming clearer to larger groups of American Negroes that through voluntary and increased segregation by careful autonomy and planned economic organization to build so strong and efficient a group of 12 million men, that no critical group can continue to refuse them fellowship and equality.

37-10-34

I don't know whom to fight, or where to fight, or how to fight. And I maintain

Article

Jan, 1925

KEEPING BLACKS AND WHITES APART

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Of course, all of this is putting an age-old stone wall, with arguments, excuses, curses and extenuations just as old. Granted a world made suddenly smaller, with all its ends in collision, and race friction is inevitable. But the cost of human friction, of group antagonisms, of national hates and racial prejudices, is so high, so appalling, that no work in social betterment demands more serious and constant effort. Here start all problems of Peace and War, Poverty, sex education and government. We may not escape the fact that in the silent, continuous clash of black and white folk in America, we have, in microcosm, World War on a universal scale. We may minimize this, deny it in newspaper headlines, rostrum openings and radio broadcasts; and yet the bitter clash of Europe, Asia and Africa, the ever-threatening war of worlds, can best be made unthinkable by first rendering possible the beautiful Cuny "gather" and cultural development of white + black in ~~the dark tenth of~~ our own nation. The failure to do this links the ~~pending~~ attempt of Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia and its oil, with peonage in the Mississippi Valley.

47-10-234

The answer to such ~~statements is a chorus, disconcerting~~ by its very unanimity: "Of course--to be sure--certainly!" See what has been accomplished already. Slavery is ended. The Negro is a citizen--in part. Who is complaining? All is well; or at least,--better.

Yet all is not well. No more critical moment ever faced black America than faces it today; not in 1830, nor in 1861, nor in 1867. What are the facts? The appeal of the Negro for elementary justice in this nation today still falls on deaf ears. Three-fourths of us are disfranchised, yet no writer on democratic reform or Third Party movements says a word about Negroes. The Bull Moose movement refuses to notice them; the La Follette Third Party barely mentioned them; the Socialists still keep them in the background. Our children are systematically denied education; yet the National Education Association has no word of protest and when it asks for national aid to education it insists that present discrimination shall be perpetuated by the present local authorities with no check on inter-racial injustice. Once or

twice a month Negroes convicted of no crime are openly and publicly lynched, and even burned; yet a National Crime Convention is only brought to perfunctory and unwilling notice of this by mass picketing, and all but illegal agitation. A man with every qualification is refused a position simply because his great-grandfather was black; yet this raises not a ripple of comment or protest. Already, long before the Depression, Negroes in the South were losing Negro jobs; that is, they were losing their right to that part of the world's work assigned them by common custom; poorly paid and largely undesirable toil, but withal life-supporting.

New techniques, new enterprises, mass production, impersonal ownership and control, has been largely displacing the skilled Negro worker, in tobacco manufacturing, in iron and steel, in lumbering and mining, and in transportation, and has confined their common labor and domestic service to the lowest paid and worst conditioned varieties. In the new textile, chemical and other manufactures, Negroes were nearly excluded, and just as slavery excluded the poor white from paying agriculture, so freedom excluded the poor Negro from rising and expanding manufacture. On the other hand, the world-wide fall of agriculture carried the mass of black farmers more and more to the level of landless tenants and peons, despite heroic help and brave endeavor among the few.

The world war and its wild aftermath, seemed for a moment to open a new door; two million black workers rushed North to work in iron and steel, make automobiles and pack meat, build houses and do the heavy toil in factories. They met, first, the closed trade union which pressed them to the wall, and with the low wage gutter, denied them homes and mobbed them; and then the Depression met them.

In the Depression, Negro workers, like white workers, have lost their jobs; have had mortgages foreclosed on their farms and homes; have used up their small savings. But in the case of the Negro worker, everything was worse in larger or smaller degree; the loss was greater and more permanent; technological displacement, begun before the depression, was accelerated. The unemployment and fall in wage, struck black men sooner, will last longer, and went to lower levels.

In the rural South their education almost ceased, while Southern city schools were crowded to suffocation. The Booker Washington High School in Atlanta, built for 1,000 pupils, has 3,000 attending in double daily sessions.

Above all Federal and State Relief clubs will clearly discriminate against Negroes;

Above all, ~~in the Negro's case, local and federal relief helped him last.~~ It was easily explicable human nature that the unemployed white man, and the starving white child should be relieved first by local authorities who regarded them as fellowmen, and often ~~regarded~~ Negroes as sub-human. ~~Moreover,~~ It might happen that while the white worker was given more than relief and helped to his feet, the black worker was pauperized by being just kept from starvation; and even when finally plans are making for national rehabilitation, and the re-building of the whole industrial system, such plans before they can be carried call for decisions as to the Negro's future and his relations to industry and culture in this country which the country is not prepared to make, and ~~consequently~~ refuses to consider.

~~Consequently, in the Tennessee Valley beneath the Norris Dam, where do Negroes~~ come in? And what shall be their industrial place? In the attempt to re-build agriculture, the Southern landholder will in all probability be put on his feet, but the black tenant has been pushed to the edge of dispair. In the matter of housing, no comprehensive plan for Negro homes has been thought-out, and only two or three local projects planned; nor can broad plans be made until the nation or the community decides where it wants or will permit Negroes to live. In subsistence homestead no plans for Negroes have been made because Negroes protested at segregation and whites, who wanted cheap labor, protested, too.

~~All this calls for energetic thought and plan on the part of American Negroes.~~ The thing which the colored people of America are coming ~~must come~~ to face calmly is the fact that most white Americans do not like them, and are not planning for their survival, or for any definite future for them, which involves free self-assertive modern manhood. This does not mean all Americans. A saving few are intelligent upon and worried about the Negro problem. A still larger group are not ill-disposed but they fear prevailing public opinion. The great mass of Americans, however, are the same sort of high-class morons that characterize average humanity. They muddle along with their own affairs and scarcely can be expected to take the affairs of strangers, or people whom they half fear and half despise, seriously and to heart.

For many years it was ~~my theory and~~ the theory of most Negro leaders that all this was the insensibility of ignorance and inexperience; that white America did not know or realise the continuing plight of the Negro. Accordingly, for the last two decades, we have striven by book and periodical, by speech and appeal, by

4/7-10-232

various more dramatic methods of agitation, to put the essential facts before the American people. There can be no doubt today but what America knows the facts; and yet she is still largely indifferent and unmoved.

There is, therefore, but one way, and that is a concentration of inner Negro forces--a group movement among Negroes, particularly along economic lines, involving increased racial separation and voluntary segregation, taking advantage of every single point that will increase group loyalty, and making a new religion out of the necessities of our old slavery. White people are convinced that this cannot be done. Even Negroes say it cannot be done, but we must do it or we die.

Nor are Negroes nearly as helpless and impotent as they think. They are no longer wards or children. They have been spiritually debauched by philanthropy and made physically afraid by an inferiority complex. And yet, they have large and larger numbers of well-educated men and women; they have acquired some skill and saved some capital; and for two generations they have had experience in organizing to fight for their rights and for recognition from their fellowmen.

There has been in the past and still is, too, large reliance upon the help, advice and co-operation of white friends, at the very time when it has been the increasing boast of American Negroes that they are both able and willing to assume the leadership of their group; and that while they welcome white co-workers, it is as co-workers, and not as dictators. Today, more than ever before, they find themselves faced with the necessity of making good this boast and of leading a nation of twelve million out of a slough of despond.

The main difficulty of the Negro's position is that never since emancipation has he had adequate economic foundation.

47-10-231

KEEPING BLACKS AND WHITES APART (Insert.)

Thaddeus Stevens recognized this and sought to transform the emancipated freedmen into peasant proprietors. If he had been able to do this, he would have changed the economic history of the United States and perhaps saved the American farmer, ~~if not the farmers of the world,~~ from his present plight. But to furnish fifty million acres of good land to the Negroes would cost more money than the North was willing to pay, and was regarded by the South as highway robbery. The free Negroes of Louisiana tried to accomplish the same thing by voluntary cooperative effort, using funds furnished by the bounties of Negro soldiers. But they were overwhelmed by political turmoil before their scheme got well started. The Negroes of South Carolina tried to divide up the large plantations and distribute them among small owners by state appropriations, but they were outrageously cheated by the landholders. IP The whole attempt to furnish land and capital for the freedmen fell through, and no comprehensive economic plan was advanced until the day of Booker T. Washington. Washington had a vision of building a new economic foundation for Negroes by incorporating them into industry. He wanted to make them skilled workers by industrial education, and expected small capitalists to rise out of their ranks. His mistake was to assume that the economic development of America in the 20th Century was going to be similar to that in the 19th Century, with free land and unlimited industrial opportunity, cheap resources, under the control of small competitive capitalists. He lived to see industry more and more concentrated under the power of great capital, land monopoly extended, and the technique of industry changed by wide introduction of machinery IP. The result was that ~~the technique of~~ industrial methods changed faster than Hampton or Tuskegee could accomodate ~~itself~~ their curricula; ~~change, and~~ the chance of an artisan becoming a capitalist grew less and less even for white Americans, while the whole relation of labor & capital became less a matter of contract & skill than of basic organization & aim ~~trade unions united to keep Negroes from being employed in the best paid lines of work.~~

Those of us who in that day opposed Mr. Washington's plans did not foresee just the type of change that was coming, but we were convinced that the Negro could only succeed in industry and in life as he had ~~his own~~ intelligent leadership & far-seeing ideals and



47-10-230

(Keeping Blacks and Whites Apart.) Insert.

that, therefore, the object of education must be not simply to make men artisans but to make artisans men; to give the Negro race in America such intelligent leadership that when change and crisis came, they could guide themselves to safety.

Curiously enough, this is exactly the situation which now is upon us. The increase in the number of college-trained Negroes has been enormous. Between 1823 and 1912, five thousand Negroes were graduated from college. Between 1912 and 1934, the number of graduates have reached the neighborhood of 40,000, and today, we have nearly 25,000 ~~attending~~ in college each year. To these must be added the hundreds of thousands who have received high school training or its equivalent. The educated group among American Negroes is still small, but it is large enough to begin systematic planning for the preservation of the group through economic advancement. ~~One group~~ These younger

, realizing the results of the present depression, being less able than their elders to achieve a place, secure a decent income, or even finish their education, are insisting that a policy of merely begging and asking for opportunity is not enough today, and that they are faced by two alternatives: direct action and revolutionary tactics urged by the Communists and other radicals; or inner organization by the Negro race itself. The first alternative has few followers. The Negroes recognize that they would be in the position of shock troops at the head of any radical movement, and that one-tenth of a population has no chance to achieve its ends by force against an unyielding nine-tenths. On the other hand, the opportunity for internal organization, and through that for such increase of economic power and industrial efficiency as will make the ultimate demands of the Negro acceptable and accepted by the mass of Americans, is today unusually great.

The first definite movement of this younger group was toward direct alliance of the Negro with the labor movement. It has been argued by men like Ira Reid and Abram Harris that Negroes are predominantly a labor group; that

They have no common ground with capitalists but should reinforce the labor movement by their votes and action. But while labor today as in the past refuses to recognize & treat Negroes

For a hundred years, beginning in the thirties and forties, the white laborers of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, beat, murdered and drove away fellow workers because they were black and had to work for what they could get. Seventy years ago in the center of the new American labor movement, white laborers hanged black ones to lampposts instead of helping fight to free them from the worst of modern slavery. At Chicago and St. Louis, New Orleans and San Francisco, black men carry the scars of the bitter hatred of white laborers for them. Today it is white labor which keeps Negroes out of decent low cost housing, which confines the protection of the best unions to "white" men, which often will not sit in the same hall with black folk who already have joined the labor movement. White labor has to hate scabs; but it hates black scabs not because they are scabs but because they are black. It mobs white scabs to force them into labor fellowship. It mobs black scabs to starve and kill them. In the present fight of the American Federation of Labor against company unions it is attacking the only union which Negroes can join, by means of a labor monopoly which refuses often to recognize even union labor if it is black.

Even facts are slowly forcing Negro thought into a new direction. This direction demands

It does involve an approach from the point of view of labor rather than capital; but it assumes welcoming arms no more from the labor monopolist who mann armies and navies to keep Chinks, Japs and niggers in their places, than from the Captains of Industry who spend millions to make laborers think that the most worthless white man is better than any colored man.

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¶ ~~On the other hand, his~~ Thus the Negro's fight to enter organized industry has made little headway. No Negro, no matter what his ability, can be a member of any of the railway unions. He cannot be an engineer, fireman, conductor, switchman, brakeman, or yardman. If he organizes separately, he may, as in the case of the Negro Fireman's Union, be fought and ~~displaced~~ overthrown by the white firemen, or in the case of the Pullman Porter's Union, receive empty recognition without any voice or collective help. The older group of Negro leaders recognize this and simply say it is a matter of continued striving to break down these barriers.

Just how this shall be done, the group ~~as a whole~~ is not agreed. Its older members still cling to the formula of the last generation. They see their economic salvation completely bound up with that of the American nation. Fighting against all segregation and separation, they propose to force their way into industry by law on their individual merits, ~~to become capitalists and exploiters of labor through individual or collective workers~~ by breaking down the barriers of trade unions. This older group, however, does not realize entirely the future changes which are inevitable in American industry. With ~~the ever~~ widening role which government must play in industry, increased democratic control of industry will be ~~and in the control of~~ capital, the place of the Negro is increasingly a matter of human choice, of willingness & recognized ability across the barriers of race, of putting the Negroes in places of power & authority by public opinion. At present in the telephone, telegraph and radio business, ~~and~~ on the railroads, in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in the larger divisions of trade, it is only now and then, and under ~~especial~~ exceptional circumstances, that any Negro, no matter what his ability, gets an opportunity for position and real power. Only in those lines where individual enterprise still counts, as in some many of the professions, in a few some of the trades, ~~and~~ in a few branches of retail business, & in other careers can the Negro expect a narrow ~~an~~ opening.

417-10-226

Nevertheless, Negroes and other colored folk exist in larger and growing numbers. Slavery, prostitution to white men, theft of their labor and material has not killed them and cannot kill them. They are growing in intelligence and dissatisfaction. They occupy strategic positions, within nations and beside nations, amid valuable raw material and on the high ways of future expansion. They will survive but on what terms and condition? The peculiar relation of Negroes to this land offers a peculiar chance. Negroes cast today probably two million votes, in a total of 40 million, and their vote will increase. This gives them, particularly in Northern cities, and at critical times, a chance to hold a very considerable balance of power and the mere threat of this being used intelligently and with determination may often mean much. The consuming power of 2,800,000 Negro families has recently been estimated at ~~must exceed 70~~ 66 million dollars a month--a tremendous power when intelligently directed. Their man power as laborers probably equals that of Mexico or Yugoslavia. Their illiteracy is much lower than that of Spain or Italy. Their estimated per capita wealth ($215--Tuskegee Year Book) about equals that of Japan ($ 44--Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed. Vol. 23, p. 450.)

For a nation with this start in culture and efficiency to sit down and await the salvation of a white God is idiotic. With the use of their political power, their power as consumers, and their brains, added to that chance of personal appeal which proximity and neighborhood always gives to human beings, Negroes can develop in the United States an economic nation within a nation, able to work through inner co-operation, to found its own institutions, to educate its genius, and at the same time, without mob violence, or extremes of race hatred, to keep in helpful touch and large co-operation with the mass of the nation. This has happened more often than most people realize, in the case of groups not so obviously separated from the mass of people as American Negroes are. It must happen in our case, or there is no hope for the Negro in America.

Any movement toward such a program is today

hindered by the absurd Negro philosophy of Scatter, Suppress, Wait, Escape. That is, many among our educated young leaders think that because the Negro problem is not in evidence where there are few or no Negroes present, this indicates a way out! They think that the problem of race can be settled by ignoring it and suppressing all refererence to it. They think that we have only silently to wait for the white people to settle the problem for us; and finally and predominantly, they think that the problem of twelve million Negro people, mostly poor, ignorant workers, isgoing to be settled by having their more educated and wealthy classes gradually and continually escape from their face into the mass of the American people, leaving the dregs to sink, suffer and die.

Proponents of this program

~~our own masses has always been appalling and discouraging to Negroes. They~~ claim, with much right, that the plight of the masses is not the fault of the emerging classes; that the slavery and exploitation which has reduced Negroes to their present level or at any rate hindred them from rising, is the fault of the white world, and the age-long process of raising a group through the escape of its upper class into welcome fellowship with risen peoples. That for the intellengencia among Negroes to bend their backs to the task of lifting the mass of people would mean their own ultimate submergence. There is logic in this answer but futile logic.

If the leading Negro classes cannot assume and bear the uplift of their own proletariat, they are doomed for time and eternity. It is not a case of ethics; it's a plain case of must.

And the method by which this is done is, first, for the American Negro to achieve a new economic solidarity. This is not turning to the olderprogram of Booker T. Washington, although Mr. Washington envisaged something of this ~~on conclusion~~ in collusion with the co-operation of white capitalists. He thought Negro capitalists would gain the opportunity to exploit their own masses, and that the mutual interests of capital would integrate these black masters of industry into the group of the ruling captains of industry throughout the nation. This plan failed and can never be restored, but just as the Jews in the dawning of the new capitalism had a chance to enter the new organization of industry, and become intrenched there before the masses of the world foresaw the tread, just so today there is a chance for the Negro to organize in fact the co-operative and socialistic state within his own group, and by ~~leading~~ letting his farmers, feed his artisans, and his technicians, guide his home industries, and his thinkers plan this integration of co-operation, while his artists dramatized and beautified the struggle, to achieve economic independence. To doubt that this is possible is to doubt the essential humanity and the quality of brains which American Negroes have.

47-10-225

the benefit of American Negroes o[illegible] of a Negro intelligentsia is going to involve organized and deliberate self-segregation. There are plenty of people in the United States who would be only too willing to take advantage of a plan of this sort to increase such legal and customary segregation between the races as already exists. This is the threat which many Negroes see, and it is no mere mirage. What of it? It must be faced. If the salvation, economic and spiritual, of the American Negro calls for an increase in the American race, segregation and prejudice, then increase must come. Notwithstanding this, American Negroes have got to plan for their economic salvation and the social survival of their fellows, and they have got to do this with the firm belief that the survival of colored folk in America means in a real sense the survival of colored folk in the world, and the building of a full humanity instead of a petty white tyranny. Control of their own education, which is the logical and inevitable end of separate schools, would not be an unmixed ill; it might prove a supreme good. Once Negro schools meant poor schools. They need not today; they must not tomorrow. Separate Negro sections will increase race antagonism, but they will also increase economic co-operation, organized self-defense and necessary self-confidence. Of course, the extreme development of this might even lead to complete separation or expulsion. What of it? Better stand in isolation or leave as men, or die as fighters, or be kicked out by supreme power, than live as willing slaves and affable spineless peons.

47-10-224

It has long been the basic thought of the Negro in America that if he deserved well of his fatherland; if he showed his inherent ability; his fineness of gift, and strength of character, that slowly but surely, he would be integrated into the nation, and that after a lapse of perhaps one hundred or even five hundred years, that there would remain no distinctions between American citizens based simply on color or race. And the thought and effort of our finer souls have been directed to this end.

But in the face of this comes the undeniable fact that any thought of integration of the American Negro into the body of American citizenship, is today extremely distasteful to the mass of American citizens, and that must be taken as a fact which is today incontrovertible and undeniable. The question, then, is: How can this minority so up-build itself that it may remain a part of the nation and yet save its self-respect, earn a decent living, and develop its own soul?

No sooner is this proposed than a great fear sweeps over the Negro. He cries "No Segregation" No further Quality of Prejudice [illegible]

The answer which is dawning clearer & larger grows
of American Negroes is just this: Through voluntary & increased segrega-
by careful autonomy & planned economic organizat & should be
closing and efficient a group of 12 million men This no Central
group can continue & refuse them fellowship & loyalty

The immediate reaction of most white and colored people to this suggestion will be that the thing cannot be done. Negro scholars have from time to time emphasized the fact that no nation within a nation can be built because of the attitude of the dominant majority, and because all legal and police power are out of our hands, and because large industry like Steel & electric power are organized on a national basis & unpenetrable by small groups. White folk, on the other hand, simply say that granting certain obvious possibilities, the American Negro has not the ability to engineer so delicate a social operation calling for such self-restraint, careful organization, and ingenuous leadership.

In answer to both these groups, it may be said that this matter of a nation within a nation has already been partially accomplished in the orgnization of a Negro church, and with all the justly due criticism, the result has been astonishing. The great majority of American Negroes are divided, not simply for religious, but for a large number of social purposes, covering a considerable part of their life in self-supporting economic units, self-governed, self-directed. And the greatest present difficulty is that these organizations have no logical and reasonable norms and do not attract the best and most vigorous and most educated elements of the group.

(3) by Industry & Big Business must become more & more decentralized & under State control. The Negro's political power rightly directed will gain him increased access to these national services

Moreover, the legal difficulties in maintaining and developing such group development is being helped today by the same forces that are emancipating and making class-conscious white labor in America. The curtailed political power of American Negroes, if intelligent, can be thrown to strengthening the laws for co-operation, and making the American consumer a definite, active power, instead of a passive victim. The rights of organization for economic purposes which labor demands can be used by black labor as well as by white labor. Moreover, such a movement will meet little

47-10-223

opposition for many reasons, some of which are contradictory. There are Americans who would be glad to have it tried simply in order that it should fail and prove to Negroes that their only hope in this country is to be a docile, unambitious labor caste working for low wage. Such cheap labor will save America the costly necessity for colonial development. Other Americans hope that such an effort will succeed, either wholly or even in part, and thus justify their faith in humanity.

At present, American philanthropy stands almost check-mated before the Negro problem. The task is so enormous that philanthropy simply cannot attack it. It cannot undertake to put idle Negroes to work so long as white employers will not hire them, ~~no matter what their ability,~~ and white laborers will not work beside them. It cannot support Negro schools, when states and cities, and even the Federal government, deliberately and openly neglect these schools and discriminate against them. It cannot even relieve Negro distress and starvation if it has to work, as it must, through local and prejudiced agents.

The task of Negro economic development, therefore, more and more, must be a self-imposed task internal to the race, and the only thing that the Negro can expect is a policy of hands off from its white neighbors; a policy which they are only too willing at present to follow.

47-10-22-2

Our program will involve gradual movement of the Negro population to such localities and places within the United States and even without, where honest, hard-working and intelligent black people can defend themselves and fear no mob.

The parts of the United States open for possible Negro development are not all in the North and West. The black belt, extending from Virginia to the West Indies, and Southwest to the Mississippi Valley, is a region where education and guts could make the Negro majority economically independent, morally courageous, and legally free. It would take time, but it could be done.

We can expect aid from many other unjustly treated and partially submerged American groups; from Jews who beneath the surface still suffer a humiliating discrimination in America despite their wealth, culture and power; from Catholics, who received a severe lesson in 1928; from Americans of Chinese and Japanese descent in California and Hawaii, and from a growing part of the laboring class in America who begin dimly to realize that race prejudice is one of the most profitable investments which capital can make today and which is regularly fanned by a costly and continuous propaganda.

"Organized clubs of masked, armed men, formed as recommended by the central Democratic bommittee, rode through the country at night, marking their course by the whipping, shooting, wounding, maiming, mutilation, and murder of women, children, and defenceless men, whose houses were forcibly entered while they slept, and, as their inmates fled, the pistol, the rifle, the knife, and the rope were employed to do their horrid work. Crimes like these, testified to by scores of witnesses, were the means employed in Louisiana to elect a President of the United States."

The result was two sets of returns for presidential electors and for state offices, two governors and two legislatures. The whole nation waited on the outcome in Louisiana which would settle the presidential contest.

There followed an extraordinary period of negotiation, probably unparalled in modern government. The white folk of Louisiana with threat of civil war entered into negotiations with the President and President-elect, and arranged a filibuster of 116 Congressmen to prevent counting the electoral vote.

The Hayes party promised to work for the "material prosperity" of the South and allay sectional feeling. ~~Further negotiations resulted in the celebrated Foster letter which put down in black and white a guarantee of the Hayes' policy.~~ Nicholls and the legislature gave every assurance. They solemnly agreed not to deprive the Negro of any political or civil rights enjoyed by any other class; and to educate white and black children with equal advantages. Finally the filibuster was dropped and the electoral count was finished March 2.

Hayes became President; ~~but~~ for some time no open action was taken, but at last an extra-legal commission of five members were sent to Louisiana April 5. They negotiated fifteen days. By persuasion and bribery, the Kellogg government was disbanded and the Nicholls legislature given a quorum. It is said that the Louisiana lottery company and various large business establishments, including banking and insurance companies, furnished the money. On April 24, the national troops withdrew from the city to their barracks.

47-10-219

Governor Bullock of Georgia taunted Toombs and his investigators:

"I therefore congratulate my political friends and myself upon the fact that the committee failed entirely to make out any case against me for impeachment; that the committee admit their failure by not making any recommendation to the legislature, and that the legislature concurred in that failure by refusing to take any action whatever based upon that report. In fact so overwhelming was the disappointment of this committee in their hopes and expectations of finding 'fraud,' 'corruption' or 'official misconduct' on my part that the legislature took no notice whatever of the report of the 'Bullock Committee'. The 'Bond Committee' were forced to declare the Statutes passed by their predecessors unconstitutional in order to get a pretext upon which to repudiate bonds, all of which were lawfully issued during my administration, and closed the State courts against any revision of their action." 28A

But even beyond that, the panic of 1873 made a further adjustment of Big Business to current conditions necessary. The Republican party might have been the instrument of this which if it could have purged itself of the more spectacular aspects of its dishonesty and had been able to stop the open evidences of government by corruption or at least further revelation of what had already been done in this line. But the revelations continued. In 1874, many departments of the govemment were under accusation of illegalities. The Sanborn contracts were revealed. In June, 1874, the government of the District of Columbia was changed because of scandals. In 1875 came the 250 civil and criminal suits which brought to light the whiskey frauds. The President's private secretary and one of his rich friends were involved. The Secretary of War was recommended for impeachment in 1876, and only escaped by resignation. Extravagance and favoritism ~~was~~ were shown in the navy, postal and interior departments; and finally, came the accusations of dishonesty against James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House, which his brilliant eloquence never wholly explained. As Dunning says: "The most cunning and malignant enemy of the United States would not have ~~denied definitely~~ timed differently this period of national ill-repute for it came with the centennial of American independence."

X 3

Sequyth a fehen —
Obaud & be with our
Relue, M Confidence
no hope

+ 2

Drive for higher
education over-ride selective
service ~~to~~ - keep land in
a chaos - not
official & moderate thing
but daring & ~~to~~

---

+ the absurd students
? Realism, sufferers
want, desire

30-IV-26

What are the facts? The appeal of the Negro for elementary justice in this Nation today falls on stone deaf ears. Three fourths of us are disfranchised in the entire area of democratic control. Laws a mockery & a travesty are passed & enforced in defiance of our protests. Our children are ignorantly driven about in dilapidated cast off buses. The NE of Chicago are openly & shamefully ignored & overlooked. A "Crime" commission has been set up & then all but ignores it. A man with strong prejudices is refused a hearing because his grandfather was a Czech & never met a white man in connection with a crime.

For many years it was only a few of the most intelligent leaders that all this was unavoidable, & even — that America did not deserve a reform of our plight. For 20 years we have shown by book & deed & effort & sacrifice & even death. And now America knows the facts & is still indifferent & unmoved. There is but one way

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Negroes say it cannot be done
we must do it or die — not shuffling feet but marching

April, 1935

37-10-66

**AUPECAM**

We are against lynching, war and revolution. We know that crime and violence can not be immediately abolished, but we absolutely refuse to countenance any program of reform which deliberately envisages these horrors as inescapable paths to reform.

If we must walk through blood to peace and the abolition of poverty, it shall not be by our deliberate plan and we deplore in our younger thinkers the diverting of precious time from that slow discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which revolution or no revolution must be the only path to peace and the abolition of poverty; and the wasting of precious energy in sheer bedevilment and sterile recrimination.

Amercan

# A NEW CREED FOR AMERICAN NEGROES
W. E. B. Du Bois

## FOREWORD

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gifts and training and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.
2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.
3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.
4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

## BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(BANC)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

Basic American Negro Creed

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three; but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of com-

fort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of the mass of the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

DuBois

AUPESAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

## A Proposed Basic Creed

I. As American Negroes we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, ~~even if it involves segregated institutions.~~

2. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in ~~determining~~ by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action ~~and racial institutions.~~

3. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

4. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

5. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture we are disfranchised peons; in public education, we are disinherited illiterates; in higher education we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy. ~~No present plan envisages anything better for us until the last white man is well-paid, educated and healthy.~~

6. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

7. We believe, therefore, that our first effort must be toward exploring means and methods of economic cooperation by which we can end our unemployment, increase our industrial efficiency, and raise the average of our incomes.

8. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell success. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs and not by the few, according to their desires.

9. We believe ~~in the essential soundness of the economic philosophy of Karl Marx and~~ in the ultimate triumph of a ~~communistic form of government~~ the world over; but we disclaim ~~all~~ revolutionary methods to achieve reform by violence, bloodshed and secret conspiracy. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with reason and sacrifice, not with war.

10. We must avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, and an equally enervating philosophy of ~~Nirvana in the~~ artifically privileged white race.

11. We cannot be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, nor must we try to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by seeking escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We must stand on our own economic feet before we can expect welcome to the new economic kingdom.

12. We believe that ~~following the example of the autonomous Negro Church and the largely self-directing Negro public school~~, we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

13. We believe this can be done in the midst of surrounding white culture and organization, and in amicable accord with white capital and labor; ~~by making our movement a new practical religion, and putting into it every ounce of our brains and sacrifice.~~

~~The very fact that hitherto, under the compulsion of prejudice, we have peacefully lived a life so separate and isolated, teaches us that this segregation may now easily be turned to economic salvation and spiritual development, and that this is our chance, and only chance of survival before an unyielding wall of contempt.~~

14. Therefore, we adopt the principles of

THE AUPECAN

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Not Wealth but Health with Knowledge and Joy.

C. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

D. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

E. Political power not for jobs but for protecting all labor in wage and work and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and confiscation.

F. We conceive this matter of work and adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, to power, learning, and accomplishment in self-expression through literature and art, and the Life Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

37-10-68

10 Copies

AUPECAN

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By W.E.B. DuBois – 3rd Edition

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37-10-69

-1-

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37-10-690

must public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally + proportionately in all public expenditures

[1935]

AUPRAM

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

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A Proposed Basic Creed

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47-10-14

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Creed [1935]

## FOREWORD

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gifts and training and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

## BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

## (BANC)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that Workers' Councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

Basic American Negro Creed

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of the mass of the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

AUPECAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Third Edition

## A Proposed Basic Creed

I. As American Negroes we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

2. We must avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, and an equally enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race.

3. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.

4. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three; but the greatest of these is Employment.

5. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

6. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education,we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

7. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

8. We believe, therefore, that our first effort must be toward exploring means and methods of economic cooperation by which we can end our unemployment, increase our industrial efficiency, nd raise the average of our incomes.

9. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass, can ever spell success. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs and not by the few, according to their desires.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we do not believe that revolution or violence is necessary to achieve this end. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, reason and sacrifice, not with war.

AUPECAN

11. We cannot be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, nor must we try to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by seeking escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We must stand on our own economic feet before we can expect welcome to the new economic kingdom.

12. We believe that we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

13. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in amicable accord with white capital and labor.

14. Therefore, we adopt the principles of

THE AUPECAN

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Not Wealth but Health with Knowledge and Joy.

C. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

D. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

E. Political power not for jobs but for protecting all labor in wage and work and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization, and public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures.

F. We conceive this matter of work and adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment in self-expression through literature and art, and the Life Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

The above tentative statement is not for publication, but for your careful study and criticism. I should be glad to hear from you and to have addresses of persons who would like to consider this statement. When a sufficient number of persons agree, I shall hope to issue something like this to the public with their signatures.

AUPECAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Fourth ~~Third~~ Edition

## A Proposed Basic Creed

I. As American Negroes we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

2. ~~We must~~ While we work, avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, ~~and on~~ equally enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race.

3. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.

4. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

5. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

6. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

7. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

8. We believe, therefore, that our first effort must be toward exploring means and methods of economic cooperation by which we can end our unemployment, increase our industrial efficiency, and raise the average of our incomes.

9. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass, can ever spell success. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs and not by the few, according to their desires.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we do not believe that revolution or violence is necessary to achieve this end. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, reason and sacrifice, not with war.

11. We ~~cannot~~ refuse to be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, and we do not ~~nor must we try~~ to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by ~~seeking~~ escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We ~~must~~ stand on our own economic feet before ~~we can expect~~ effectively demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world

AUPECAN

11 ~~12~~. We believe that we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

12 ~~13~~. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in ~~amicable accord~~ with white capital ~~and labor~~. intelligent accord with reconstruction of the economic classes of the nation, including owners or Color to be accomplished

13 ~~14~~. Therefore, we adopt the principles of

THE AUPECAN

37-10-71

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Not Wealth but Health with Knowledge and Joy.

C. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

D ~~E~~ " " production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth

E ~~F~~. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

F ~~G~~. Political power not for jobs but for protecting all labor in wage and work and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization, ~~and~~ public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures, ~~and for~~

G F. We conceive this matter of work and adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and the Life Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

The above tentative statement is not for publication, ~~but~~ for your careful study and criticism. I should be glad to hear from you and to have addresses of persons who would like to consider this ~~statement~~. When a sufficient number of persons agree, I shall hope to issue something like this to the public with their signature.

Walker

Copies for
Abe Harris
Dorsey
Bunche
Jim Read
Logan
Dean

AUPECAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION Among Negroes

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Fourth Edition

## A Proposed Basic Creed

I. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

2. While we would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, we equally repudiate an enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race.

3. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.

4. We refuse to be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, and we do not seek to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We propose to stand on our own economic feet ~~before we can~~ in order effectively to demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world.

5. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

6. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

7. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

8. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

9. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell ~~success~~ prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs and not by the few, according to their desires.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should ~~be the mass of laborers~~ those who work and that the state should be ruled by them for their best interests; we do not believe that revolution or violence is necessary to achieve this end. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, reason and sacrifice, not with war.

AUPECAN

11. We believe that we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

12. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

13. Therefore, we adopt the principles of

THE AUPECAN

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Not Wealth but Health with Knowledge and Joy.

C. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

D. Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth.

E. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

F. Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

G. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete and Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

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**AUPECAN**

**ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION**

Among Negroes

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

**Fourth Edition**

## A Proposed Basic Creed

1. As American Negroes we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

2. While we would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, we equally repudiate an enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race.

3. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.

4. We refuse to be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, and we do not seek to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We propose to stand on our own economic feet ~~before we can~~ effectively demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world.

5. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

## Preamble

6. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

8. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

9. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell ~~success~~ prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs, and not by the few, according to their desires.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should ~~be the mass of laborers~~ and that the state should be ruled by them ~~for their best interests~~; we do not believe that revolution or violence is necessary to achieve this end. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, ~~reason~~ and sacrifice, ~~not with war.~~

Reason not violence is absolutely essential

AUPECAN

11 12 ~~13.~~ We believe that we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

12 13 ~~14.~~ We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

13 14 ~~15.~~ Therefore, we adopt the principles of

~~THE AUPECAN~~ a Summary

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

~~B. Not Wealth but Health with Knowledge and Joy.~~

13 ~~A.~~ Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

C ~~B.~~ Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth.

D ~~C.~~ Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

E ~~D.~~ Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work, and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

37-10-73

F ~~E.~~ We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

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AUPEGAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Fifth Edition

## A Proposed Basic Creed

I. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

2. While we would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, we would equally repudiate an enervating philosophy of escape into an artificially privileged white race.

3. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.

4. We refuse to be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, and we do not seek to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We propose to stand on our own economic feet in order effectively to demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world.

5. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three; but the greatest of these is Employment.

6. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

7. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

8. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

9. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs; and not by the few, according to their desires.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should rest in the hands of those who work and that the state should be ruled by them for their best interests; we do not believe that revolution or violence is necessary to achieve this end. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the ma-

jority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, reason and sacrifice, not with war.

11. We believe that we can and must build a co-operative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

12. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

13. Therefore, we adopt the principles of

THE AUPECAN

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Not Wealth but Healthwith Knowledge and Joy.

C. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

D. Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth.

E. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

F. Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

G. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete and Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

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AUPECAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING
CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

By W. E.Burghardt Du Bois

6th Edition

## PREAMBLE

1. We see American Negroes fatally threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, we see no adequate effort, either to secure Negro labor a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability; and yet we know that the labor force of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

4. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs; and not by the few, according to their desires.

5. We refuse to be mere parasites feeding on white culture and philanthropy, and we do not seek to avoid the burden of the uplift of our own masses by escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We propose to stand on our own economic feet in order effectively to demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world.

## A PROPOSED BASIC CREED

6. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression.

7. While we would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, we would equally repudiate an enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race.

8. We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.



37-10-24

9. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

10. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; and we mean by Socialism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should rest in the hands of those who work, and that the state should be ruled by them. To achieve this end, Reason and not Violence is absolutely essential. If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, and sacrifice.

11. We believe that we can and must build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.

12. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with surrounding white culture and industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

37-10-75

A SUMMARY

A. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

B. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

C. Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth.

D. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

E. Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work, and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

F. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete and Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

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(1)

The Atlanta Creed

AMPECAN

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PROJECT FOR EXTENDING CO-OPERATION AMONG NEGROES

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

6th Edition

37-01-06

~~PREAMBLE~~ Foreword

1. ~~We see~~ American Negroes ~~fatally~~ threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and consequent lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, ~~we see~~ no adequate effort, either to secure ~~Negro labor~~ a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, ~~and yet we know that~~

4. The labor force of 12 million people, is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure.

5. ~~We believe that we can and must~~ build a cooperative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production and regulate consumption, ~~so as to help abolish poverty, dispel ignorance and strengthen character among us.~~

5. We believe this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding ~~white culture and~~ industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

6. In this effort, we must avoid the pitfall of American Industry in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs; and not by the few, according to their desires.

7. We refuse to ~~be more~~ remain parasites feeding on white ~~culture and~~ philanthropy, and we do not seek to ~~avoid~~ the burden of the uplift of our own masses ~~by escape from our group as individuals or as upper classes. We propose to stand on our own economic feet in order effectively to demand welcome to the new economic kingdoms of the world.~~ We therefore propose this:

(2)

# Basic American Negro Creed (BANC)

~~A PROPOSED BASIC CREED~~ ~~American Negro Creed~~ ~~(BANC)~~

A ~~8.~~ As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity & the abolition of all racial distinction.

B ~~9.~~ ~~While~~ We would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such, ~~we would equally~~ repudiate an enervating philosophy of escape into an artifically privileged white race, but just as sternly we

Negro -

C ~~8.~~ We believe that the Talented Tenth Among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action.



and the method by which this American Army & guides # obey this field.

we has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind

D ~~7.~~ We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E ~~10.~~ We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; ~~and we mean by Socialism,~~ that is, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should rest in the hands of those who work, and that the state should be ruled by them. ~~To achieve this end, Reason and not Violence is absolutely essential.~~ If universal suffrage is unable to achieve the good of the majority, the cause is ~~stupidity and selfishness, and these we will fight with knowledge, and sacrifice.~~

F We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in Revolution as the only path to economic justice. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason, sacrifice, and the intelligent use of the ballot, and we will not join nor abet any movement with other aims or methods.

37-01-77

4

among us, and thus

5

national

## A SUMMARY

1. Business for Public Welfare, and not for Private Profit.

2. Organization of consumers to control expense and guide production.

3. Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth.

4. Mutual exchange of service, work and money for eliminating unemployment.

5. No monopoly of land and concentrating despotic power

No monopoly of tools or machines in private hands

6. Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work; and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

7. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment; in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete and Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.

8. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort + this narrowest goal is fixed where it is today by the unyielding determination of the white mass of the white race to enslave exploit and insult Negroes. Nevertheless

37-10-78

9. In this vision of work organization and Service we welcome all men of all conditions and colors so long as their subscription to this their creed is unequivocal + sincere, and is proven by their deeds

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# THE ATLANTA CREED

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

7th Edition

## Foreword

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. The labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, ~~we must strive to build~~ a co-operative Negro industrial system in America, ~~which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production, and regulate consumption for gradually increasing numbers of our race.~~

5. We believe that if carefully and intelligently planned, this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

6. In this effort, we must avoid the past errors of capitalism and the pitfall of American Industry, in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs; and not by the few, according to their desires.

7. ~~We refuse to remain parasites feeding on white philanthropy, and we~~ welcome the burden of the uplift of our own masses until they as a conscious and intelligent proletariat can ~~themselves assume~~ democratic control of ~~the whole group~~ in the interests of ~~our~~ working class. Only in this way can the American Negro enter the new industrial kingdoms of the world, standing on his own economic feet.

8. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind. We, therefore, propose this:

# BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

## (BANC)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We ~~would avoid~~ repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and ~~Art~~ Health; those three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production, and equality of income; we believe that the ultimate power in the state should rest in the hands of those who work and that the state should be ruled by them.

F. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in ~~revolution~~ revolution as the only path to economic ~~justice~~. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason, ~~sacrifice~~, and the intelligent use of the ballot, ~~and we will not join nor abet any movement with other aims or methods.~~ and above all

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~~Organization of production for consumption and not for accumulating wealth and concentrating despotic power.~~

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4. Political power not for jobs but for public recognition of the Negro's right to share equally and proportionately in all public expenditures; for protecting all labor in wage and work; and for redistributing wealth from the rich to the poor through taxation and nationalization.

5. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning, and accomplishment, ~~in self-expression through literature and art; and for the Life Complete and Beautiful, in a world of Peace for all men.~~

by that ~~slow~~ discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only path to ~~[illegible] the abolition of poverty~~; and the wasting of precious energy in sheer bedevilment and sterile recrimination.

dynamic

real

economic justice + world peace

THE ATLANTA CREED

5. This is and is designed to be a program f racial effort, and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of the mass of the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes.

6. To this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all conditions and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is unequivocal and sincere, and is proven by their deeds.

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37-10-81

W E B Du Bois

# THE ATLANTA CREED

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

7th Edition

## Foreword

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

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3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. The labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we must strive to build a co-operative Negro industrial system in America, which will to some extent furnish employment, direct production, and regulate consumption for gradually increasing numbers of our race.

5. We believe that if carefully and intelligently planned, this can be done in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization, and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

6. In this effort, we must avoid the past errors of capitalism and the pitfall of American Industry, in assuming that the wealth of the few and poverty of the mass can ever spell prosperity. The object of production by universal labor is consumption by the mass according to their needs; and not by the few, according to their desires.

7. We refuse to remain parasites feeding on white philanthropy, and we welcome the burden of the uplift of our own masses until they as a conscious and intelligent proletariat can themselves assume democratic control of the whole group in the interests of our working class. Only in this way can the American Negro enter the new industrial kingdoms of the world, standing on his own economic feet.

8. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind. We, therefore, propose this:

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B. We would avoid all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artifically privil ged white race, which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action, and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Art; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

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F. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in Revolution as the only path to economic justice. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason, sacrifice, and the intelligent use of the ballot, and we will not join nor abet any movement with other aims or methods.

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THE ATLANTA CREED

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7th Edition

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THE ATLANTA CREED

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C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement, the present field and demand for racial action, and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

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THE ATLANTA CREED

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[1934]

## FOREWORD

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C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in themidst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means ofproduction andequality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can

abolishpoverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all bythat dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate sharein administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a programof racial effort and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of the massof the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

47-8-102

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BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

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30-39-7

gradual equalization [illegible]
income taxes + inheritance taxes
+ minimum

—

Marx + Change
Poor economic advance
health + poverty
Vote

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37-8-32

## BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

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D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a cooperative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

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I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

37-8-33

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

THE NEGRO WEEKLY PRESS

by W. E. B. Du Bois

About twenty years ago at one of the annual meetings of the N. A. A. C. P., held, I think, in Baltimore, I made a frank criticism of the Negro press as it then existed. I had been familiar with the New York Age from before the time of its birth; that is, when it was The Globe and The Freeman under T. Thomas Fortune, and there had been built up in my mind the ideal of a fighting editor expressing frankly and freely what he thought, and giving at least something of the news concerning colored people. This kind of weekly colored paper I had become acquainted with during my high school years, from 1881 to 1884, when I was agent for the three successive papers in the little town of Great Barrington and furnished a few rather drab notes of news. It seemed to me when I made the criticism of the weekly Negro press about 1915, that it had fallen decidedly away from the high ideals which Fortune had set for it. Not that Fortune was perfect; he was erradic and impolite. He slashed his opponents with cruelty and on many great ~~meetings~~ matters, he was undoubtedly wrong, but he was fearless and frank and he never sold his opinions and he would publish news. On the other hand, the press in 1915 was not publishing news and its editorial opinion was of little account.

37-10-120

In starting THE CRISIS, I had this in mind. The Color Line I made a news sheet and within a few pages told more of what was going on among colored people than one could easily glean from the current colored papers. Then, too, I criticized editorial treatment of current ~~meetings~~ matters.

It goes without saying that I came in for the bitterest kind of tongue-lashing from the colored editors and for several years the N. A. A. C. P. actually suffered from my frank but ~~indirect~~ direct criticism. At the same time, I think my criticism had its influence and while it did n ot cause the tremendous change that has come in later years, it did help in the change. Today, the Negro press is a press which serves news. Nothing of importance happens among Negroes that is not reported and with considerable fullness in the Negro press. I have several times been surprised to have speeches of mine printed entirely ~~and~~ or good extracts given. On the other hand, for editorial policy and emphasis of the news, there is still a sad and startling lack. The Negro press,

**The Negro Weekly Press**

quite naturally, has followed the Hearst and other sensational papers and they emphasize news according to the demand of the ordinary man in the street. That ordinary man is interested in murder, divorce, sex crimes, theft, gambling, etc. And accordingly, the Negro press, following the worst examples of white presses, emphasizes that sort of thing, until sometimes the headlines of our chief Negro papers make you simply sick with apprehension until you remember that this, after all, is a matter of emphasis and that hidden in some unobtrusive space is news about education and science and other things, occupying all too small space to be sure, and often not well-analyzed, but still it is there.

I am hoping that in its new half century, the New York Age, as well as other Negro papers, are going to improve on this, and make a more just emphasis of the current news, not omitting the crime and sin, but in putting it in such a way that they seem our chief asset.

37-10-121

In another respect, and that is editorial treatment, I do not think that the Negro press has progressed. The editors in general have not the broad education and catholic outlook which enables them to treat historical and economic subjects with confidence, leadership and clearness, and they do not yet feel the necessity of hiring editorial assistants who can do this sort of thing and of giving them at least some logway and a decent salary. They do pay young businessmen and pay them well to hold circulation, but they do not pay their editorial writers as they should. Instead of this, there is a considerable use of the columnist and for the most part, the columns written are not worth the writing. They are pert, sometimes funny, often exasperating; but they are not illuminating or informing.

I hope, therefore, as I have said, that the new half century of the New York Age is going to see a change for the better. Better trained editors, a more sane and understanding emphasis of news, and more frank and intelligent criticism of present-day problems.

The Aryan Path
119 W. 57th St.
N.Y.
Nov, 1935

37-9-802

# INDIANS AND AMERICAN NEGROES

By W. E. B. Du Bois

The great difficulty of bringing understanding, sympathy and cooperation between the Negroes of America and the peoples of India lies in the almost utter lack of knowledge which these two groups of people have of each other.

First of all, the Negroes taught in American schools and reading books and articles by American writers, have almost no conception of the history of India. It practically has no place in our curriculum and references to that great past which every Indian knows brings no intelligent comprehension on the part of the Negroes in America.

On the other hand, the knowledge which educated Indians have of the American Negro is chiefly confined to the conventional story spread by most white American and English writers: ignorant black savages were enslaved and made to do physical labor which was the only thing they could do. They were finally emancipated by a benevolent government and given every aid to rise and develop. Much of this aid was mistaken, as for instance, the bestowing of the right to vote and proved a hindrance rather than help. Today these Negroes are contented laborers occupying that lower sphere for which they are especially adapted.

This false knowledge and lack of knowledge in the two groups is today emphasized by the modern methods of gathering and distributing news. To the editors of the great news agencies, Indians and Negroes are not news. They distribute therefore and emphasize only such things as are bizarre and uncommon, lynchings and mobs in the Southern states of the United States, dialect and funny stories; and from India, stories of religious frenzy, fights between Hindus and Mohammedans, the deeds of masters of magic and the wealth of Indian princes.

To this is added deliberate and purposeful propaganda, so that from American newspapers Negroes get no idea of the great struggle for freedom and self-government which has been going on in India, or of that deep philosophy of the meaning and end of human life which characterises the Indian nation. They only hear of what England has

done to develop India and keep the peace.

On the other hand, few Indians know of Negroes able to do more than read and write, of the Negro literature that has been growing and expanding for seventy-five years, and of the leaders who have done their part, not only in the development of black men, but in the development of white America.

To all this, must be added the almost insuperable bars of religious difference. Negroes have long been enmeshed in a veil of sectarian Christianity which regards all peoples as "Heathen" who are not Christian, and all Christians as suspect who are not Protestants, and no Protestant as a candidate for heaven unless he believes in the Trinity and the "Plan of Salvation."

37-9-81

The Indian, also, finds it difficult to conceive of intelligent men who have no real knowledge of either Buddha or Mohammed, or no religious philosophy that forms a part of their real life.

Much of this lack of knowledge and misapprehension might be avoided if Indians and Negroes had a chance to meet and know each other; but they are at opposite ends of the earth and so far as American Negroes are concerned, deliberate and other difficulties are put in the way of their meeting. It is difficult for an American Negro to get the English Government to visé his passport for a visit to India and if the visé is obtained, usually it is under pledge to limit his words and activities. The accommodations offered by steamships often involve racial discriminations, while the cost of such trips is of course prohibitive to the mass of Indians and Negroes.

On the other hand, a number of Indians visit America; but unless they are as wise and catholic as my friend, the late Lajpat Rai, they are apt to see little and know less of the twelve million Negroes in America. First of all, they meet a peculiar variation of the Color Line. An Indian may be dark in color, but if he dons his turban and travels in the South, he does not have to be subjected to the separate car laws and other discriminations against Negroes in that part of the country where the mass of Negroes live. This public recognition of the fact that he is not a Negro may and often does flatter

his vanity so that he rather rejoices that in this country at least he is not as other dark men are, but is classified with the whites.

This, however, applies primarily to the Indian with money enough to travel and live in comfort. If he should try for employment or for citizenship, or any economic status, he would find the tables quite turned, and that while an African Negro can become a citizen of the United States, an Indian of the highest caste cannot.

All this is of course but the foolishness and illogic of race discrimination and most intelligent Indians would only need to be reminded of it to insist upon opportunity to see and know American Negroes. This was certainly the case of Rabindranath Tagore and many other prominent Indians who have visited America.

Indian visitors must, of course, remember that they will have to make some special effort to see the Negro world. It is a world largely apart and organised, in its churches, industry and amusement, largely separate from the white world. It is not easily penetrated by strangers, except in lines of commercialised entertainment. The Harlem cabarets do not, for instance, represent Negro life, but are simply commercialized investments of white men with Negro music and entertainment.

On the other hand, for visitors who wish to know Negroes and try to carry out their their wish, no great difficulties are encountered. The Negro churches always welcome visitors, and Negro organizations are glad to give them opportunity to speak and to ask questions and even Negro homes are open to sympathetic strangers.

In the North, such intercourse is easy and normal. In the South, it is more difficult and in the South some eight million of the twelve million of the American Negroes live. But even there, through the universities and colleges and the private and public schools, through churches and homes, necessary contacts may be made.

The percentage of visitors between these groups must always be small, but a vast amount of work can be done through literature and especially literature directed toward the masses of these two peoples. The best effort in this line is Lajpat Rai's "United States"; he seeks not simply to write a conventional history of white America for the information of colored India, but gives a quarter of his space and intelligent

interpretation to the Negro problem in the United States. He could do this because during his enforced exile from his native land, he gained wide acquaintance with American Negroes and travelled over much of the United States. It is unfortunate that American Negroes have not made a similar study of India to orientate the thought of the people concerning the problems of that land.

37-9-83

There are in the United States, one hundred or more weekly newspapers circulating among Negroes of which eight or ten have considerable circulations. It would be an excellent thing if contributions from India, explaining the history and problems of the land, should appear in these papers; and on the other hand, the press of India ought to welcome a number of Negro contributors with explanations of their situation here.

Despite the difficulties, there must be greater conscious effort to get these groups into sympathetic understanding. Indians appeared in the four or five Pan-African Congresses which were held and which were of course only tentative efforts toward a greater ideal. In the future congresses, including Indians and Negroes, ought to meet periodically, not necessarily for action, but for understanding, and especially for emphasizing the fact that these people have common aims.

It is this fact, or the failure to recognize it, which causes the lack of knowledge and understanding between these groups. To most Indians, the problem of American Negroes, of twelve million people swallowed in a great nation, as compared with the more than three hundred millions of India, may seem unimportant. It would be very easy for intelligent Indians to succumb to the widespread propaganda that these Negroes have neither the brains nor ability to take decisive part in the modern world. On the other hand, American Negroes have long considered that their destiny lay with the American people; that their object was to become full American citizens and eventually lose themselves in the nation by continued intermingling of blood. But there are many things that have happened and are happening in the modern world to show that both these lines of thought are erroneous. The American Negro is a special group which went through the fire of American slavery and is now a part of the vast American industrial organization; nevertheless it exists as representative of two hundred or more million Negroes in Africa, the West Indies and South America. It is

INDIANS AND AMERICAN NEGROES

in many respects, although not in all, the leading intelligentsia of the black race and no matter what its destiny in America is, its problems will never be settled until the problem of the relation of the white and colored races is ettled throughout the world.

India has also had temptation to stand apart from the darker peoples and seek her affinities among whites. She has long wished to regard herself as "Aryan" rather than "colored" and to think of herself as much nearer physically and spiritually to Germany and England than to Africa, China or the South Seas. And yet the history of the modern world shows the futility of this thought. European exploitation wishes the black slave, the Chinese coolie and the Indian laborer for the same ends and the same purposes, and calls them all "niggers."

37-9-84

If India has her castes, American Negroes have in their own internal color lines, the plain shadow of a caste system. For American Negroes have a large infiltration of white blood and the tendency to measure worth by the degree of this mulatto strain.

The problem of the Negroes remains a part of the world-wide clash of color.

So, too the problem of the Indians can never be simply a problem of autonomy in the British commonwealth of nations. They must always stand as representatives of the colored races, of the yellow and black peoples as well as the brown--of the majority of mankind, and that together with the Negroes they must face the insistent problem of the assumption of the white peoples of Europe that they have a right to dominate the world and especially so to organize it politically and industrially as to make most men their slaves and servants. This attitude on the part of the white world has doubtless softened since the World War. Nevertheless, the present desperate attempt of Italy in Ethiopia and the real reasons back of the unexpected opposition on the part of the League of Nations, show that the ideals of the white world have not yet essentially changed. If now the colored peoples--Negroes, Indians, Chinese and Japanese, are going successfully to oppose these assumptions of white Europe, they have got to be sure of their own attitude toward their laboring masses. Otherwise they will substitute for the exploitation of colored by white races, an exploitation of colored races by colored men.

If, however, they can follow the newer ideals which look upon human labor as the only real and final repository of political power, and conceive that the freeing of the human spirit and real liberty of life will only come when industrial exploitation has ceased and the struggle to live is not confined to a mad fight for food, clothes and shelter; then and only then, can the union of the darker races bring a new and beautiful world, not simply for themselves, but for all men.

37-9-85

(1) Aryan Path
May, 1936

# THE UNION OF COLOR

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

I have read with interest and substantial agreement Mr. N. S. Subba Rao's reply to my article in the March number of the Aryan Path. With most of it, I am in complete agreement, but there is one paragraph in which lurks, as it seems to me, all of the danger which I tried to point out in my original article. Mr. Subba Rao says:

> "In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the success of Japan roused the Kaiser, through a famous cartoon, to call upon the nations of Europe to unite themselves against the Yellow Peril, and it is just as easy and unwise to call upon the coloured peoples to league themselves against the white races. Narrow loyalties can be developed, and unholy passions roused, by dwelling on one's disabilities and dangers, which can always be attributed to others. Swift and violent action unhappily appeals to mankind, but if the results are to endure the path towards a new and stable order lies through reason and persuasion. To range the forces of the world into two camps, sullen, suspicious, and menacing, is no answer."

We Negroes in the United States have repeatedly passed through this phase of reasoning. We have said: "You must not unite or seem to unite against white people. You must not organise in opposition. You must not even think of yourselves as by any possibility existing apart from them or with an object of your own."

The result of this self-denying attitude is easily disastrous. There is no hesitancy on the part of the European peoples in thinking of their own destiny and of their work and future without reference to the rest of the world. And as a result, they go on from strength to strength, and from organisation to organisation.

If now the Asiatic and African worlds are going to think of themselves only as appendages of the European world; if they are going to refuse to envisage a future quite independent of Europe, if necessary, and even in opposition to well-known European aims, the result is bound to be weakness, defeatism and lack of all organised power. On the other hand, if the colored world wants to meet the white world on a plane of real equality, and effective brotherhood, and without compromise and doubt evolve and establish a real union of all colors and of races, then first of all the colored world must be a strong world: strong in its own inner organisation, strong in its power of

thought and defense. Without this there will come to the council table of the world's interests, a cringing beggar instead of an upstanding man.

I know, of course, the implications of all this. It will be said, as Mr. Subba Rao hints: that this means war and struggle and the prolonging of that awful path of blood through which humanity has staggered thus far. I realize all that, but I maintain on the other hand, that unless the colored peoples are strong and prepared, the path of humiliation and degradation, of insult and suppression which they will ineivtably continue to tread, will be much more disastrous to the world's future than anything else could possibly be.

33-11-93

It is too true that only two awful paths seem to face the suppressed peoples of today: the path of humiliation, and the path of war. What I am afraid of is that the colored peoples are going to discount the terrible effects of continued and insistent humiliation. It is impossible to bring up self-reliant manhood if the children of dark India and the children of Africa and Negro America are going to be brought up under the incubus of color caste; and what I propose is a hearty and even desperate attempt to find a third path; a path that will not necessarily range the forces of the world into "two camps, sullen, suspicious and menacing," but which will aim at inner cohesion and understanding among the colored peoples, and especially the inner organization designed to meet and solve their pressing economic problems. I believe that by consumers' co-operation and production, like a thoughtful and scientific blending of the preachments of Gandhi and Kagawa, we can stop the Federal dependence of colored consumers upon white exploitation; that we can establish new ideals of mutual respect which shall not be exclusively and continually white ideals. TP I cannot see that this path must necessarily lead to war unless the white world openly and flatly insists that any organization of colored folk for the advance of colored folk, is a menace to white people, and in that case, a war of races and of colors is absolutely inevitable, and not inevitable because I and others have raised the flag of warning, but simply because of the impossible attitude of the European and American world. On the other hand, it is just as possible that when through inner organization and developed strength the colored worlds grow in power and efficiency,

they will strengthen the liberal thought of the white world; help to abolish war and armament, and make all reasonable men among the white nations come to their senses, and come to their senses all the more quickly when they see the inevitable cost of a continued policy of forcible suppression.

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I believe in man; in men of all colors and races. I do not want to supplement the hegemony of the white race, with a tyranny of black folk or yellow folk or brown folk. I want the best of mankind to be able to work together for the development of all men. But I am not going to let my wish blind me into thinking that this object is accomplished if I proceed to give up my manhood and acquiesce spinelessly in continued suppression. That path leads to disaster and leads just as swiftly as the path of threats and braggadocio.

# THE TWENTY-FIFTY ATLANTA CONFERENCE

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Some eleven million Americans are placed today in an unenviable position. Theoretically they are asked to take sides in a struggle between democracy and dictatorship. Realistically, they have not been able themselves to enjoy many of the advantages of democracy in the United States; two-thirds of them living in the South are almost completely disfranchised; the other third living in the North are compelled to use their political power primarily as means of income. Moreover, beyond themselves and in the general organization of the country they are unable to see the triumph of democracy for the masses of the people in the nation. American Negroes cannot, therefore, enter into the present controversy with enthusiasm. Quite naturally as life-long victims of caste, autocracy and privilege, they believe that the democratic way of life will in the long run triumph in human government and in economic organization, if civilization survives. They do not believe that democracy has triumphed in the British Empire, nor in America, and they know it has failed in their own case.

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On the other hand, facing the menace of Hitlerism as shown in Germany, Italy and elsewhere, they are painfully aware of the threat which increase of race antagonism and exaggerated theories of race, threaten many people of the world and particularly the darker races. Their mental reaction, therefore, in the present situation is a paradox. They know that their progress in America has probably been greater than that of any Negro group in the world; that this is due partly to the cooperation and attitude of white Americans, but in much greater degree to the determination and hard work of Negroes themselves, in spite of slavery and caste. They know, on the other hand, that back of Hitlerism, and one of its strongest foundation stones, is industrial rationalization and state control of economic factors and re-distribution of goods and services among the mass of people; to their plan both England and America will have to yield to

in the long run.

What, then, must American Negroes do? First of all, as a minority group they are compelled to obey the law and take their place among the armed forces, in spite of the segregation which the basic draft law lays down; and despite the discrimination and other difficulties which the administration of the draft involves. On the other hand, there is in the present defense organization opportunities for Negroes which they must recognize as being of the highest importance. They have been systematically and deliberately excluded from many modern techniques. The older technical training which they inherited from slavery and added to through industrial education has lost much of its importance because of great changes in industrial methods during the last quarter century. From the newer techniques in mechanics, chemistry and electricity and in much of mass production, the Negro has been excluded: first, by public opinion; second, by the attitude of employers; and third, and especially, by the fact that the great majority of the more powerfully organized trades unions have sought deliberately to exclude Negroes, no matter what their abilities might be. For a generation the Negro group in the United States in a sense went simultaneously forward and backward, increasing in average intelligence, with notable cases of individual accomplishment; and at the same time losing economic status and receiving a fluctuating but on the whole progressive decrease in average income.

A few facts will illustrate the fluctuation of Negro employment from 1910 to 1930. Negro farmers and farm laborers have shown steady decrease in actual numbers and in proportion from the beginning of the century; domestic service has wavered, decreasing until 1920 and then suddenly increasing under the burden of the depression; artisans have fluctuated; blacksmiths have steadily decreased; masons have decreased rapidly since the first World War; carpenters have remained stationary; machinists increased rapidly at the time of the first World War and then decreased. The increased use of

cement has multiplied the number of plasterers and cement finishers and painters have also increased. Favorable attitudes of the union and low and intermittent pay has led to an increase of Negro workers in the decadent mining industry. In the manufacturing and mechanical industries and in transportation and communication, the number of Negroes increased until after the first World War, although chiefly as unskilled laborers. Since 1920, the number has remained about stationary.

The story of the depression as it affected American Negroes, has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population half the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South. In addition to this, the greater tragedy was the loss of thousands of farms and homes, the disappearance of savings among the rising Negro middle class, the collapse of Negro business both banks, insurance and retail businesses. The economic change deserves to be called revolutionary, because this "middle" class was the upper class in the Negro world in knowledge, training and wealth.

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Naturally, a certain paralysis of thought and action settled upon Negroes just as on others. The fight for civil and political rights was kept up, but Negroes, themselves, could do little to finance it and the question of re-employment and new economic openings for Negroes was met by a bitter and insistent demand on the part of organizations for the displacement of the Negro in industry and even in common work. The Ku Klux Klan rose and flourished with new life largely on this issue. The new organizations of "White Shirts," "Blue Shirts", and the like, spread in the South; and beyond such organized demand, was the widespread feeling in America that in the matter of re-employment and re-adjustment after the depression, the first duty of white Americans was toward white folk and that consideration of long service and desert and need ought not to be taken into account across the Color Line.

Under the New Deal the Negro came in for some attention, but the pressing question was chiefly as to how far discrimination against him should be recognized either in

wage, hours of work, or employment under any circumstances. Also starting with the New Deal came a rationalization of the displacement of the Negro worker due to efforts toward raising wages. When minimum wages and standards of work have been enforced by law or made advisable by public opinion, in numberless cases poorly paid Negro workers were replaced by white workers with better wages and better hours of work. The resultant natural increase in efficiency has often been attributed to racial replacement alone. In the labor movement the organization of the CIO gave Negroes far better recognition than the American Federation of Labor ever had; while Communists wooed Negroes with open arms. Despite all this, unemployment among Negroes reached a dangerous high.

This has worked for social dislocation among Negroes. It is difficult to get figures but certainly, spread of disease must have greatly retarded the Negro population; and stealing and homicide must have been largely augmented. A general philosophy arose tinged with irritation and despair. Pressure groups demanding employment and even threatening violence appeared in Chicago, New York and Washington. Their success both encouraged and appalled.

A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guess work because of lack of data; and yet it seemed to indicate that of over 2,800,000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with $1,000 a year, of whom only one-tenth received more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate, and may be too low, but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth. Housing and youth projects have helped Negroes greatly, but only indirectly have they faced the basic problem of employment and income.

The advent of the second World War finds the Negro fighting desperately for a place in the new Defense Industry and accomplishing something; but in the long run that is a passing and minor matter as compared with the general economic future

which must be faced when the world is again sane and at peace, and when the world's whole pattern of income, work and wage will be found radically altered.

There looms, then, before colored men of education and vision the question as to what can be done by thought and planning for the future of Negro economy, for solving the question as to how the Negro is going to earn a decent living and be in position to take a normal part in the future world. If economic planning for nations presents great difficulties, similar planning for national minorities is unusually hazardous. It faces all the difficulties of racial segregation, of artificial loyalties and increased animosities; so that among Negroes today there is serious difference of opinion, first as to whether any such economic planning is possible; and secondly, whether it is in any way advisable. Can a group within a group plan for its work and wage except as a part of a larger group and in accordance with the will of the majority? And even if it can, is not this a direct and dangerous way of increasing racial friction?

Whatever the answer to this question is, manifestly it is a time for careful conference and thought. Several such conferences have been held notably at Hampton Institute, Fisk University and elsewhere. But they have been primarily concerned with the integration of the Negro in the defense program. It seemed to us at Atlanta University that a further movement was necessary and that is a series of conferences looking toward a long time program of Negro economic stabilization after the war. We called, therefore, in April of this year the FIRST PHYLON INSTITUTE as a Twenty-Fifth Atlanta University Conference following after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century the twenty-fourth conference of 1916.

The Atlanta University Conferences were started in 1897 and were held annually for a period of seventeen years, when they were closed by the first World War. They succeeded and supplemented the Hampton and Tuskegee conferences which studied social uplift mainly in rural regions. The Atlanta Conferences, on the contrary, were the first systematic attempt in America to apply scientific methods of social investigation

and measurement to the whole mass of the Negro problems, urban and rural, past and present.

The Twenty-Fifth Conference took as its subject "The Economic Condition and Future Security of the American Negro". It was designed to be a comparatively small study group bringing together knowledge already available concerning the Negro's economic conditions and beginning in this and succeeding conferences to ask, What can and ought to be done for the betterment of the Negro's economic condition. The organizations invited to send delegates included, first, the powerful group of Negro land-grant colleges; institutions which since 1913 have increased from less than a thousand college students and an annual income of $850,000 to 9,500 students and income of $2,500,000 in 1939. They are in a peculiar way suited to explore the field of the Negro's economic future. These institutions have especially had laid upon them by the Southern states the duty of vocational guidance. By working separately and without concerted plan the results while excellent in some respects have neither been unified nor strikingly helpful. With these institutions of course, were the older private institutions which have supplied for decades teachers and leaders for the newer colleges; and numbers of individuals, colored and white, interested in this problem. New and younger students, employed in these institutions and elsewhere were sought to give this group expert advice. Some fifty-one young scholars from thirty-five institutions were present with graphs, finished studies and plans which were used in consultation.

While in a sense, this is hardly the time for scientific calm and considered planning on social problems, yet, on the other hand, in the midst of war and rumors of war, perhaps it is possible to maintain enough of scientific attitude and careful study to make new beginnings and an interesting synthesis of older and newer thought concerning industrial education, vocational guidance and higher training, and for an economic leadership which may in time evolve plans parallel to those which the whole world must take into consideration after the present revolution.

The conference avoided dogmatism but explored possibilities. How far, it asked, is it feasible to apply the technique of consumers' cooperation and even of cooperative wholesales and cooperative production, to the present situation of the Negro? How far can the technique of organized buying power force employment and what dangers are there in such procedures? What part can Negroes take in the TVA and similar vast power developments? The conference attempted to make clear the paths of alliance which Negroes can make with forward movements, especially with movements that have in mind fundamental betterment of present methods of production and distribution. It did not attempt to rationalize nor solve the present problem of Negroes in war and National Defense, but rather looked forward to the time when civilization, discarding violence as a major means of social change, will revert to slower and more rational methods of advancing human culture; for guidance at that time, we will need the most careful factual knowledge and reasoned theory for the treatment of minority groups.

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# A TWENTY-FIFTH ATLANTA CONFERENCE

BY

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Nearly forty years ago Booker T. Washington, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnutt and several others, including myself, united in the writing of a little book called The Negro Problem, (James Pott and Company, New York, 1903). In that book Mr. Washington said among other things; "I plead for industrial education and development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him. I want to see him enter the all-powerful business and commercial world. . . . One farm bought, one house built, one home sweetly and intelligently kept, one man who is the largest tax payer or has the largest bank account, one school or church maintained, one factory running successfully, one truck garden profitably cultivated, one patient cured by a Negro doctor, one sermon well-preached, one office well-filled, one life cleanly lived - these will tell more in our favor than all the abstract eloquence that can be summoned to plead our cause."

To this I replied in the same book: "I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys, and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war, has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important: the first is to give the group and community in which he works, liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman."

These two statements differed not so much in essence as in emphasis and the generation or more that has elapsed since they were made, shows mistakes in both points of view. For instance, Mr. Washington assumed an essentially unchanging capitalistic system and relatively permanent industrial technique; he regarded the relations between capital and labor, such as would give the best workman opportunity and wages and would exclude none for purely racial and social reasons if they had willingness and skill. Mr. Washington would be aghast to see today not only fundamental change in the capitalistic system but new skills closed to Negroes and Negro industrial schools hindered by law from teaching even the older trades, while typical Negro jobs are being taken away not necessarily because Negroes are incompetent but because whites workers can enforce their economic demands by political power and racial propaganda.

On the other hand, I was wrong in not perceiving that the education of a Talented Tenth would not necessarily mean that automatically they were going to take the leadership of the mass for the benefit of the mass. It did not occur to me that quite naturally among the colored people, classes would arise and that trained Negroes going into the professions or becoming investors and employers were going to work just as selfishly for their own personal interests as similar classes of whites; that the matter of higher education would naturally develop as an escape complex by which the educated Negro classes would try to separate themselves and their interests from those of the mass of the poor and uneducated and would regard this not as disloyalty but as an approved method by which lower groups usually arise in the world and make common cause with ruling groups.

One development however worked in favor of my Talented Tenth idea and that was the racial segregation which grew and solidified in the last forty years and made methods of escape difficult. On the other hand the crushing back and

keeping down of the educated and talented among Negroes did not turn them wholly and at once to group leadership of their own people so much as to increasing bitter protest and organized effort against race segregation and discrimination as such; and it became a nice question as to how far this protest was a selfish demand for personal recognition or a basic fight for the principle of human equality. This question might have remained more or less academic, had it not been for the economic changes which made the ability of the black race to make a decent living in America a matter of immediate thought and action to all Negroes both gifted and lowly. The task of the Negro leaders became, therefore, especially difficult because of the question as to what their ideals should be. Toward what were they striving? Were they striving for individual accomplishment despite the misfortunes of those masses who were more or less artificially bracketed with them in the minds of men; or if they must willy nilly take on the burden of social uplift for their own masses, what kind of special planning for the benefit of this group within a group could be made; and more especially how could they face the increasing difficulties which an age of economic revolution placed in their path?

These considerations perhaps illustrate more vividly than any other, the plight in which American Negroes find themselves today and the reason for calling a Twenty-Fifth Atlanta Conference. The Atlanta University Conferences were started in 1897 and were held annually for a period of seventeen years when they were closed by the first World War. They succeeded and supplemented the Hampton and Tuskegee conferences which studied social uplift mainly in rural regions. The Atlanta Conferences, on the contrary, were the first systematic attempt in America to apply scientific methods of social investigation and measurement to the whole mass of the Negro problems, urban and rural, past and present.

Beginning my work with a study of the Philadelphia Negro, when I was on the staff of the University of Pennsylvania, I went to Atlanta in 1897 to try to apply scientific sociology to the Negro problem. The result of seventeen years' work there was not in itself so notable, because we had few funds to expend, our methods were experimental and our measurements piece-meal and crude; but the work was worthy of attention and received world-wide recognition because Atlanta University was at that time the only institution of learning in the world making serious study of the problem of Negro and white race relations.

The first World War not only stopped this series of studies but brought unawaited complication in the economic status of Negroes. For a generation thereafter the Negro group in the United States in a sense went simultaneously forward and backward, increasing in average intelligence and with notable cases of individual accomplishment; and at the same time losing economic status and receiving a fluctuating but on the whole progressive decrease in average income.

What Mr. Washington had rightly feared was that Negroes trained by slavery to look upon work with the hands as disgraceful, would gradually lose their place in the economy of the South by carelessness, lack of skill and misplaced ambition. More than any other person he instilled in the mass of Negroes respect for manual toil, habits of thrift and the desire to be trained as skilled workers. This did not mean that the heritage from slavery of inefficiency and carelessness was entirely eliminated but the zeal for workmanship and home owning and skilled employment was tremendously increased.

On the other hand, what I feared in 1900 was the breeding of a caste of black laborers without leadership of persons of trained thought, who in the event of economic and social change could guide and rescue the mass and lead them

~~toward social salvation.~~

The social history of the American Negro from the beginning of the century to the present has not been as yet adequately written. ~~I essayed after the first World War a social history of the Negro in that war and immediately after, but the work is not yet finished.~~ Many measurements and investigations have been made but they have not been integrated and studied with reference to the Negro as a group; and since colored folk in America are largely segregated only a fairly complete picture of their social condition as a social group can reveal their real status. Enormous social forces have been at work upon this group. They were not only common laborers but had a large place in skilled work even before emancipation, but this was partially at the expense of the disinherited white labor group. Immediately after the political power of the Negro was broken in the revolution of 1876, the white workers sought desperately and continuously to achieve a preferred economic status through law and custom.

Industrial training popularized by Mr. Washington partially saved the Negro in the skilled trades but not entirely, because the status of all skilled labor was beginning to be changed by mass production and the Negro was being taught only the older and decadent skills and systematically excluded from newer methods. In farming he held for sometime a key position in the South and began to accumulate land, but when organized industry and colonial imperialism began to press the farmer the world over the American Negro farmer soon succumbed until the bottom fell out of the cotton economy and the plantation tenant-farmer system.

The labor movement in the United States between the beginning of the century and the first World War, with its organized crafts and closed shop, with the political power of the white workers and the disfranchisement of the Negro, gave the white worker an increasing monopoly of employment and a preferred position

in law which led to the curtailment of industrial training of Negroes by the state and deliberate exclusion by the unions. Twenty-four of the strongest craft unions in America today exclude Negroes from membership specifically including the boiler makers, the machinists and the eighteen railway unions.

The cessation of migration from abroad at the time of the first World War interrupted ~~their tendencies~~ these trends with a sudden war demand for Negro labor and led to mass migration Northward with all the social phenomena attendant upon sudden change from rural to urban life, from warmer to colder climate and to different conditions of work. The new labor competition aroused bitter antagonism, flaring repeatedly into murder and riot, encountering housing shortage of all sorts and discrimination in wage and conditions of work.

Our actual entrance into war changed and dislocated all these conditions before they settled into a pattern. A few facts will perhaps illustrate the fluctuation of Negro employment from 1910 to 1930. Negro farmers and farm laborers have shown steady decrease in actual numbers and in proportion from the beginning of the century; domestic service has wavered, decreasing until 1920 and then suddenly increasing under the burden of the depression; artisans have fluctuated; blacksmiths have steadily decreased; masons have decreased rapidly since the first World War; carpenters have remained stationary; machinists increased rapidly at the time of the first World War and then decreased. The increased use of cement has multiplied the number of plasterers and cement finishers and painters have also increased. Favorable attitudes of the union and low and intermittent pay has led to an increase of Negro workers in the decadent mining industry. In the manufacturing and mechanical industries and in transportation and communication, the number of Negroes increased until the first World War although chiefly as laborers. Since 1920, the number has remained about stationary. The number of Negro home owners has increased

because of the difficulty in renting property. The increase was 31% 1900 to 1910; 11%, 1910 to 1920 and 23% from 1920 to 1930. With this went large mortgage indebtedness. There has been a notable increase in public service and white collar jobs which have formed almost the only refuge for the young educated class; and the increase in professional service has been large but unfortunately is not simply a measure of efficiency but quite as often a register of race segregation. The acreage owned by Negro farmers decreased from sixteen million in 1910 to ten and a half millin in 1935.

Also starting with the New Deal has come a rationalization of the displacement of the Negro worker due to efforts toward raising wages. When minimum wages and standards of work have been enforced by law or made advisable by public opinion, in numberless cases poorly paid Negro workers have been replaced by white workers with better wages and better hours of work. The resultant natural increase in efficiency has often been attributed to racial replacement alone.

Then came the feverish boom and collapse. The story of the depression as it affected American Negroes has not yet been adequately attempted. In many great centers of population half the Negroes went on public charity and more ought to have gone but suffered deliberate discrimination in the South. In addition to this, the greater tragedy was the loss of thousands of homes, the disappearance of savings among the rising Negro middle class, the collapse of Negro business both banks and insurance and retail businesses. The economic change deserves to be called revolutionary.because this "middle" class was the upper class in the Negro world in knowledge, training and wealth.

Naturally a certain paralysis of thought and action settled upon Negroes just as on others. The fight for civil and political rights was kept up, but

Negroes could do little to finance it and the question of re-employment and new economic openings for Negroes was met by a bitter and insistent demand on the part of organizations for the displacement of the Negro in industry and even in common work. The Ku Klux Klan rose and flourished with new life largely on this issue. The new organizations of White Shirts, Blue Shirts and the like spread in the South and beyond such organized demand, was the widespread feeling in America that in the matter of re-employment and re-adjustment after the depression, the first duty of white Americans was toward white folk and that consideration of long service and desert and need ought not to be taken into account across the Color Line. Under the New Deal the Negro came in for some attention but the pressing question was chiefly as to how far discrimination against him should be recognized either in wage, hours of work, or employment under any circumstances. In the labor movement the organization of the CIO gave him far better recognition than the American Federation of labor ever had; while Communists wooed Negroes with open arms. With all this unemployment among Negroes reached a dangerous high.

This has all worked for social dislocation. It is difficult to get figures but certainly, spread of disease must have greatly retarded the Negro population; and stealing and homicide must have been largely augmented. A general philosophy has arisen tinged with irritation and despair. Pressure groups demanding employment and even threatening violence have appeared in Chicago, New York and Washington. Their success both encourages and appalled. A rough calculation of Negro incomes which I essayed in 1939 had to be largely guess work because of lack of data and yet it seemed to indicate that of 2,800,000 Negro families in the United States, 1,200,000 were receiving less than $500 a year and 1,000,000 between $500 and $1,000; leaving 600,000 families with over $1,000 a year, of whom only one-tenth received more than $2,500. This estimate is not accurate and may be too low but I believe that it is not an unfair indication of the truth.

In the long run the whole problem of the place of the Negro in American industry has got to be faced and it must not be left to chance and philanthropy, or to "natural" industrial competition. It has to be a carefully thought-out plan followed, tested and tried, taking into account all the difficulties raised by racial antagonism and difference of cultural patterns.

Failing such careful economic planning, there will spread futile efforts toward restoration based on out-moded and changed patterns; the effort for instance to push the small Negro retail business; to gain firmer footholds in insurance and commercial banking; to enter the fields of exploitation where profits depend on government favor, sharp practice and exploited labor and in general to neglect consumer organization and manufacture for use rather than profit.

The advent of the second World War finds the Negro fighting desperately for a place in the new Defense Industry and accomplishing something; but in the long run that is a passing and minor matter as compared with the general economic future which must be faced when the world is again sane and at peace and when the world's whole pattern of income, work and wage will be found radically altered.

There looms then before colored men of education and vision the question as to what can be done by thought and planning for the future of Negro economy, for solving the question as to how the Negro is going to earn a decent living and be in position to take a normal part in the future world. If economic planning for nations presents great dif iculties, similar planning for national minorities is unusually hazardous. It faces all the difficulties of racial segregation, of artificial loyalties and increased animosities; so that among Negroes today there is serious difference of opinion first as to whether any such economic planning is possible and secondly whether it is in any way advisable. Can a group within a group plan for its work and wage except as a part of a larger group and in accordance with the will of the majority? And even if it can, is not this a direct and dangerous way of increasing racial friction?

Whatever the answer to these questions is, manifestly it is a time for careful conference and thought and, therefore, we called at Atlanta University in April, 1941 under the designation of "First Phylon Institute" a Twenty-Fifth Atlanta conference, following after a lapse of twenty-four years the twenty-fourth conference. The subject was "The Economic Condition and Future Economic Security of the American Negro". It was designed to be a comparatively small study group bringing together knowledge already available concerning the Negro's economic condition and beginning in this and succeeding conferences to ask what can and ought to be done for the betterment of the Negro's economic condition. The organizations invited to send delegates included, first, the powerful group of Negro land-grant colleges, institutions which since 1913 have increased from less than a thousand college students and an annual income of $850,000 to 9,500 students and income of $2,500,000 in 1939. They are in a peculiar way suited to explore the field of the Negro's economic future. With these, of course, were the older private institutions which have supplied teachers and leaders for the newer colleges and individuals, colored and white, interested in this problem. New and Younger students, employed in those institutions and elsewhere were sought to give this group expert advice. Some fifty-one young scholars from thirty-five institutions were present with graphs, finished studies and plans which were used in consultation. It may happen that in this way a new beginning and an interesting synthesis of the older thought concerning education ~~and was~~ will be brought into being and an economic leadership may evolve parallel to that which the whole world will have to have after the present revolution.

The conference avoided dogmatism but explored possibilities. How far, it asked is it feasible to apply the technique of consumers' cooperation and even of cooperative wholesales and cooperative production to the present situation of the Negro? How far can the technique of organized buying power force employment and what dangers are there in such procedures? What part can Negroes take in the TVA and similar vast industrial plans? The conference attempted to make clear the

paths of alliance which Negroes can make with forward movements, especially with movements that have in mind fundamental betterment of present methods of production and distribution. It did not attempt to rationalize or solve the present problem of war and National Defense but rather looked forward to the time when civilization, discarding violence as a major means of social change, will revert to slower and more rational methods of advancing human culture; for the guidance at that time, we will need the most careful factual knowledge and reasoned theory for the treatment of minority groups.

Chicago Defender

# THE AMERICAN NEGRO PRESS

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

36-6-47

Journalism among American Negroes is a peculiar and interesting phenomenon which shows how race segregation works in action. Apparently the white world has become conscious of the Negro press. During this new year there have been articles about it in the Atlantic Monthly, the New Republic, the American Scholar, Common Ground, the American Magazine, the Readers' Digest and the Virginia Quarterly. All these in addition to comments in newspapers and weeklies. What white commentators think they have discovered is that the Negro press is exciting the mass of Negroes to discontent and even to violence. As a matter of fact what they are really seeing is the intensity of feeling and resentment which is sweeping over the Negro people. This resentment is echoed in the Negro press much more completely and accurately than similar waves are echoed by the white press and this for reasons to be explained later. The critics are mistaking for cause that which is really result. This has happened before several times in the history of the United States.

To the Negro world this comes as surprise. Is it possible that white America did not know that the Negro had newspapers? The history of the Negro press goes back a long way. In 1827, Samuel Cornish and the first Negro graduate of an American college, John B. Russworm, published the first Negro newspaper under the name of Freedmen's Journal. Today two hundred and ten weekly papers and magazines are published by Negroes and devoted to their interests. Three times the history of this effort has been put into book form: in 1891 by I. Garland Penn; in 1920 by Robert T, Kerlin and in 1922 by Frederick G. Detweiler. The last was a complete and well-digested volume published by the University of Chicago.

First of all it may be asked why Negroes should have newspapers? They indicate a sort of voluntary segregation. Negroes are American; they read English; they have access to the great American press; why should they have a press of their own? The answer is clear. The American press in the past almost entirely ignored Negroes. Very little of what Negroes wanted to know about themselves, their group action and the relation of public occurrences to their interests were treated by the press. Then came the time when the American press so far as the Negro was concerned was interested in the Negro as a minstrel, a joke, a subject of caricature. He became in time an awful example of democracy gone wrong, of crime and various monstrous acts.

36-6-48

Partly then in defense and partly for information there grew up the little weekly sheet devoted to news of the Negro and interpretation of his situation. This weekly sheet went through all sorts of vicissitudes. It was at first the organ of Negro leaders like Russworm, Frederick Douglass, T. Thomas Fortune and Monroe Trotter. It defended the Negro race, explained facts and exhorted to action.

Then it began to change. It became a newspaper but a kind of personal sheet. It had social notices and mentioned people so that Negroes in Boston could read of their friends in New York and Chicago. It began to play up to the Negro's natural desire for prominence and publicity. One paper especially, the Indianapolis Freeman, for many years sold its front page, with very little concealment, to persons willing to pay one hundred dollars or more. A large photograph of the distinguished persons was displayed. This, however, proved a little too blatant and the character of the press began to change. It sought to arouse excitement; it published controversy. One paper especially, which gained a large circulation, was always carrying violent attacks of one Negro upon another or upon Negro institutions. Presumably these articles were well paid for. But here again the press had not found its true function.

The first World War brought the greatest change. News of Negroes was wanted by their friends and had to be gathered. The Negro press became a news gathering organization either as controlled by individual papers or by the new Associated Negro Press and other agencies. Moreover, the editors ceased to emphasize their editorials or to attempt social leadership. They became business men of the American type and following the trend of white newspapers they tried to cater to their public. Instead of being prime movers in arousing excitement and directing attention, they publicized excitement and feeling already aroused and brought to the attention of all what Negroes in various situations and places were thinking.

36-6-49

The result was a weekly press which reached ~~the~~ large circulation and employed considerable numbers of people. The circulation of one paper alone reached some 300,000 copies a week and was distributed widely over the United States. Other newspapers followed fast upon this record. In 1940, according to the Bureau of the Census, there were 210 Negro newspapers in the United States, one hundred fifty-five of which had a circulation of 1,250,000. The South had the largest number but not the largest circulation. The Middle Atlantic and East North Central sections had the next largest number and the largest circulation. There were employed on 72 of these newspapers 743 persons with a monthly payroll of $69,000. In times of stress and unusual interest like the present the circulation of these papers mounts rapidly. Doubtless today it reaches at least three million and employs not less than 1,500 persons with a payroll of possibly $100,000 a month. Large numbers of these papers are religious and educational or the mouthpiece of fraternal organizations. The religious papers have the largest circulation but the general newspapers are much more important and influential and reflect more accurately Negro public opinion. These papers in 1940 had some seventeen news gathering agencies each of which served subscribing papers, anywhere from 28 to 225 in number.

What now is the function of this press, its limitations and its peculiarities? Its function is to knit together the thirteen million Americans of Negro descent in common knowledge of themselves and their situation throughout the United States. The editors are not usually leaders of public opinion, public thought and agitation. They are, however, very careful and often trained observers. They know in what kind of news Negroes are interested. They furnish that news at great trouble and expense. Today nothing can happen which is of interest to the Negro race which is not publicized, exploited and explained by the Negro newspaper. At least two leading newspapers with large circulation have sent correspondents recently to Europe and Africa and other have regular local correspondents in various parts of the world. A bill in Congress touching Negroes or discriminating in any way against their interests is immediately known all over the nation. An exceptional occurrence showing ability or good luck is given wide publicity: here a Negro may be elected to the legislature; there a colored boy named head of his high school class; in Mississippi a Negro may be lynched; in Illinois sent to Congress. All this within a few days is a matter of common knowledge to thirteen million Negroes. Not only this but Negroes have all the interests that white leaders exhibit in crime, scandal and personal experience; and these are played up in headlines and articles.

It is, however, in a time like this that the Negro press comes into its own and becomes a phenomenon of national importance. Our first striking experience of this was during the first World War. I was then publishing a little monthly magazine which specialized in news notes. In addition to that I had some sources of inside information concerning the treatment of Negro soldiers in Washington, in Southern cantonments and in France. As a result the circulation of the Crisis leaped in one month to over one hundred thousand copies, an extraordinary accomplishment for a small magazine. But the weekly press appearing four times as often as

my little magazine and beginning to have resources for gathering news rapidly forged to the front and began not simply to publish facts but to elaborate and comment upon them with pictures.

There was at once an outbreak of expression of fear and irritation among many whites. Southern cities tried to curtail their circulation and in many instances stopped their sale and sometimes put their agents and correspondents in jail. The English government interferred largely with the circulation of American Negro newspapers in their colonies. With the peace and the migration of Negroes between the two war there came even increased circulation for the Negro newspapers due to the riots and disturbances among workers that occurred during and after the first World War.

36-6-51

From this time on the reading of Negro newspapers by Negroes became habitual. There had been a time even down through Reconstruction when only a Negro here and there read a Negro paper and even then was apologetic about it. Today it is probably true that there is scarcely a Negro in the United States who can read and wirte who does not read the Negro press. It has become a vital part of his life. But as I have said before instead of guiding and ordering Negroes it is rather the expression and reflection of that life. If it becomes shrill with resentment and bold in its demands it is because the surge of feeling in the Negro race demands and applaud this kind of expression. If a Negro newspaper tried to stem this tide of feeling it would immediately feel the result in rapidly decreasing circulation. Once during the Booker Washington controversy friends of Mr. Washington bought a prominent Negro newspaper with the idea of suppressing certain sorts of news and comment. The result was disastrous to tis circulation and greatly increased the readers of its radical rival. If white America is really interested in the phenomenon exhibited by the Negro press they might base upon

it a most interesting psychological study showing by figures and facts as to circulation the trend and intensity of Negro thought and reaction.

There are certain limitations and peculiarities about the Negro press. First of all it is more responsive to its readers' demands and attitudes than is the white press. The attitude of the white press is conditioned very largely upon the advertising revenues so much so that it is more or less true as is so often charged that the great newspapers of the United States are no longer free expressions of opinion but rather express business which has such a large stake in the newspapers through advertising. The Associated Press has been charged in the recent case made out against it by the United States that it is a monopoly of news repression and interpretation instead of being the free vehicle of expression that it was in the days of Greeley and Bennett.

36-6-52

The Negro press on the other hand has comparatively small advertising revenue. The rule of advertising agencies is not to place advertising in Negro papers, since, as they argue, all Negroes read white newspapers in addition to their own weeklies and as both are published in English there is not here the need of additional advertising as in the case of the foreign language press. Thus even in the case of papers with circulation between two and three hundred thousand a week the advertising revenue from national advertisers is practically nil. Consequently it depends to a much larger extent upon the demand and good will of its readers and is more sensitive to changes in public opinion. It could not exist if it insisted on a policy or a line of propaganda which its readers would not support. On the other hand, needing some revenue from advertising, it has been tempted in the past to qustionable advertising policies: giving publicity to fortune tellers, get-rich-quick schemes and projects obviously unfair if not illegal. In one line of advertising

it has had a curious experience and that is in beauty culture. At first there was widespread protest against advertising of hair straighteners and skin bleachers in colored newspapers, despite the fact that the business of beauty culture under the impulse given it by Madame Walker was increasing by leaps and bounds. Some papers in reponse to this refused such advertisements. But curiously enough this line of business started by Negroes began to spread to the whites. Today one can buy not simply white skin powder but skin power of all colors and methods of hair treatment are used by whites quite as much as by Negroes. So that really a new business and source of advertising revenue was developed in the Negro newspapers.

There has been criticism of the Negro press much more frequent and strong from the Negro race than from the whites. Negroes have deplored a certain cheapness and slovenness about Negro papers which used to be characteristic, but is today rapidly disappearing. There was resentment especially at the low tone of some of these papers; their personal attacks and failure to collect accurate news. Today this criticism has been largely met but there still remains a failure by a large number of Negro newspapers to employ men of education and experience upon their staffs, so that their interpretation of news and general outlook often remains narrow and provincial.

36-6-53

On the other hand, looking at the future of these newspapers and their policy there can be no doubt as to their improvement in physical appearance, in news gathering and in news interpretation. They must be looked upon not simply as business enterprises but as real institutions which the Negro race has created and is using for its advancement. They must, therefore, fill in the future a higher and higher function. Already they are beginning to use the columnist with the by-line. He is either a genial entertainer or a man with some expert knowledge. As the columnist

develops into a man with real training and knowledge he can become an educator of the Negro race. In some cases certain papers belonging to families have been developing a second generation by training them in journalism in some of the great schools of journalism in the land. This indicates the rising need of expert direction and for trained interpretation. The Negro newspapers need not simply the so-called newspaperman, it needs the college-bred expert who knows history and psychology and the current trends in race relations so that the newspapers can be used for the education of youth and the direction of adults. It is too much to expect that the ordinary Negro newspaper bent mainly on making money is going to assume the high function of education and inspiration but a few papers and a few Negro magazines will assume this function and will thus add to the methods by which American Negroes become intelligently aware of their problems.

36-6-54

On the whole the Negro press today does not deserve most of the criticism recently made on it. It is not guilty of stirring up Negroes to revolt. Negro public opinion has stirred the newspapers to voice revolt. On the whole the Negro press is not guilty of misrepresenting the condition of Negroes. It does play up crime and scandal but not nearly as much as the white press. It does emphasize, and often exaggerates Negro desert and accomplishment, but even here it has not approached the boastfulness of the national press. Probably by and large a wide-reading of the Negro press would reflect a most accurate picture of present conditions among Negroes than any other source. The owners and editors of the Negro press are of a much higher class than those in the last generation. They do not usually approach the stature of a Russworm, a Douglass or a Fortune, but they represent on the whole a good average of American citizenship. They deserve commendation for the institution which they have built-up and especially for the readiness with which they

have adjusted themselves to a widespread demand.

Two things ought to take place in America: white Americans ought to read regularly and with understanding the best of the Negro newspapers; they ought to make it a point of publicizing their opinions. The white press ought to report news among Negroes with much more care and regularity than they do, realizing that what is news to Negroes is also news to whites and of interest to both. A study of Southern white newspapers especially shows astonishing and unfortunate ommissions and emphasis of occurrences in the Negro world. It can be taken for grated that already the Negro is familar with the white newspaper and if in this way an interchange of thought and sympathy could be brought about there would a more intelligent comprehension both among whites and blacks of the difficulties of the race problem in America.

36-6-55

1 February 1943

# THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

In modern times two great world movements have hinged on the relation of Africa to the rest of the world: the first was the African slave trade which transferred perhaps ten million laborers from Africa to America and thus became a prime cause in establishing capitalism in England and Europe, based on the Sugar Empire in the West Indies and the Cotton Kingdom in the United States. The second world movement came from the partitioning of Africa after the Franco-Prussion War which, with the Berlin Conference of 1884, hurried colonial imperialism to culmination.

Social, political and economic results have flowed from imperialism in Africa but of all these the economic seems least understood. Since 1884 there has been invested in Africa a capital sum larger than the total gold reserve of the British Empire and France in 1939; and due to this investment there were exported annually from Africa, just before the present war, seven hundred million dollars worth of exports. But this valuation of African products is abnormally low; just as the valuation of the goods processed from these products is abnormally high, yielding high profits in a price market dominated by European investors. If a part of this profit which swells luxury expenditure in Europe were retained in Africa to raise depressed labor standards, the value of African products today would be at least a billion and a half dollars a year.

In the nineteenth century the African trade in men changed to a trade in raw material with the utilization of labor in Africa, followed by political domination which insured monopoly of labor and raw material to the various contending empires. The integration of Africa into world economic organization since the Industrial Revolution has been of far greater import than social scientists usually admit. Natural reticence

on the immense expansion of African slavery and the slave trade has fostered a tendency to treat this development from 1441 to 1870 as an incidental moral lapse quite overshadowed by the Abolition Crusade of 1800-1860. The significance of this vast transplanting of labor force was on the contrary economic and political and its understanding is basic to the correct interpretation of the twentieth century and its world wars.

One would think that a continent which has been so widely an integral part of world trade and world industrial organization, with at least one hundred twenty-five millions of people, would be carefully considered today in any plans for post-war reconstruction. This is not the case. If we consider proposed peace plans we find that Africa is practically unmentioned or referred to only vaguely and in general phrases, which have the same intent and connotation. In President Roosevelt's four freedoms, May, 1941, he manifestly was not thinking of Africa when he mentioned freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from terror. When Pope Pius XII, spoke in June, 1941, on Peace and the Changing Social Order" his only reference which could have referred to Africa was "The more favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface."

The British Christian leaders in May, 1941, made ten proposals for a lasting peace. The tenth reference was to the resources of the earth which "should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race." The American Friends Service in June, 1941 asked that all nations be assured "equitable access to markets." The eight points of the Atlantic Charter were so obviously aimed at European and North American conditions, that Churchill frankly affirmed this to be the case, although he was afterward contradicted by President Roosevelt. Later have come the proposals of Streit and Luce for a domination of the world by English-speaking peoples, with only passing consideration of black folk and virtual subordination or tutelage of

brown and yellow peoples.

One can see in all these proposals and in many other partial plans, the persistence of certain old patterns: the need of African labor and raw materials and the assumption that both these must be made cheap in order to yield large profits; and the assumption that the only problem connected with this is that the various dominating nations of the world should be treated equitably in sharing this material and labor.

Only in the recent report on The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American View-point is a more realistic attitude toward Africa manifest. The committee insists "That Africa today should be the subject of intelligent study in this country for many reasons, but especially because it is the ancestral home of one-tenth of our population, and that it is a continent of vast possibilities and difficult problems, and of vital concern to the United Nations in the present war. That Africa still represents the largest undeveloped area in the world, with mineral deposits, agricultual land, waterpower, forest and wild life, resources of importance, all of which are decreasing in value because of careless or reckless use or exploitation; and that these resources need development for its own defense and welfare."

It is imperative that those who think of the future of Africa should realize much more clearly than they do, just what Africa means. There is no one Africa. There is in Africa no such unity of physical characteristics; of cultural development; of historical experience; or of racial identity, that can possibly allow us to look upon the continent as a unity. We may distinguish today at least eleven Africas: North Africa with Morocco, Tunis, Algeria and Libya ~~and Tunis and Algeria which~~ are largely a part of southern Europe; there is French West Africa, a vast and loosely integrated region, where in one small part an educational and cultural development of the natives has gone on, together with some economic progress. There is Egypt which is still a political and economic satellite in the British Empire. From this has been arbitrarily cut off the Anglo-Egyptian

Sudan, forming a different problem, a different economy and facing a differnt destiny. There is Abyssinia or Ethiopia whose long and tragic history foreshadowed and culminated in the present war.

Turning westward again we have French Equatorial Africa, an economic echo of the Belgian Congo, the seat in the past of terrible exploitation and in the present of a new arming of blacks for European wars. There is British West Africa consisting of four colonies and representing the most advanced possibilities of the Negro race in Africa but held in check by limited democratic methods and carefully organized exploitation. There is the Belgian Congo whose astonishing history is known to all.

British East Africa, consisting of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, combines an advanced native state with the European land-aggression in Kenya and the spoil of German Africa, ~~in Tanganyika.~~ There is Portuguese Africa torn in two by the British and dependent mainly upon British economic organization. Finally, there is South Africa and the Rhodesias where three million white people are holding ten million darker folk in economic serfdom while they rape the land of its priceless gold, jewels and metals. Current world opinion makes little distinction among these groups. Berbers of North Africa are sometimes classed as "white" peoples; Abyssinians are now and then declared not Negroes; but on the whole all Africans, save white European immigrants and their offspring, are classed among the peoples of the earth who are inferior in status if not in kind, and whose relation to the civilized world is pretty definitely fixed for a long time to come if not forever.

This judgment is not based on long scientific study - indeed careful anthropological and social study of Africa has only just begun. The judgment of Africa was originally founded on economic grounds and not on science, although scientific conclusions were often adduced to bolster industry. Liberal thought

38-16-15

9

10

and revolution in politics and industry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries shook the foundations of an industrial hierarchy based on unchangeable class distinctions. But for this in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was substituted the Color Line. Granting that all white men were born free and equal, it was manifest ostensibly after Gobineau and Darwin, but in reality after James Watt, Eli Whitney, Warren Hastings and Cecil Rhodes, that Africans and Asiatics were born slaves, serfs or inferiors. The real firm basis of this fantastic generalization was the Sugar Empire, the Cotton Kingdom and modern colonial imperialism. The exploitation of labor and materials that moved out of Europe from 1600 on and culminated in the British, French and German empires before the First World War, was an investment whose vast profits depended on cheap and docile labor, under strict political control, without interferance from mawkish philanthropy, enfranchised labor or native revolt. English capital investment overseas grew from fifty thousand pounds in the middle of the sixteenth century to fifty million pounds after the slave trade contract with Spain in 1720 ~~in 1713~~.

Despite this the legend persists even to this day that colonies do not pay and are in large part ~~philanthropic~~ enterprises, which are seldom profitable to the mother country and thus represent a sort of philanthropic ~~enterprise~~ crusade, which is to be commended for whatever education and social service it gives to natives and not to be blamed if these services are miserably inadequate as compared to the need. Directly contradictory to this kind of assertion is the well-known fact that modern colonial imperialism has been a source of immense profit and power to people in Great Britain, France, Germany and other countries.

The truth of the matter is, that so far as government investment is concerned the money which Great Britain and France, Portugal and Germany as

governments have invested in Africa has yielded small direct returns in taxes and revenue. But on the other hand this governmental investment has been the basis upon which private investors have builded being thus furnished free capital by home taxation; and while the mass of people in the mother country have been taxed and often heavily for this governmental gift abroad, the private capitalist who has invested in the colonies has reaped not only interest from his own investment but returns from investments which he did not make and which are protected by armies and navies which he only partially supported. Immense sums have been derived from raw material and labor whose price has been depressed to a minimum while ~~and~~ the resulting goods processed in the mother country are ~~and~~ sold at monopoly prices. The net return, therefore, to the white races, for their investment in colored labor and material in Africa has been immense and this with similar returns from Asia and other parts of the world, together with technical miracles in manufacture and transport have been the cuase of the high standard of living, the luxury expenditure and conspicuous consumption which characterizes modern civilization.

In this sense Africa as well as other colonial areas becomes an integral part of the internal politics, industrial organization and labor development of all modern countries; but more particulary of investing countries like England, France and the United States. For this reason the future of Africa, the future plans which the leading countries of the world have toward Africa are of great importance to their own development.

In the case of the Axis powers, Africa would, if they were triumphant, at least theoretically have its labor enslaved although probably there would be a much wider and more thorough industrialization and teaching of modern techniques than England or France had dared attempt. If the United Nations triumph the temptation will be after the war first to consider Africa from an industrial and commercial point of view as a means of paying war costs and reestab-

lishing prosperity. If the treatment of Africa in post-war planning begins or ends here the results will be tragic. The current phrase of the First World War: the demand for "a place in the sun", meant that Germany demanded metals, vegetable oils, fibres and foods from Africa on at least equal terms with England either by pooling or preferably by dividing up Africa's land, labor and resources more equitably under national imperialisms. To return to such a plan after a generation of indecision and reaction, bursting into another and vaster world war, would be going backward. Yet this is precisely what many thinkers have in mind. If the rivalry of dominant European nations for colonial profit can be composed by a more equitable distribution of raw material and labor they assume that peace would be assured in the world. But would it? The assumption here is that while ~~the~~ African slavery was unfortunate, its abolition and eventual emancipation of slaves was a start toward better conditions, and that Colonial Imperialism, while not perfect as a system, has on the whole worked well enough to be continued, with necessary improvements.

This assumption calls for a look backward to the abolition era and what followed. In the eighteenth century England became the great slave trading nation of the world and it was due to her more than to any other people that America became a land founded on chattel slavery. Then in the nineteenth century England figures as the great emancipator, who stopped the slave trade at great cost, abolished slavery in her own territories and stimulated reaction against Negro slavery throughout the world. How do these attitudes agree? It would be difficult to conceive so sudden a change unless one examines the economic reasons beneath. The rise of liberalism and philanthropic thought in the latter part of the eighteenth century accounts for the growth of opposition to slavery and the slave trade, but only for a part of it. The rest arose from the lessening profit of the African

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slave trade and the bankruptcy of the West Indian sugar economy. Without this cooperation of economic force, Parliament would not have yielded to the abolition crusade. Moreover, new fields of investment and profit were being opened by the Cotton Kingdom, the consolidation of empire in India and new spheres of influence in China and elsewhere. In Africa, the rule of England was strengthened by the very anti-slavery crusade, new territory being annexed and controlled under the aegis of emancipation. It would not be right to question for a moment the sincerity of Sharpe, Wilberforce, Buxton and their followers. But this moral indignation would have had no chance to triumph, if it had not been that it was working along the lines of English investment and colonial profit

4

38-16-8

There followed a period of readjustment. For a while after the triumph of the abolition movement in abolishing the slave trade and later the slave status itself, the idea was fairly widespread in England that Africa was to be allowed its own development so long as trade was free. Sierre Leone, the British Negro settlement, was promised eventual autonomy; and when Napier overthrew Theodore of Ethiopia in 1868, he withdrew without even attempting annexation. But soon the investing countries realized that while profit on the slave trade and slavery in America was leading them toward bankruptcy and political control, there was estopped by the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 that political control in African and Asiatic colonies which would result in a monopoly of labor and raw material and yield great profit.

5

The steady strengthening of control over these people went on, so far as Africa was concerned, in the name of stopping the slave trade and abolishing slavery. For a while, English philanthropy and English imperialism and investment seemed to have found one of those pre-established harmonies in economic life which Benthan and the physiocrats had insisted upon. Increased trade and stable

6

government in Africa was going to be the best way of civilizing the natives and lifting them toward self-government. Philanthropy guided by the thought of men like Livingstone envisage the raising of the status of black labor in Africa and considered this as not only compatible with industrial profit but practically the same thing. It was clear that unless there was political domination of these colonies so as to insure a virtual monopoly of material and control of labor, the colonial investment would not be secure. The almost complete partition of Africa followed, settling in the hands of England a vast colonial empire and yielding to France and to Germany less valuable but large imperial domains.

The experiment in Colonial Imperialism was apparently successful. Between 1884, when the final partition of Africa was agreed upon at Berlin, up to the First World War, the foreign investments of England, in colonies and elsewhere, doubled in amount. A technique of domination was gradually developed. Physical force backed by superior firearms was used in the Sudan and in South Africa. Economic pressure was applied by land monopoly, supplemented by a head tax which meant compulsory labor. Cultural degradation which meant a caste system of Negroes subordinated to whites was widely instituted, but to some extent modified by cultural segregation sometimes called "Indirect Rule," by which the cultural integrity of African tribes was permitted within limits for local government, but the general guidance of their industry and other activities were under the control of the governing country and their policy largely directed by the interests of investment. The details of the way in which government and philanthropy in Africa have been subjected to the interests of investment are not as well known as they ought to be. Just as in Europe the peasants did not get a cent of compensation for the three and a half million acres of common land taken from them between 1801 and 1831 so in the Union of South Africa the natives forming eighty per cent of the population possess only eight per cent of the land. In Kenya three million natives are confined to

fifty thousand square miles of the poorest land while the best land has been given to Europeans often at a nominal price in estates so large that they can only be cultivated by hired labor. Again and again forced labor has been legalized in Kenya and is legal today. Labor in the mines of South Africa was long but a step removed from serfdom and labor conditions there now allow a native wage of fifteen dollars a month. In the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa there has been a sordid history of cruelty, extermination and exploitation in the past.

Meanwhile world opinion concerning the Negro was curiously split by the Civil War in America and the sudden emancipation of four million slaves. Radical abolition democracy, urged on by free Negro statesmen and soldiers, rushed toward political enfranchisement and full education. Exaggerated reports of the Reconstruction era in the United States on the other hand lost the American Negro and his friends much of the sympathy of England and Europe; the English liberals, influenced more or less unconsciously by investment for profit in Africa assumed America was trying to raise and control a people who were naturally more or less inferior. The dogma of English colonial opinion increasingly prevailed: that the peoples of Africa and largely of Asia were undeveloped and would need long tutelage and restraint before they could become autonomous. Meantime English imperialism would point the way.

But this path did not prove simple. First, the advance of the American Negro increasingly contradicted the theory that the Negro could not be educated or become a valuable citizen of a modern state. Negroes in the West Indies emphasized this conclusion and African Negroes demanded better and wider educational facilities. But it went without saying that modern education for Africa, would not only be costly and thus eat into investment profits, but would lead inevitably to demands for political control and industry carried on for local prosperity rather than foreign ~~profits~~ income.

32-16-20

This question of native education began to awake philanthropy from its dream of complete cooperation and dependence on business. Disputes arose between administration and missionaries over schools. The attempt to limit native education narrowed the opportunity to train needed skilled artisans, civil servants and physicians. But the demand was so great that the government had to gradually yield. The cultural possibilities of the African native are undeniable. It is admitted even in South Africa that the native is being kept out of skilled labor not because he is incapable but because white workers demand exorbitant wages which are taken, not out of owners' profits but out of native starvation; that his capacity for political self-rule is shown by the success of the native states of the West Coast, the Bunga of the Transkei and other interesting experiments.

Judging from the experience of missionaries, travelers and government agents it would be clearly possible today to place four centers of education in Africa which would in less than a generation train an intelligentsia capable eventually of taking fairly complete charge of the social development of the continent. There are beginnings of such training today at Fort Hare, South Africa; Achimota and Fourah Bay, West Africa; and Makerere, Uganda. Social development for the welfare of the African would certainly interfere with the private profits of foreign investment and ultimately change entirely the relation of Africa to the modern world. The question is, do we really want this, or desire a world dominated by Anglo-Saxons, or at least by white Europe? Do we want to keep Africa in subjection just as long as it is physically possible: If we do, are we not planting right here inevitable seeds of future hatred, struggle and war?

Then cutting across this whole pattern came the question of the use of Negroes in war. The Civil War in the United States was fought with the help of two hundred thousand black troops and their use made slavery impossible. Investing Europe fears that the use of colored troops may spell the end of Colonial

28-14-21

Imperialism. The First World War was fought with the use of black troops which France brought to Europe to ward off annihilation. The blacks of French West Africa were armed on a large scale and became an effective fighting force in Europe. Europe protested, not only Germans, but the English in South Africa, because if armed natives were going to be used in European disputes, native colonial revolt was only a matter of years. Today the Free French are not only using black troops but using them under a black governor of French Equatorial Africa while Senegalese troops of French West Africa and colored troops ~~of French West Africa and colored troops~~ of North Africa are probably going to be used in increasing numbers in the battles of North Africa.

Unless after the present World War this problem is frankly and intelligently faced it will become a problem not simply of Africa but of the world. Just as long as there is in the world a reservoir of effective labor that can raise cheap and necessary raw material and arrangements can be made to transport this raw material to manufacturing countries; just so long this body of cheap labor will compete directly or indirectly with European labor and will be often substituted for European labor because of the much larger profit. This situation will increase the power of investors and employers over the political organization of the state leading to agitation and revolt within the state on the part of the laboring classes and wars between states who are competing for domination over these sources of profit. Eventually to all this will be added the revolt of the suppressed races themselves who on account of their low wages are the basic cause of this whole controversy. The World War of 1914-1918 was mainly a war caused by a demand for a larger share in the domination of labor and material in Asia and Africa by Germany. The competition for Africa was the dominant and immediate factor.

The World War of 1942 has taken on the aspect first of competition for the profit of Asiatic labor and material, first between European countries and finally between those countries and Japan; then latterly the confused but nevertheless discernible aspect has been the revolt of submerged labor in the East Indies, Burma and India itself with contradictory echoes even in China, and with giant Russia in the background

How far is this Asiatic situation echoed in Africa? Current propaganda would lead us to think that until recently Africa had little thought about this war. And even today when war flares in Africa its connection with the thinking of the mass of natives is ignored. Yet we know that from the time of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia down to today there has been extraordinary awareness among the blacks of what is going on. First of all they recognize the contradiction of listing the Union of South Africa as one of the United Nations fighting for democracy. There is no country in the world where the mass of the population is so dominated by investment interests as in South Africa. Some seven million Negroes and mulattoes are under the control of two million whites who in turn have been the agents of English and other investors into whose pockets for two generations the gold and diamonds of South Africa have flowed. In West Africa the development has been even more significant. There has arisen among the Crown colonies of British West Africa an effort to achieve some measure of democratic autonomy. The first National Congress of British West Africa met in Accra, capital of the Gold Coast Colony in mid march, 1920. The congress was composed of delegates from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The chairman of the congress in his inaugural address said "It is important to note that each one of these delegates is an African belonging to a distinctive African family and thereby commanding the rights of property and other interests either in his own right or in the right of the family to which he belongs. It follows from this that apart from the delegates to the conference, being the natural leaders of the people of their several communities, they have in themselves the

right to appeal to His Majesty's Government for such constitutional reforms as in their judgment are necessary."

The congress then drafted a memorial to His Majesty the King which is a worthy and remarkable document

> In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.
>
> Up to the beginning of the present year (1920), there has been no improvement in the situation with the result that in March 1920, a Conference of Africans of British West Africa was held at Accra, the Capital of the Gold Coast Colony, at which were present the representatives of each of the four colonies composing British West Africa. . . .
>
> It will be noticed that the first resolution deals with legislative (including municipal) reforms and the granting of the franchise and administrative reforms with particular reference to equal rights and opportunities. . . .
>
> In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several families. Similarly in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief. . . .
>
> The Congress presses for the appointment of duly qualified and experienced legal men to judicial appointments in British West Africa no matter how high the emolument might be. It also presses for the appointment of African barristers of experience, many of whom as jurists and legislative councillors are found along the West Coast, to appointments on the judicial bench as well as other judicial appointments. The Congress contends that there are African legal men of experience capable of holding any judicial office

2-16-24

in British West Africa. It may be mentioned that in Sierra Leone years ago the late Hon. Sir Samuel Lewis, Knight, C. M. G., an African, held the appointment of Acting Chief Justice; the late Mr. J. Renner Maxwell of Oxford University, an African, held the office of Chief Magistrate of the Gambia, which was equivalent then to the office of Chief Justice; that His honour the late Mr. Justice Francis Smith, an African, was the Senior Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast, and on several occasions held the appointment of Acting Chief Justice; that the late Mr. James A. McCarthy, an African, was for many years the Queen's Advocate of Sierra Leone, which was then equivalent to the post of Attorney General, and on many occasions acted as Chief Justice of that Colony. Subsequently he became the Solicitor General of the Gold Coast, and acted as Puisne Judge on several occasions in that Colony. Further, the late Sir Conrad Reeves, an African, was Chief Justice of Jamaica for many years. Therefore it is no new thing to suggest that worthy Africans should be admitted to the highest judicial offices in the judicial service of British West Africa. It is worthy of note that so renounded is the forensic ability of the African legal practitioner, generally a barrister of one of the Inns of Court in London, that they usually control all the practice in British West Africa and the percentage of European practitioners is hardly three.

It must be remembered that this clear and concise demand for elementary democratic rights among the black people of British West Africa was drafted by native born Africans of Negro descent. Some attention was paid to it by granting an elective element in the governor's councils, still retaining, however, for the governor a majority of the council so as to enable him to pass any legislation which he might wish; and in addition to this in these same councils, in all the colonies, sat men representing business and industry directly; that is, voting in the name and for foreign investors which added to the power which those investors had as English subjects and voters in England.

On the other hand, many of the preferments noted by the Congress came in that period when under the triumph of philanthropy, England was hesitating between slavery and colonial autonomy. Soon the die was cast and triumphant commercialism speaks today in the voice of the white settlers of Kenya. As early as 1923, Kenya dominated after the first World War by immigrants from the Union of South Africa evolved by 1923 a racial philosophy for the modern world. The white masters

of Kenya who have seized most of the cultivable land in the territory and confined three million natives to fifty thousand square miles of the poorest lands - these whites argued that Europe must give up Asia but cling to Africa with white domination. They said

> It has been shown that the Black Race possesses imitative but lacks constructive powers, characteristics which justify Lugard's judgment that for the native African "the era of complete independence is not yet visible on the horizon of time." The controlling powers may, therefore, aim at advancing the black race as far along the road of progress as its capacity all ws, without misgivings that the success of their endeavours will lead to a demand for their withdrawal, entailing loss of prestige and trade. The development of British territories in Africa opens up a vista of commercial expansion so endless that calculated description is difficult. The bare facts are that the area of these territories is 4,000,000 square miles, as compared with India's 1,900,000; that India's overseas trade is about 350,000,000, and British Africa's (excluding Egypt) is about 292,000,000; that the non-self-governing territories, whose total area is 2,628,498 square miles, already produce an overseas trade of 76,500,000, although their development can hardly be said to have begun; that the ave age fertility and mineral wealth of their soil are at least equal to those of any other great land mass; that they hold an intelligent fast-breeding native population of about 60 millions, waiting for guidance to engage in the production of the raw materials of industry and food stuffs; and that white settlement cooperating with the native populations does stimulate production many hundreds of times, and does bring about a demand for manufactured articles out of all proportion to its numerical strength.

Here then is the African riddle: European profit and Negro development. There is no denying that in training intellectually and technically an African intelligentsia we face most difficult problems: the problem of preserving rather than violently destroying the native cultural patterns; all the problems of new inexperienced social leadership. The point is that the decision in these matters must not be left to profiteers, to colonial imperialists or alone to white people. It must become the work of an international mandate with the intelligence of Africa represented on the guiding boards, in cooperation with the half-dead social conscience of Europe. It will mean a new scientific and cultural crusade which might be the greatest results of the two world wars and put rality and decency into

16

the whole Christian missionary crusade, which in the nineteenth century was used not so much to raise the heathen from savagery to civilization as to make safe the investments of white people in African serfdom.

Can we expect on the part of Europe a philanthropic attitude which will solve these problems? Can we expect the European investor is voluntarily going to give up profit by helping pay the cost of African education? We cannot expect this under ordinary circumstances; but the circumstances today are not ordinary. The circumstances are of such that if democracy is going to be realized in Europe the condition of African natives is going to be a part of that solution. So long as the political masters of present day Europe and America are supported, strengthened and made powerful by profits based on the degradation of natives in Africa and Asia just so long no labor movement can retain or increase its political power. ¶ Political democracy has been tried in Europe and has made its greatest triumphs in America where the working class has been raised to such a status in personal freedom and income that its power in politics and through politics over industry is large. But any attempt on the part of the laboring masses to increase their democratic power is faced by the fact that industry is still mainly Fascist being a monarchy or an oligarchy and while such concentrated economic power can be used for social advancement and human uplift such use cannot be counted upon and all the arguments for democracy as the ultimate solution of just rule, applies not only to the political power of selecting officials but with redoubled force to the power of guiding industry for the production and distribution of goods and for the well-being of the working classes. ¶ What the modern world then must realize is that the next step toward democracy is the abolition of forced and low paid colonial labor; the raising of the status of such labor by education and cultural development, the admission of the right of these peoples to education, to self-rule and cultural development

development. Beyond this comes the too often neglected problem of cultural freedom, of the right of human beings to be different in the way in which they seek to solve the problems of social life, so that civilization instead of being hammered into one Bond Street pattern may be diversified by the free development of human culture in Senegal, the Belgian Congo andthe Cape of Good Hope. This makes inevitable the present war as a war along color and racial lines.

I have been meeting recently with a committee to lay down certain post-war plans for the continent of Africa. There are represented in that committee a number of missionary and educational foundations and indirectly there is represented the industrial organization of America; that is, the various bodies receiving their chief support from philanthropy and this philanthropy has its original source in the profits made out of industrial enterprise in this country, in Africa and Asia. The question was how free was this committee going to feel in the planning for the ultimate emancipation of Africa? To guide the committee I offered to them the following post-war plan in the shape of a statement. I am convinced that unless something like this is adopted, believed in and adhered to, the troubles of the world today are not going to end in Asia. They are going to begin there and spread to Africa.

Looking forward to the World Peace which must eventually follow World War, certain basic principles governing our thought and action in regard to the people of Africa, seem clear.

1. We have no warrant for assuming that there are a few large groups of mankind, called Races, whose hereditary differences, as shown by color, hair and measurements of the bony skeleton, fix forever their relations to each other, and indicate the possibilities of their individual members. There is no proof that persons and groups in Africa are not as capable of useful lives and effective progress, as peoples in Europe and America.

We must refurbish h 19 XX

2. The great problem facing the world, is to achieve such wide contact of human cultures and mutally beneficient intercourse of human beings as will gradually by inspiration, comparison and wise selection, evolve the best civilization for the largest number of human beings.

3. To accomplish this, there is need of a great crusade, a religious mission, guided by the proven conclusions of science, the object of which shall be the continuous progress of mankind, regardless of race and color.

4. It must be clearly recognized that the main hindrance to such a movement, is today the more or less conscious feeling, widespread among the white peoples of the world, that other folk exist not for themselves, but for their uses to Europe; that white Europe and America have the right to invade the territory of colored peoples, to force them to work and to interfere at will with their cultural patterns, while demanding for whites themselves a preferred status. On the other hand, colored folk have their contacts with other and higher cultures seriously and arbitrarily restricted.

5. The most dangerous excuse for this situation is the relation between European capital and colored labor involving high profit, low wages and cheap raw material. The strong motive of private profit is thus placed in the foreground of our interracial relations, while the greater objects of cultural understanding and moral uplift lurk in the background.

6. So long as broad scientific philanthropy is thus hobbled by greed, the results will be and have been slavery, cultural disintegration, disease, death and war.

7. We are slowly but surely recognizing facts analogous to these within the confines of the advanced countries themselves. Here we are curbing and guiding the activities of industry and limiting the profits of private enterprise in the interest of the laboring masses. Not so in colonies and in quasi-colonial

(7)

areas. There, for the most part, we are tending to repeat and perpetuate the errors of the worst days of capitalistic exploitation in Europe. This hurts not only the backward peoples by restricting their initiative, by ruining their best culture and substituting no adequate cultural patterns; but also this colonial economy frustrates and nullifies much of the reform effort within the more progressive lands which own and control colonies.

38-16-30

8. It seems clear, therefore, that our future attitude toward Africa should be based upon principles something like these:

A. The land and natural resources of Africa should be regarded as belonging primarily to the native inhabitants, to be administered for their advancement and well-being. Where land has already been alienated, it should be eventually restored. Industry in Africa should be directed primarily toward the consumption needs of the inhabitants and only secondarily to the European demand for raw material. The necessary capital, instead of being imported quickly and at high cost, should be gradually and increasingly raised from savings of the natives.

B. In ascertaining the legitimate wants of the native African, his own wishes must be taken into account and allowed the broadest possible sway under the guidance of carefully ascertained scientific principles and well-tried cultural standards; and without the interference of religious dogma or the brute force of modern wage slavery. Especially must an educated class among the natives be systematically and increasingly trained according to modern standards and its opinion given due voice and weight, instead of being, as at present, largely excluded by careless misrepresentation and deliberate design.

13

c. Political control must be taken from commercial and business interests owned and conducted in the foreign nations dominating the colonies and vested provisionally in an international Mandates Commission. This commission must be controlled by recognized statesmen and philanthropists of the highest character, with the collaboration of unprejudiced and rigorously tested science. Its rule should be carried out with the increasing participation of such educated persons as share the blood and culture of the persons affected; to the end that gradually the systematic increase of democratic methods will transfer political power to the mass of the native people as that people gains in intelligence and civilization.

D. There need be no minimizing of the extreme difficulties, frustrations and mistakes that will inevitably accompany the attempt to understand, change and improve the cultural status of any people through contact with people of higher culture and through educational effort and moral teaching. But these difficulties instead of being regarded either as negligible or as insurmountable must be faced as the real kernel of the problem of human uplift and humanitarian effort.

E. Within such vast framework, the real work of civilizing the world can proceed, and a new crusade of real religion, and a new modern abolition of slavery will begin to build a world-wide system of culture on the trained knowledge and free will of all men regardless of race and color.

As I look upon the world in revolution today, I can well believe that the democracy which will crown the twentieth century will, in contrast to the nineteenth, involve the social control of the masses of men over the methods of producing goods and of distributing wealth and services. And the freedom which this abolition of poverty will stimulate, will be freedom of thought and not freedom for private profit-making. For this reason, the colonial and quasi-colonial peoples will be more ready to achieve and accept this democracy of industry, than the misled people of Europe whose conception of democracy has been industrial anarchy with the spirit of man in chains. Anarchy of the Spirit is alone the true Freedom.

# THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

In modern times two great world movements have hinged on the relation of Africa to the rest of the world: the first was the African slave trade which transferred perhaps ten million laborers from Africa to America and thus became a prime cause in establishing capitalism in England and Europe, based on the Sugar Empire in the West Indies and the Cotton Kingdom in the United States. The second world movement came from the partitioning of Africa after the Franco-Prussion War which, with the Berlin Conference of 1884, hurried colonial imperialism to culmination.

Social, political and economic results have flowed from imperialism in Africa but of all these the economic seems least understood. Since 1884 there has been invested in Africa a capital sum larger than the total gold reserve of the British Empire and France in 1939; and due to this investment there were exported annually from Africa, just before the present war, seven hundred million dollars worth of exports. But this valuation of African products is abnormally low; just as the valuation of the goods processed from these products is abnormally high, yielding high profits in a price market dominated by European investors. If a part of this profit which swells luxury expenditure in Europe were retained in Africa to raise depressed labor standards, the value of African products today would be at least a billion and a half dollars a year.

In the nineteenth century the African trade in men changed to a trade in raw material with the utilization of labor in Africa, followed by political domination which insured monopoly of labor and raw material to the various contending empires. The integration of Africa into world economic organization since the Industrial Revolution has been of far greater import than social scientists usually admit. Natural reticence

48-16-25

on the immense expansion of African slavery and the slave trade has fostered a tendency to treat this development from 1441 to 1870 as an incidental moral lapse quite overshadowed by the Abolition Crusade of 1800-1860. The significance of this vast transplanting of labor force was on the contrary economic and political and its understanding is basic to the correct interpretation of the twentieth century and its world wars.

One would think that a continent which has been so widely an integral part of world trade and world industrial organization, with at least one hundred twenty-five millions of people, would be carefully considered today in any plans for post-war reconstruction. This is not the case. If we consider proposed peace plans we find that Africa is practically unmentioned or referred to only vaguely and in general phrases, which have the same intent and connotation. In President Roosevelt's four freedoms, May, 1941, he manifestly was not thinking of Africa when he mentioned freedom of speech, freedom from want and freedom from terror. When Pope Pius XII, spoke in June, 1941, on Peace and the Changing Social Order" his only reference which could have referred to Africa was "The more favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface."

48-16-26

The British Christian leaders in May, 1941, made ten proposals for a lasting peace. The tenth reference was to the resources of the earth which "should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race." The American Friends Service in June, 1941 asked that all nations be assured "equitable access to markets." The eight points of the Atlantic Charter were so obviously aimed at European and North American conditions, that Churchill frankly affirmed this to be the case, although he was afterward contradicted by President Roosevelt. Later have come the proposals of Streit and Luce for a domination of the world by English-speaking peoples, with only passing consideration of black folk and virtual subordination or tutelage of

brown and yellow peoples.

One can see in all these proposals and in many other partial plans, the persistence of certain old patterns: the need of African labor and raw materials and the assumption that both these must be made cheap in order to yield large profits; and the assumption that the only problem connected with this is that the various dominating nations of the world should be treated equitably in sharing this material and labor.

Only in the recent report on The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American View-point is a more realistic attitude toward Africa manifest. The committee insists "That Africa today should be the subject of intelligent study in this country for many reasons, but especially because it is the ancestral home of one-tenth of our population, and that it is a continent of vast possibilities and difficult problems, and of vital concern to the United Nations in the present war. That Africa still represents the largest undeveloped area in the world, with mineral deposits, agricultual land, waterpower, forest and wild life, resources of importance, all of which are decreasing in value because of careless or reckless use or exploitation; and that these resources need development for its own defense and welfare."

48-16-27

It is imperative that those who think of the future of Africa should realize much more clearly than they do, just what Africa means. There is no one Africa. There is in Africa no such unity of physical characteristics; of cultural development; of historical experience; or of racial identity, that can possibly allow us to look upon the continent as a unity. We may distinguish today at least eleven Africas: North Africa with Morocco, Tunis, Algeria and Libya ~~and Tunis and Algeria which~~ are largely a part of southern Europe; there is French West Africa, a vast and loosely integrated region, where in one small part an educational and cultural development of the natives has gone on, together with some economic progress. There is Egypt which is still a political and economic satellite in the British Empire. From this has been arbitrarily cut off the Anglo-Egyptian

Sudan, forming a different problem, a different economy and facing a differnt destiny. There is Abyssinia or Ethiopia whose long and tragic history foreshadowed and culminated in the present war.

Turning westward again we have French Equatorial Africa, an economic echo of the Belgian Congo, the seat in the past of terrible exploitation and in the present of a new arming of blacks for European wars. There is British West Africa consisting of four colonies and representing the most advanced possibilities of the Negro race in Africa but held in check by limited democratic methods and carefully organized exploitation. There is the Belgian Congo whose astonishing history is known to all.

British East Africa, consisting of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, combines an advanced native state with the European land-aggression in Kenya and the spoil of German Africa, ~~in Tanganyika.~~ There is Portuguese Africa torn in two by the British and dependent mainly upon British economic organization. Finally, there is South Africa and the Rhodesias where three million white people are holding ten million darker folk in economic serfdom while they rape the land of its priceless gold, jewels and metals. Current world opinion makes little distinction among these groups. Berbers of North Africa are sometimes classed as "white" peoples; Abyssinians are now and then declared not Negroes; but on the whole all Africans, save white European immigrants and their offspring, are classed among the peoples of the earth who are inferior in status if not in kind, and whose relation to the civilized world is pretty definitely fixed for a long time to come if not forever.

This judgment is not based on long scientific study - indeed careful anthropological and social study of Africa has only just begun. The judgment of Africa was originally founded on economic grounds and not on science, although scientific conclusions were often adduced to bolster industry. Liberal thought

48-16-28

and revolution in politics and industry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, shook the foundations of an industrial hierarchy based on unchangeable class distinctions. But for this in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was substituted the Color Line. Granting that all white men were born free and equal, it was manifest ostensibly after Gobineau and Darwin, but in reality after James Watt, Eli Whitney, Warren Hastings and Cecil Rhodes, that Africans and Asiatics were born slaves, serfs or inferiors. The real firm basis of this fantastic generalization was the Sugar Empire, the Cotton Kingdom and modern colonial imperialism. The exploitation of labor and materials that moved out of Europe from 1600 on and culminated in the British, French and German empires before the First World War, was an investment whose vast profits depended on cheap and docile labor, under strict political control, without interferance from mawkish philanthropy, enfranchised labor or native revolt. English capital investment overseas grew from fifty thousand pounds in the middle of the sixteenth century to fifty million pounds in 1720 after the slave trade contract with Spain. ~~in 1713.~~

418-16-29

Despite this the legend persists even to this day that colonies do not pay and are in large part ~~philanthropic~~ enterprises, which are seldom profitable to the mother country and thus represent a sort of philanthropic ~~enterprise~~ Crusade to natives, which is to be commended for whatever education and social service it gives and not to be blamed if these services are miserably inadequate as compared to the need. Directly contradictory to this kind of assertion is the well-known fact that modern colonial imperialism has been a source of immense profit and power to profits in Great Britain, France, Germany and other countries.

The truth of the matter is, that so far as government investment is concerned the money which Great Britain and France, Portugal and Germany as

governments have invested in Africa has yielded small direct returns in taxes and revenue. But on the other hand this governmental investment has been the basis upon which private investors have builded being thus furnished free capital by home taxation; and while the mass of people in the mother country have been taxed and often heavily for this governmental gift abroad, the private capitalist who has invested in the colonies has reaped not only interest from his own investment but returns from investments which he did not make and which are protected by armies and navies which he only partially supported. Immense sums have been derived from raw material and labor whose price has been depressed to a minimum while the resulting goods processed in the mother country are sold at monopoly prices. The net return, therefore, to the white races, for their investment in colored labor and material in Africa has been immense and this with similar returns from Asia and other parts of the world, together with technical miracles in manufacture and transport have been the cause of the high standard of living, the luxury expenditure and conspicuous consumption which characterizes modern civilization.

In this sense Africa as well as other colonial areas becomes an integral part of the internal politics, industrial organization and labor development of all modern countries; but more particulary of investing countries like England, France and the United States. For this reason the future of Africa, the future plans which the leading countries of the world have toward Africa are of great importance to their own development.

In the case of the Axis powers, Africa would, if they were triumphant, at least theoretically have its labor enslaved although probably there would be a much wider and more thorough industrialization and teaching of modern techniques than England or Belgium have dared attempt.

If the United Nations triumph the temptation will be after the war first to consider Africa from an industrial and commercial point of view as a means of paying war costs and reestab-

4-8-43

lishing prosperity. If the treatment of Africa in post-war planning begins or ends here the results will be tragic. The current phrase of the First World War: the demand for "a place in the sun", meant that Germany demanded metals, vegetable oils, fibres and foods from Africa on at least equal terms with England either by pooling or preferably by dividing up Africa's land, labor and resources more equitably under national imperialisms. To return to such a plan after a generation of indecision and reaction, bursting into another and vaster world war, would be going backward. Yet this is precisely what many thinkers have in mind. If the rivalry of dominant European nations for colonial profit can be composed by a more equitable distribution of raw material and labor they assume that peace would be assured in the world. But would it? The assumption here is that while the African slavery was unfortunate, its abolition and eventual emancipation of slaves was a start toward better conditions, and that Colonial Imperialism, while not perfect as a system, has on the whole worked well enough to be continued, with necessary improvements.

48-16-31

This assumption calls for a look backward to the abolition era and what followed. In the eighteenth century England became the great slave trading nation of the world and it was due to her more than to any other people that America became a land founded on chattel slavery. Then in the nineteenth century England figures as the great emancipator, who stopped the slave trade at great cost, abolished slavery in her own territories and stimulated reaction against Negro slavery throughout the world. How do these attitudes agree? It would be difficult to conceive so sudden a change unless one examines the economic reasons beneath. The rise of liberalism and philanthropic thought in the latter part of the eighteenth century accounts for the growth of opposition to slavery and the slave trade, but only for a part of it. The rest arose from the lessening profit of the African

slave trade and the bankruptcy of the West Indian sugar economy through the Haitian Revolution and the competition of Spain. Without this cooperation of economic forces, Parliament would not have yielded to the abolition crusade. Moreover, new fields of investment and profit were being opened by the Cotton Kingdom, the consolidation of empire in India and new spheres of influence in China and elsewhere. In Africa, the rule of England was strengthened by the very anti-slavery crusade, new territory being annexed and controlled under the aegis of emancipation. It would not be right to question for a moment the sincerity of Sharpe, Wilberforce, Buxton and their followers. But this moral indignation would have had no chance to triumph, if it had not been that it was working along the lines of English investment and colonial profit.

There followed a period of readjustment. For a while after the triumph of the abolition movement in abolishing the slave trade and later the slave status itself, the idea was fairly widespread in England that Africa was to be allowed its own development so long as trade was free. Sierre Leone, the British Negro settlement, was promised eventual autonomy; and when Napier overthrew Theodore of Ethiopia in 1868, he withdrew without even attempting permanent control or annexation. But soon the investing countries realized that while profit on the slave trade and slavery in America with unbridled competition was leading them toward bankruptcy, and that political control to regulate labor conditions there was estopped by the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, that on the other hand political control in African and Asiatic colonies would result in a monopoly of labor and raw material and yield great profit. The slave trade and slavery were not only unnecessary but under a more enlightened European public opinion actually a handicap to profitable, peaceful investment.

4/8-16-32

The steady strengthening of control over these people went on, so far as Africa was concerned, in the name of stopping the slave trade and abolishing slavery. For a while, English philanthropy and English imperialism and investment seemed to have found one of those pre-established harmonies in economic life upon which Benthem and the Physiocrats had insisted. Increased trade and stable

government in Africa was going to be the best way of civilizing the natives and lifting them toward self-government. Philanthropy guided by the thought of men like Livingstone, envisaged the raising of the status of black labor in Africa and considered this as not only compatible with industrial profit but practically the same thing. It was clear that unless there was political domination of these colonies so as to insure a virtual monopoly of material and control of labor, the colonial investment would not be secure. The almost complete partition of Africa followed, settling in the hands of England a vast colonial empire and yielding to France and to Germany less valuable but large imperial domains.

The experiment in Colonial Imperialism was apparently successful. Between 1884, when the final partition of Africa was agreed upon at Berlin, up to the First World War, the foreign investments of England, in colonies and elsewhere, doubled in amount. A technique of domination was gradually developed. Physical force backed by superior firearms was used in the Sudan, and in South Africa, Economic pressure was applied by land monopoly, supplemented by a head tax which meant compulsory labor. Cultural degradation which meant a caste system of Negroes subordinated to whites was widely instituted, but to some extent modified by cultural segregation sometimes called "Indirect Rule," by which the cultural integrity of African tribes was within limits permitted for local government, but the general guidance of their industry and other activities were under the control of the governing country and their policy largely directed by the interests of investment. The details of the way in which government and philanthropy in Africa have been subjected to the interests of investment are not as well known as they ought to be. Just as in Europe the peasants did not get a cent of compensation for the three and a half million acres of common land taken from them between 1801 and 1831, so in the Union of South Africa, the natives forming eighty per cent of the population possess only eight per cent of the land. In Kenya three million natives are confined to

48-16-33

fifty thousand square miles of the poorest land while the best land has been given to Europeans often at a nominal price, in estates so large that they can only be cultivated by hired labor. Again and again forced labor has been legalized in Kenya and is legal today. Labor in the mines of South Africa was long but a step removed from serfdom and labor conditions there now allow a native wage of fifteen dollars a month. In the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa there has been a sordid history of cruelty, extermination and exploitation in the past.

Meanwhile world opinion concerning the Negro was curiously split by the Civil War in America and the sudden emancipation of four million slaves. Radical abolition democracy, urged on by free Negro statesmen and soldiers, rushed toward political enfranchisement and full education. Exaggerated reports of the Reconstruction era in the United States, on the other hand, lost the American Negro and his friends much of the sympathy of England and Europe; the English liberals, influenced more or less unconsciously by investment for profit in Africa assumed America was trying to raise and control a people who were naturally more or less inferior. The dogma of English colonial opinion increasingly prevailed: that the peoples of Africa and largely of Asia were undeveloped and would need long tutelage and restraint before they could become autonomous. Meantime English imperialism would point the way.

But this path did not prove simple. First, the advance of the American Negro increasingly contradicted the theory that the Negro could not be educated or become a valuable citizen of a modern state. Negroes in the West Indies emphasized this conclusion and African Negroes demanded better and wider educational facilities. But it went without saying that modern education for Africa, would not only be costly and thus eat into investment profits, but would lead inevitably to demands for political control and industry carried on for local prosperity rather than foreign ~~profits~~ income.

43-21-84

This question of native education began to awake philanthropy from its dream of complete cooperation and dependence on business. Disputes arose between administration and missionaries over schools. The attempt to limit narrowed native education the opportunity to ~~educate~~ train needed skilled artisans, civil servants and professional men like physicians. But the demand was so great that ~~the~~ government had to gradually yield. The cultural possibilities of the African native are undeniable. It is admitted even in South Africa that the native is being kept out of skilled labor not because he is incapable but because white workers demand exorbitant wages which are taken, not out of owners' profits but out of native starvation; that his capacity for political self-rule is shown by the success of the native states of the West Coast, the Bunga of the Transkei and other interesting experiments.

Judging from the experience of missionaries, travelers and government agents it would be clearly possible today to place four centers of education in Africa which would in less than a generation train an intelligentsia capable eventually of taking fairly complete charge of the social development of the continent. There are beginnings of such training today at Fort Hare, South Africa; Achimota and Fourah Bay, West Africa; and Makerere, Uganda. Social development for the welfare of the African would certainly interfere with the private profits of foreign investment and ultimately change entirely the relation of Africa to the modern world. The question is, do we really want this, or desire a world dominated by Anglo-Saxons, or at least by white Europe? Do we want to keep Africa in subjection just as long as it is physically possible: If we do, are we not planting right here inevitable seeds of future hatred, struggle and war?

4/8-16-35

Then cutting across this whole pattern came the question of the use of Negroes in war. The Civil War in the United States was fought with the help of two hundred thousand black troops and their use made slavery impossible. Investing Europe fears that the use of colored troops may spell the end of Colonial

Imperialism. The First World War was fought with the use of black troops which France brought to Europe to ward off annihilation. The blacks of French West Africa were armed on a large scale and became an effective fighting force in Europe. Europe protested, not only Germans, but the English in South Africa, because if armed natives were going to be used in European disputes, native colonial revolt was only a matter of years. Today the Free French are not only using black troops but using them under a black governor of French Equatorial Africa while Senegalese troops of French West Africa and colored troops ~~of French West Africa and colored troops~~ of North Africa are probably going to be used in increasing numbers in the battles of North Africa.

Unless after the present World War this problem is frankly and intelligently faced it will become a problem not simply of Africa but of the world. Just as long as there is in the world a reservoir of effective labor that can raise cheap and necessary raw material and arrangements can be made to transport this raw material to manufacturing countries; just so long this body of cheap labor will compete directly or indirectly with European labor and will be often substituted for European labor because of the much larger profit. This situation will increase the power of investors and employers over the political organization of the state leading to agitation and revolt within the state on the part of the laboring classes and wars between states who are competing for domination over these sources of profit. Eventually to all this will be added the revolt of the suppressed races themselves who on account of their low wages are the basic cause of this whole controversy. The World War of 1914-1918 was mainly a war caused by a demand for a larger share in the domination of labor and material in Asia and Africa by Germany. The competition for Africa was the dominant and immediate factor.

4-8-16-3

The World War of 1942 has taken on the aspect first of competition for the profit of Asiatic labor and material, first between European countries and finally between those countries and Japan; then latterly the confused but nevertheless discernible aspect has been the revolt of submerged labor in the East Indies, Burma and India itself with contradictory echoes even in China, and with giant Russia in the background.

How far is this Asiatic situation echoed in Africa? Current propaganda would lead us to think that until recently Africa had little thought about this war. And even today when war flares in Africa its connection with the thinking of the mass of natives is ignored. Yet we know that from the time of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia down to today there has been extraordinary awareness among the blacks of what is going on. First of all they recognize the contradiction of listing the Union of South Africa as one of the United Nations fighting for democracy. There is no country in the world where the mass of the population is so dominated by investment interests as in South Africa. Some seven million Negroes and mulattoes are under the control of two million whites who in turn have been the agents of English and other investors into whose pockets for two generations the gold and diamonds of South Africa have flowed. In West Africa the development has been even more significant. There has arisen among the Crown colonies of British West Africa an effort to achieve some measure of democratic autonomy. The first National Congress of British West Africa met in Accra, capital of the Gold Coast Colony in mid march, 1920. The congress was composed of delegates from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. The chairman of the congress in his inaugural address said "It is important to note that each one of these delegates is an African belonging to a distinctive African family and thereby commanding the rights of property and other interests either in his own right or in the right of the family to which he belongs. It follows from this that apart from the delegates to the conference, being the natural leaders of the people of their several communities, they have in themselves the

4/8-16-37

right to appeal to His Majesty's Government for such constitutional reforms as in their judgment are necessary."

The congress then drafted a memorial to His Majesty the King which is a worthy and remarkable document

> In presenting the case for the franchise for the different colonies composing British West Africa, namely, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, it is important to remember that each of these colonies is at present governed under the Crown Colony System. By that is meant that the power of selecting members for the legislative councils is in the Governor of each colony and not dependable upon the will of the people through an elective system.
>
> Up to the beginning of the present year (1920), there has been no improvement in the situation with the result that in March 1920, a Conference of Africans of British West Africa was held at Accra, the Capital of the Gold Coast Colony, at which were present the representatives of each of the four colonies composing British West Africa. . . .
>
> It will be noticed that the first resolution deals with legislative (including municipal) reforms and the granting of the franchise and administrative reforms with particular reference to equal rights and opportunities. . . .
>
> In the demand for the franchise by the people of British West Africa, it is not to be supposed that they are asking to be allowed to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa. According to African institutions every member of a community belongs to a given family with its duly accredited head, who represents that family in the village council, naturally composed of the heads of the several families. Similarly in a district council the different representatives of each village or town would be appointed by the different villages and towns, and so with the Provincial Council until, by the same process, we arrive at the Supreme Council, namely, the State Council, presided over by the Paramount Chief. . . .
>
> The Congress presses for the appointment of duly qualified and experienced legal men to judicial appointments in British West Africa no matter how high the emolument might be. It also presses for the appointment of African barristers of experience, many of whom as jurists and legislative councillors are found along the West Coast, to appointments on the judicial bench as well as other judicial appointments. The Congress contends that there are African legal men of experience capable of holding any judicial office

48-19-38

in British West Africa. It may be mentioned that in Sierra Leone years ago the late Hon. Sir Samuel Lewis, Knight, C. M. G., an African, held the appointment of Acting Chief Justice; the late Mr. J. Renner Maxwell of Oxford University, an African, held the office of Chief Magistrate of the Gambia, which was equivalent then to the office of Chief Justice; that His honour the late Mr. Justice Francis Smith, an African, was the Senior Puisne Judge of the Gold Coast, and on several occasions held the appointment of Acting Chief Justice; that the late Mr. James A. McCarthy, an African, was for many years the Queen's Advocate of Sierra Leone, which was then equivalent to the post of Attorney General, and on many occasions acted as Chief Justice of that Colony. Subsequently he became the Solicitor General of the Gold Coast, and acted as Puisne Judge on several occasions in that Colony. Further, the late Sir Conrad Reeves, an African, was Chief Justice of Jamaica for many years. Therefore it is no new thing to suggest that worthy Africans should be admitted to the highest judicial offices in the judicial service of British West Africa. It is worthy of note that so renounded is the forensic ability of the African legal practitioner, generally a barrister of one of the Inns of Court in London, that they usually control all the practice in British West Africa and the percentage of European practitioners is hardly three.

It must be remembered that this clear and concise demand for elementary democratic rights among the black people of British West Africa was drafted by native born Africans of Negro descent. Some attention was paid to it by granting an elective element in the governor's councils, still retaining, however, for the governor a majority of the council so as to enable him to pass any legislation which he might wish; and in addition to this in those same councils, in all the colonies, sat men representing business and industry directly; that is, voting in the name and for foreign investors which added to the power which those investors had as English subjects and voters in England.

On the other hand, many of the preforments noted by the Congress came in that period when under the triumph of philanthropy, England was hesitating between slavery and colonial autonomy. Soon the die was cast and triumphant commercialism speaks today in the voice of the white settlers of Kenya. As early as 1923, Kenya dominated after the first World War by immigrants from the Union of South Africa evolved by 1923 a racial philosophy for the modern world. The white masters

48-16-39

of Kenya who have seized most of the cultivable land in the territory and confined three million natives to fifty thousand square miles of the poorest lands - these whites argued that Europe must give up Asia but cling to Africa with white domination. They said

> It has been shown that the Black Race possesses imitative but lacks constructive powers, characteristics which justify Lugard's judgment that for the native African "the era of complete independence is not yet visible on the horizon of time." The controlling powers may, therefore, aim at advancing the black race as far along the road of progress as its capacity allows, without misgivings that the success of their endeavours will lead to a demand for their withdrawal, entailing loss of prestige and trade. The development of British territories in Africa opens up a vista of commercial expansion so endless that calculated description is difficult. The bare facts are that the area of these territories is 4,000,000 square miles, as compared with India's 1,900,000; that India's overseas trade is about 350,000,000, and British Africa's (excluding Egypt) is about 292,000,000; that the non-self-governing territories, whose total area is 2,628,498 square miles, already produce an overseas trade of 76,500,000, although their development can hardly be said to have begun; that the average fertility and mineral wealth of their soil are at least equal to those of any other great land mass; that they hold an intelligent fast-breeding native population of about 60 millions, waiting for guidance to engage in the production of the raw materials of industry and food stuffs; and that white settlement cooperating with the native populations does stimulate production many hundreds of times, and does bring about a demand for manufactured articles out of all proportion to its numerical strength.

Here then is the African riddle: European profit and Negro development. There is no denying that in training intellectually and technically an African intelligentsia we face most difficult problems: the problem of preserving rather than violently destroying the native cultural patterns; all the problems of new inexperienced social leadership. The point is that the decision in these matters must not be left to profiteers, to colonial imperialists or alone to white people. It must become the work of an international mandate with the intelligence of Africa represented on the guiding boards, in cooperation with the half-dead social conscience of Europe. It will mean a new scientific and cultural crusade which might be the greatest results of the two world wars and put rality and decency into

18-16-40

the whole Christian missionary crusade, which in the nineteenth century was used not so much to raise the heathen from savagery to civilization as to make safe the investments of white people in African serfdom.

Can we expect on the part of Europe a philanthropic attitude which will solve these problems? Can we expect the European investor is voluntarily going to give up profit by helping pay the cost of African education? We cannot expect this under ordinary circumstances; but the circumstances today are not ordinary. The circumstances are of such that if democracy is going to be realized in Europe the condition of African natives is going to be a part of that solution. So long as the political masters of present day Europe and America are supported, strengthened and made powerful by profits based on the degradation of natives in Africa and Asia just so long no labor movement can retain or increase its political power. ¶ Political democracy has been tried in Europe and has made its greatest triumphs in America where the working class has been raised to such a status in personal freedom and income that its power in politics and through politics over industry is large. But any attempt on the part of the laboring masses to increase their democratic power is faced by the fact that industry is still mainly Fascist being a monarchy or an oligarchy and while such concentrated economic power can be used for social advancement and human uplift such use cannot be counted upon and all the arguements for democracy as the ultimate solution of just rule, applies not only to the political power of selecting officials but with redoubled force to the power of guiding industry for the production and distribution of goods and for the well-being of the working classes. ¶ What the modern world then must realize is that the next step toward democracy is the abolition of forced and low paid colonial labor; the raising of the status of such labor by education and cultural development, the admission of the right of these peoples to education, to self-rule and cultural

48-16-41

development. Beyond this comes the too often neglected problem of cultural freedom, of the right of human beings to be different in the way in which they seek to solve the problems of social life, so that civilization instead of being hammered into one Bond Street pattern may be diversified by the free development of human culture in Senegal, the Belgian Congo andthe Cape of Good Hope. This makes inevitable the present war as a war along color and racial lines.

I have been meeting recently with a committee to lay down certain post-war plans for the continent of Africa. There are represented in that committee a number of missionary and educational foundations and indirectly there is represented the industrial organization of America; that is, the various bodies receiving their chief support from philanthropy and this philanthropy has its original source in the profits made out of industrial enterprise in this country, in Africa and Asia. The question was how free was this committee going to feel in the planning for the ultimate emancipation of Africa? To guide the committee I offered to them the following post-war plan in the shape of a statement. I am convinced that unless something like this is adopted, believed in and adhered to, the troubles of the world today are not going to end in Asia. They are going to begin there and spread to Africa.

Looking forward to the World Peace which must eventually follow World War, certain basic principles governing our thought and action in regard to the people of Africa, seem clear.

1. We have no warrant for assuming that there are a few large groups of mankind, called Races, whose hereditary differences, as shown by color, hair and measurements of the bony skeleton, fix forever their relations to each other, and indicate the possibilities of their individual members. There is no proof that persons and groups in Africa are not as capable of useful lives and effective progress, as peoples in Europe and America.

2. The great problem facing the world, is to achieve such wide contact of human cultures and mutally beneficient intercourse of human beings as will gradually by inspiration, comparison and wise selection, evolve the best civilization for the largest number of human beings.

3. To accomplish this, there is need of a great crusade, a religious mission, guided by the proven conclusions of science, the object of which shall be the continuous progress of mankind, regardless of race and color.

4. It must be clearly recognized that the main hindrance to such a movement, is today the more or less conscious feeling, widespread among the white peoples of the world, that other folk exist not for themselves, but for their uses to Europe; that white Europe and America have the right to invade the territory of colored peoples, to force them to work and to interfere at will with their cultural patterns, while demanding for whites themselves a preferred status. On the other hand, colored folk have their contacts with other and higher cultures seriously and arbitrarily restricted.

5. The most dangerous excuse for this situation is the relation between European capital and colored labor involving high profit, low wages and cheap raw material. The strong motive of private profit is thus placed in the foreground of our interracial relations, while the greater objects of cultural understanding and moral uplift lurk in the background.

6. So long as broad scientific philanthropy is thus hobbled by greed, the results will be and have been slavery, serfdom, cultural disintegration, disease, death and war.

7. We are slowly but surely recognizing facts analogous to these within the confines of the advanced countries themselves. Here we are curbing and guiding the activities of industry and limiting the profits of private enterprise in the interest of the laboring masses. Not so in colonies and in quasi-colonial

H8 - 16 - 43

areas. There, for the most part, we are tending to repeat and perpetuate the errors of the worst days of capitalistic exploitation in Europe. Thus hurts not only the backward peoples by restricting their initiative, by ruining their best culture and substituting no adequate cultural patterns; but also this colonial economy frustrates and nullifies much of the reform effort within the more progressive lands which own and control colonies.

8. It seems clear, therefore, that our future attitude toward Africa should be based upon principles something like these:

A. The land and natural resources of Africa should be regarded as belonging primarily to the native inhabitants, to be administered for their advancement and well-being. Where land has already been alienated, it should be eventually restored. Industry in Africa should be directed primarily toward the consumption needs of the inhabitants and only secondarily to the European demand for raw material. The necessary capital, instead of being imported quickly and at high cost, should be gradually and increasingly raised from savings of the natives.

B. In ascertaining the legitimate wants of the native African, his own wishes must be taken into account and allowed the broadest possible sway under the guidance of carefully ascertained scientific principles and well-tried cultural standards; and without the interference of religious dogma or the brute force of modern wage slavery. Especially must an educated class among the natives be systematically and increasingly trained according to modern standards and its opinion given due voice and weight, instead of being, as at present, largely excluded by careless misrepresentation and deliberate design.

48-16-44

c. Political control must be taken from commercial and business interests owned and conducted in the foreign nations dominating the colonies and vested provisionally in an international Mandates Commission. This commission must be controlled by recognized statesmen and philanthropists of the highest character, with the collaboration of unprejudiced and rigorously tested science. Its rule should be carried out with the increasing participation of such educated persons as share the blood and culture of the persons affected; to the end that gradually the systematic increase of democratic methods will transfer political power to the mass of the native people as that people gains in intelligence and civilization.

D. There need be no minimizing of the extreme difficulties, frustrations and mistakes that will inevitably accompany the attempt to understand, change and improve the cultural status of any people through contact with people of higher culture and through educational effort and moral teaching. But these difficulties instead of being regarded either as negligible or as insurmountable must be faced as the real kernel of the problem of human uplift and humanitarian effort.

E. Within such vast framework, the real work of civilizing the world can proceed, and a new crusade of real religion, and a new modern abolition of slavery will begin to build a world-wide system of culture on the trained knowledge and free will of all men regardless of race and color.

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As I look upon the world in revolution today, I can well believe that the democracy which will crown the twentieth century will, in contrast to the nineteenth, involve the social control of the masses of men over the methods of producing goods and of distributing wealth and services. And the freedom which this abolition of poverty will stimulate, will be freedom of thought and not freedom for private profit-making. For this reason, the colonial and quasi-colonial peoples will be more ready to achieve and accept this democracy of industry, than the misled people of Europe whose conception of democracy has been industrial anarchy with the spirit of man in chains. Anarchy of the Spirit is alone the true Freedom.

4-8-16-45

Looking forward to the World Peace which must eventually follow World War, certain basic principles governing our thought and action in regard to the people of Africa, seem clear.

1. We have no warrant for assuming that there are a few large groups of mankind, called Races, whose hereditary differences, as shown by color, hair and measurements of the bony skeleton, fix forever their relations to each other, and indicate their possibilities. There is no proof that persons and groups in Africa are not as capable of useful lives and effective progress, as peoples in Europe and America.

2. The great problem facing the World, is to achieve such wide contact of human cultures and mutually beneficient intercourse of human beings as will gradually by inspiration, comparison and wise selection, evolve the best civilization for the largest number of human beings.

3. To accomplish this, there is need of a great crusade, a religious mission, guided by the proven conclusion of science, the object of which shall be the continuous progress of mankind, regardless of race and color.

4. It must be clearly recognized that the main hindrance to such a movement, is today the more or less conscious feeling, wide-spread among the white peoples of the world, that other folk exist not for themselves, but for their uses to Europe; that white Europe and America have the right to invade the territory of colored peoples, to force them to work and to interfere at will with their cultural patterns, while demanding for whites themselves a preferred status. On the other hand, colored folk have their contacts with other and higher cultures seriously and arbitrarily restricted.

5. The most dangerous excuse for this situation is the relation between European capital and colored labor involving high profit, low wages and cheap raw material. The strong motive of private profit is thus placed in the foreground of our interracial relations, while the greater

objects of cultural understanding and moral uplift lurk in the background.

6. So long as broad scientific philanthropy is thus hobbled by greed, the result will be and has been slavery, cultural disintegration, disease, death and war.

7. We are slowly but surely recognizing facts analogous to these within the confines of the advanced countries themselves. Here we are curbing and guiding the activities of industry and limiting the profits of private enterprise in the interest of the laboring masses. Not so in colonies and in quasi-colonial areas. There, for the most part, we are tending to repeat and perpetuate the errors of the worst days of capitalistic exploitation in Europe. This hurts not only the backward peoples by restricting their initiative, by ruining their best culture and substituting no adequate cultural patterns; but also this colonial economy frustrates and nullifies much of the reform effort within the more progressive lands which own and control colonies.

36-5-115

8. It seems clear, therefore, that our future attitude toward Africa should be based upon principles something like these:

A. The land and natural resources of Africa should be regarded as belonging primarily to the native inhabitants, to be administered for their advancement and well being. Where land has already been alienated, it should be eventually restored. Industry in Africa should be directed primarily toward the consumption needs of the inhabitants and only secondarily to work the European demand for raw material. The necessary capital, instead of being imported quickly and at high cost, should be gradually and increasingly raised from the savings of the Natives.

B. In ascertaining the legitimate wants of the native African, his own wishes must be taken into account and allowed the broadest possible sway under the guidance of carefully ascertained scientific prin-

ciples and well-tried cultural standards; and without the interference of religious dogma or the brute force of modern wage slavery. Especially must an educated class among the natives be systematically and increasingly trained according to modern standards and its opinion given due voice and weight, instead of being, as at present, largely excluded by careless misrepresentation and deliberate design.

C. Political control must be taken from commercial and business interests owned and ~~controlled~~ Conducted in the foreign nations dominating the colonies and vested provisionally in an international Mandates Commission. This commission must be controlled by recognized statesmen and philanthropists of the highest character, with the collaboration of unprejudiced and rigorously tested science. Its rule should be carried out with the increasing participation of such educated persons as share the blood and culture of the persons affected; to the end that gradually the systematic increase of democratic methods will transfer political power to the mass of the native people as that people gains in intelligence and civilization.

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36-5-116

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46-5-23

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1918-5-25

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44-2-232

# IF I WERE YOUNG AGAIN

By W.E.B.DuBois

I. I would want again to be born in Massachusetts, so as to have the ~~xxxxxkindxx~~ advantage of the same kind of Public Schools which I enjoyed there.

2. I would want again to do my college work in a Negro college, for the social contacts and life-long friendships gained there.

3. I would again attend Harvard, to meet great teachers like William James, Josiah Rouce amd Albert Bushnell Hart; and to have the advantage of laboratories and libraries.

4. Here I would change my program somewhat; instead of two years at the University of Berlin, I would study at the Sorbonne in Paris.

5. Instead of studying Latin, Greek, German and French, I would make myself master of Arabic, French, Spanish and Portuguese; and by a different method of study - actual speech instead of grammatical exercise, - I would try to add Russian and Chinese or Japanese.

8. sic Instead of my eight trips to nordic Europe, I would substitute trips to east, central and South Africa, South America and India.

9. I would try to insure old age security, not by investment in real estate, life insurance, or business. I should buy a comfortable home for my family, as I have done, and put my surplus, if any, in a federally insured bank or the Postal Savings.

10. I should devote more time and advice to consumers' co-operation; stressing the absolute necessity for Negroes to plan for a new economy of consumer control of production; and production for use and not for private profit.

11. I should seek wider human contact and acquaintanceship; I should not for trivial reasons neglect the invitation of a Henry James to spend a week at his English country home, or ~~fxxx~~ fail to cultivate the companionship of many persons of world-wide renown whom I might easily have met; and of many

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44-2-233

numbler persons, from I could have learned much.

12. Perhaps (of this I am not so sure, as it involves so many incalculables) I should marry earlier and have more children. But here I would have to consult my wife. Child-bearing is a difficult and exhausting job; and child-rearing is the greatest task of man. Yet we must have more well-bred children.

13. In my writing, I should write less and fewer fugitive, passing bits; and concentrate on carefully thought-out and written and rewritten books; seeking to leave behind a body of finished literature rather than so great a mass of ill-digested and irrelavent stuff.

W.E.B.DuBois
Aug 8, 1943

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(Signed) W.E.B. Du Bois
August 8, 1943

written Oct 1944

The strongest argument in favor of the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt is to my mind one not sufficiently stressed in this campaign and glossed over by both parties. I am a socialist and have been for many years; that creed means to me that the wealth of a nation like this should be increasingly socialized; that the primary resources, the capital goods and machinery should to an increasing extent be owned by all the people and not by private persons for private profit; that the object of industry should be the common wealth and not the building up of enormous individual fortunes.

It seems to me that Franklin Roosevelt has pursued this goal in such vast undertakings as the TVA; in providing jobs for the unemployed during the depression, and seeking to aid works of art and literature which could not normally be undertaken as a matter of private profit. President Roosevelt has openly championed the cause and rights of union labor and fought race discrimination in employment. His housing program and efforts at land buying for farmers, rural credit and rural electrification are all in this line. He has at least begun regulation of stock market gambling. It seems to me that the Roosevelt administration has recognized that unless capitalism, as conducted in the United States, is more and more curbed by government action in the interest of consumers that private initiative will disappear. Today individual effort, artistic taste and the higher ideals of living are curtailed by the action of great cartels and monopolies, by so-called big business both in farming and manufacture, so that the small shop and the individual worker have less and less opportunity for private initiative. I, therefore, see Mr. Roosevelt as the distinct champion of the man who has an income sufficient for decent living and then can exercise his freedom to work, think and dream as he will, uncoerced by hunger and the threat of unemployment.

49-33-21

On the other hand, whatever Mr. Dewey may represent personally, and that I do not know and have been given few opportunities to find out, he certainly without contradiction represents that group of people in the United States who are determined to carry out after the war a program in this country different from that which is going to be followed by every other civilized land in the world which is free to act. While England is buying her mines, taxing her great fortunes, bringing democracy into her schools, establishing a public health program, and especially so arranging her industry that unemployment will be impossible; while France has just voiced through De Gaulle a program of planned industry under government control; and while Russia is preeminently the example of a country with a completely socialized system of capital ownership; the group of people who are supporting Mr. Dewey are on the other hand determined to permit just as little government control of business as is possible, just as little planning of industry as can be endured, and who wish to allow individual corporations and persons to make as much profit out of monopoly and concentered power as they are able to do under present conditions. My feeling is that this group of people are the ones who are stubbornly driving the United States toward disaster. I cannot see how intelligent persons having lived through the late depression and comprehending what the world is going through today can for a moment hesitate between Roosevelt and Dewey.

If Roosevelt is defeated it will be because of his championship of organized labor and the Negro. If Dewey triumphs it will be by grace of concentrated wealth and the Bourbon South as represented by Pappy Daniels of Texas and the lynching culture of Mississippi.

to Japan, which can be turned into bastions to dominate control and hold in perpetual ownership the peoples of Asia. Over these there has been deep controversy. The main thought has been of war and exploitation. The people in these areas number less than two million. They and the people of the mandates are as nothing compared with the more than seven hundred millions of colonial peoples whose status was not touched. Yet the most elaborate discussion and argument has been expended upon these islands. These may be mandated under trusteeship and they may not. What America wants is to turn them into fortresses for the navy. To this demand Britain is silent because if America has her way Britain without question will hold Hong Kong, Singapore and Borneo, not to mention Australia. The United States in ideology belongs with Russia and China, forming the three great powers of the future world whose lives and prosperity need not depend upon the exploitation of colonies, upon using ignorant serf labor in order to build an impressive structure of culture. But what is happening is that the United States is siding with fascist elements in South America, with Great Britain, that must have colonies or die, with France that thinks she must. Not only that but every effort, conscious or unconscious, is being made to estrange the United States and Russia, and to make a pattern of future war between the two greatest countries in present power on on earth. In San Francisco every little incident that could be has been magnified in the case of Russia. Why? The powers in the background are not hidden. We have in the United States a vast accumulation of power over wealth, production and distribution, put into the hands of organized industry through the vast profits of war. That capital wants investment. It is going to seek investment in Asia and Africa and will not be balked of its prey by any revolutionary idealism in Russia. It will willingly fight or compel others to fight a third and fatal world war to carry out its plans. Every real decision therefore looking toward peace, and especially looking toward the development of the backward peoples and lower classes; the disfranchized colonies, the masses of the Balkans and South America - any step looking forward to a rise in economic or

political power, was silently fought at San Francisco. Vague promises were made concerning human rights and the development of peoples toward self-government and social uplift, but promises only without implementation. The actual decisions permit increase of colonial empire, perpetuation of poverty and organization of military power against Asia. This result is because those at present in power in the British Empire are determined to preserve its organization substantially as it exists despite any cost to the world or its people; because other colonial powers are following Britain's lead, they and Americans forget the laborers and real thinkers in Britain, France, Holland, Belgium who oppose the colonial system.

Finally, colonialism was untouched because of the indifference of the mass of people of the United States to the fate of the darker peoples within or without the United States and their utter inability to conceive that anything that can happen to Africans or Asiastics can be of any immediate and pressing concern to the white people of North America.

The leadership of the United States in San Francisco is singularly weak. Stettinius was a good lieutenant to a Franklin Roosevelt. He is too inexperienced and without the necessary knowledge to pit himself against Halifax. Stassen has brains but he does not know the world and his ambitions are toward the present and not the future. The rest of the delegation is of no weight whatever.

While this is the main result at San Francisco, there are some matters that give hope for the future: the Assembly, while without power need not be without influence on world opinion and eventually on world action. The majority of nations to be represented in the Assembly are not in favor of the colonial system and believe in fundamental human rights without discrimination. They are at present powerless to act against the colonial powers; but they have a chance to increase their power.

It was a great accomplishment to have a world meeting which did not end in ch which established a world organization with a police force which can act against aggress at least in flagrant cases and which was able to at least express a belief in human righ as an ideal even if they acknowledged themselves helpless to act at present.

The extraordinary accomplishment of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was to take a party whose core consisted of one hundred and thirty-four rotten borough electoral votes from the reactionary South and transform it into a political force for the social reconstruction of America and the modern world. He was not altogether successful. In many respects even at the time of his death he was losing ground and the tremendous inner struggle with his own Southern allies as well as the Republican Party of wealth and privilege shortened his days by at least a decade.

30-G-169

And yet what he did accomplish was superb. For the first time in a nation ruled by organized wealth he made employers recognize labor by federal legislation; he re-organized a reactionary Supreme Court and induced the whole nation to realize that employment at a decent wage was an object of public policy and not an accident of immutable economic law. He gave a social and political recognition to the American Negro greater in effect than that granted by any president of the United States since the Civil War. He expressed the greatest and most truthful criticism of the former slave states when he designated them as our Number One Economic Problem. With all this he remained their friend and leader and leaves at his death an organized white minority in the South who know that race prejudice is fatal to social uplift and who are beginning to organize for real progress in the South across the Color Line. This is accomplishment enough for any one human being in one comparatively short life.

W. E. B. Du Bois
69 Fifth Avenue
Director of Special Research for the
NAACP

For the New Masses
13 April 1945

Metz L. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender

2nd Article fromSan Francisco

INDIA

It is necessary that the oppressed groups of the world get into close understanding with each other for cooperation in action. This has been impressed upon me lately in my new work with the NAACP, and here in San Francisco, I have realized it still more.

Mr. White and I were coming out of the first Plenary session of the UNCIO when a photographer, representing I think, the Pittsburgh Courier, rushed up and said he would like to take a photograph. We were, of course, too willing and then he said, "Wait a moment, I want to take you with some of the foreign delegations." Just then three Indians approached, one with turban, and the others with the official buttons of the delegates. I regret to say that both Mr. White and I ducked because these three men were the stooges of the British Empire appointed to represent India by Great Britain, and representing in no way the Indian people. It would have been a calamity for us to be photographed with them. I hope the photographer understood why we almost ran. Later, however, I had the pleasure of meeting and dining with S. S. Singh of the Indian National League of America, and yesterday Mr. Singh, Mr. White and I lunched at the Fairmont Hotel with Madame Pandit, the wife of Nehru.

She is a charming woman in every way, physically beautiful, simple and cordial, and she represents as few people could, nearly 400 million people, and represents them by right of their desire and her personality, and not by the will of Great Britain. I have in other years met Madame Naidu, the only woman who has presided over the National Indian Congress, and also I had the opportunity to shake hands and talk with Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet who renounced his British knighthood when after the first World War Great Britain failed to keep her promise to the Indian peoples.

36-6-83

I am not at all sure how much American Negroes know about India or realize the great fight that Indians, as well as Africans and Asiatics, are making for recognition in the modern world. Remember first of all that India occupies 1,800,000 square miles and is equal in size to Europe outside of Russia. She has a population of 389 million people, of whom 255 million are Hindues and 95 million Mohammedans. The British came to India first in the early eighteenth century as traders. They rented land for trade and secured permission to keep a small army to protect their property. Their trade grew and they and their army spread all over India. They ousted the Dutch and the French. India was ruled mainly then by the moguls and by the Maharatta Confederacy. These independent kings were frequently at war and the British encouraged this and loaned the services of their army, now to this king and now to that, in return for land and power. Thus, by dividing opposition they became the permanent power in India. They dethroned the kings who opposed them and reinstated those who did not and these latter now became what is known as the Native Princes.

About one-third of India is now under these Native Princes whose right to rule is supported by the British, and British supervise their action and support their oligarchy. Two-thirds of India is directly ruled by the British. They established municipal governments and local district boards, first with nominated members and now with members elected by the Indian people. The British formed federal and provisonal legislatures, two-thirds of whose members are now elected. But all these bodies have ex officio members, government officials and representatives of minority groups which give Britain usually the balance of power. In addition to this, foreign relations and the army are entirely under the British. Even beyond this, the Viceroy and Governors of provinces have the privilege of vetoing any law which they think threatens British interests, and they

frequently change laws to justify their actions.

For this reason it happens that of all the money raised from the Indians - the public debt calls for 25%, the army for 25% and administration, including hig h salaried British officials, 40% - that leaves only 10% of the monies raised for education and public health. Yet India is potentially a rich country, particularly in iron and coal, in the raising of rice, sugar, sisal, hides, skins, tea and coffee. Of great importance are wheat, cotton, oil seeds and mica: India owns one-third of the world's cattle.

Yet despite 200 years of British rule the Indian people are among the most poverty-stricken i the world and the average income per family is less than $25.00 per year and illiteracy amounts to over 80%. India spends for education 18 cents per capita while the United States spends $19.00. The mortality rate of India is 165 per thousand while that of England and Wales is 50. Can anyone doubt why all political parties in India, the National Congress, the Moslem League and the three other parties are united in their demand for political independence?

30-6-84

Article No. 3

Metz L. P. Lochard
Chicago Defender

W. E. B. DuBois

Among the difficulties and misconceptions which face us at San Francisco are the numbers of people who have flocked here with utterly erroneous ideas of what this meeting is about. Some regard it as a sort of international circus, and are disgusted that admission to see the elephants is so difficult to obtain. Why hold a circus, they seem to say, if the public is excluded? To which the answer is, even assuming that this is a circus, the big tent seats only 3,000 and today 60,000 people are clamoring for admission. If people suggest a large r tent, the answer is that this is not a circus. This is an international conference in which 48 different nations with at least 500 million inhabitants are listening in. The conference then, as a conference, is a comparatively small body and must go on despite those present who want to see and hear, outside the delegates.

And then there are well-meaning American Negroes who seem to think this conference is called to settle the Negro problem in the United States. One woman, for instance, sent to the Secretary of State a request that Harriet Tubman's home be bought and put under her supervision. Quite outside the question as to whether the supervision of this lady would be proper for Harriet Tubman's home, is the basic fact that the San Francisco conference is not considering questions of this sort.

This means, too, that ordinary pressure tactics cannot be used here by groups or individuals. There is no chance for conventional publicity, stunts; for mass-meetings and resolutions. And the opportunities for collecting money are not what some people seem to think.

It happens that the NAACP is the only organization that has the recognized right to have consultants present at the meetings of the conference, and to be called into consultation with the American Delegation. This is a privilege; but it carries no great power and is a recognition simply that American Negroes are one of 42 interests represented by consultants

30-6-124

which ought to be recognized by the American Delegation. Moreover, the NAACP is not speaking simply for itself. When it was first known that we would have the right to send consultants we immediately communicated with other organizations. As a result, we have been authorized to speak for The March on Washington Movement, the National Urban League, the Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the National Association of Deans and Advisers of Men in Negro Educational Institutions, the Conference on Adult Education and the Negro, the National Medical Association, the National Bar Association, The National Association of Ministers' Wives, the National Dental Association, the Independent Order of St. Luke, the Independent Order of Good Samaritans, National Council of Negro Women, The National Negro Insurance Association, and a number of other national organizations. All of these have sent us special resolutions and points of view which we have taken into consideration.

But, after all, we represent only one nation. There are other nations here. Nations powerful in their possibilities, jealous in their sovereignty. They are trying the very difficult task of agreeing upon an international organization and giving that organization some power. The first power which it must have is the power to stop aggression which will lead to war. The second power which it must not forget is the power to reduce the causes of war; and what we three consultants of the NAACP are trying to impress upon the American Delegation and others, is that human rights among the great nations and especially among colonies must be respected. Their flagrant disregard has caused war among the great nations. But even more than that, their continued disregard toward colonial peoples has caused two wars in our day and will cause other wars in the future.

We have done everything we can to emphasize this point of view. We have sent petitions and have had interviews with American delegates. We have had interviews with a half dozen foreign delegates. We have written articles in the many newspapers and we have delivered lectures. Our total effort may accomplish little but we have tried.

CHICAGO DEFENDER W.E.B. DUBOIS

ARTICLE NO. 4

The greatest thing that has happened at San Francisco so far has either been unnoticed or deliberately played down by the newspapers. I saw one Negro correspondent who heard the words and did not understand them, just as Galahad failed to read the message of the Grail.

What I have in mind was the splendid frank straight-forward statement of Molotov made to the world in the presence of 2000 press representatives. He said frankly the chapter of the proposed charter of the International Organization "expressly provides now for the observance of the prindples of justice and international law. It also contains a reference to the necessity of respecting the principles of equality and self-determination of nations to which the Soviet Union has always attached first-rate importance. The principles of justice and self-determination of nations proclaimed by the international security organization will draw particular attention of the population of colonies and mandated territories; this will help realize the sooner these great principles which is so vital."

Besides, he continued, this chapter "now provides for the encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, creed or sex. Such a program is incompatible with the membership of Fascist countries in the organization of international security..."

He said further that the Soviet delegation had proposed another declaration on the right to work and the right to education as two of the most important human rights. They were not pressing that because his colleagues had thought it inadvisable to mention any specific rights, but, he continued: "Is it not clear that the right to say, work, is of vital importance to working men and women in the transitional period from war to peace when the danger of mass unemployment will be particularly grave..."

And finally, with regard to trusteeship he said: "The Soviet delegation re-

36-6-128

alizes that from the viewpoint of the interests of international security we must first of all see to it that de endent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

This, as I have said, is the most straight-forward declaration made at the San Francisco Conference. It will not be followed because the British are sitting tight on Churchill's determination. Marquis W. Childs declares that this refusal of Churchill at Yalta to let the question of colonial peoples be taken up at San Francisco was a sore disappointment to Franklin Roosevelt.

Mr. Child emphasizes the deep interest that President Roosevelt had in colonies. He said that the white man would find himself "pushed out completely" from Asia unless something was done. His exact words were:

"Some time ago I worked out a form of trusteeship from French Indo China. You know, that colony was governed very badly. For every dollar the French put in, they took ten dollars out. Those little people had a culture of their own, Cambodia and the Cambodian kings. But they were badly treated.

"How my idea is for a trusteeship to administer Indo China. I put this up to Chiang Kai-shek and he was strong for it. The idea is to have one Chinese trustee, one Philippine trustee, one French trustee, a British trustee and perhaps an American trustee."

Stalin thought the plan excellent but Churchill refused to consider the matter at all. It is possible that if Roosevelt had lived he might have influenced the Conference at San Francisco. As it is, the chances are now that the colonial question will not really be touched, despite all of the talk about trusteeships.

1945(?)

# THE NEGRO SOLDIER IN BRITAIN

There have been not less than a half million Negro soldiers in Great Britain during the last three years. Most of them have now gone home but several thousand still remain.

My first reaction when I heard of the large numbers of this migration was one of anxiety. It makes no difference what people are involved when you suddenly transport any such vast number of young men into alien surrondings, friction and disillusion are bound to occur. It is not easy in this case to compute rapidly and accurately the total result; as so often in our studies of human beings we have not got complete and detailed study so as to give us a whole picture. While I have been in England and have enquired from various sources and while I'm sure I have not the whole truth, perhaps in its main lines my story will not be inaccurate.

First of all, this great incursion of black men into a modern European country has not been disastrous, as it easily might have been. On the whole, I should say, the results are encouraging despite unfortunate incidents and difficult situations. The black m Americans came from all parts of the land and naturally the bulk of them from the South. Their activities covered a wide range of work. They did more varied work than the labour battalions of the first World War; as engineers and members of the Quartermaster Corps, they not only moved material but did skilled and scientific work as radio men and even in directing artillery fire.

Curiously enough the first thing that impressed the English were the manners of the Negroes as contrasted with those of the white Americans. The Negroes were often diffident and apologetic. This was a part of their caste training in the South on the one hand; and on the other hand, it was the courtesy due to their hosts from strangers in a strange land. Negroes asked at bars if they could have a drink; they asked if they could be served in restaurants; they did not, like so many white Americans, order, demand and swagger.

Moreoever, the Americans themselves, feeling that they had a duty to perform, made it their business, in a large number of cases, to spread propaganda against the Negroes; to warn Englishmen of what they might expect and especially English women. There was, for instance, a certain Major Taeffel, port chaplain at Liverpool who crusaded mightily for "white supremacy" and when the coloured chaplain, Golding, intervened and, incidentally, entertained General Davis, Golding was removed.

The American anti-Negro propaganda had its effect but on the other hand, it often backfired. It certainly was not good sportsmanship in the eys of the British to malign your own fellow soldiers; and since the British were none too happy at the white American invasion, they tended often in sheer resentment to take the part of the Negro against the whites. This was illustrated perhaps most notably in the celebrated court-martial at Bath. A Negro soldier was convicted by American court-martial of rape on a white woman. But it was on ridiculously inadequate testimony and I'm told that a petition in his behalf was signed by 80,000 Englishmen. At any rate, Eisenhower ordered an investigation and released the soldier.At any rate, Eisenhower ordered an investigation and released the soldier.

38-5-6

On the other hand, there have been fights and riots between whites and blacks such as the one in Manchester in December, 1943. Quite recently, a Negro was beaten to death in a little village. The incident was characteristic. The soldier was drunk; he entered a public bar at closing time and the proprietor announced that the bar was closing and that he could not be served. Undoubtedly, the Negro thought that he was being discriminated against. He was hustled out by his companions but rushed back and stabbed one of the bystanders to death. The same misunderstanding of cultural patterns and resentment against strangers might happen any here with any people.

Mostly the Negro soldiers were quartered in camps in country districts, in sea ports and outside the larger cities. Some were in Scotland and in North Ireland and even in the Orkney Islands. But of course human beings do not meet in masses but as individuals and in thousands of cases, Englishmen came to know Negroes as friends. Negroes visited in their homes and talked to them. They entertained them with music. They told their stori-

of oppression and difficulty and they gained sympathy and understanding.

The influence of this personal contact between Negroes and whites can hardly be overestimated. It led inevitably to closer unions. Consider the situation: the men of England were off to war; the women both wives and girls were left without companionship. Millions of foreign soldiers, young men ready for adventure, moved in. It was ordinary biology, that thousands of connections, legitimate and illegitimate took place and this happened with Negro soldiers as well as with white.

There were for instance some 15 Red Cross Hostels scattered in the large cities all over the Kingdom, where black soldiers came on leave. A coloured personnel was in charge with coloured men as leaders and several well-trained coloured girls. But, of course, most of the hostesses and all of the help were white English girls. They danced with the black boys and entertained them and fell in love with them. The Army tried valiantly to discourage this, especially they discouraged inter-marriage; absolutely prohibiting it in the western bases, but permitting a few legal unions unwillingly in the southern bases. How many marriages of this sort took place it is difficult to learn but probably less than 50. On the other hand, the result of this crazy policy could be seen in illegitimate children left behind. Some of the Negro Welfare Centers working for British, coloured personnel, tried to make an investigation. They found in 7 cities, 222 such children. In addition to this, the report from Cardiff said that "the number was so great that the staff did not have time to count them." There can be no doubt that but what there are a thousand mulatto children in Great Britain today as a result of the presence of the American Negro soldier; and there may be twice this number. These children along with other mulattoes resulting from West Indian soldiers and sailors will make a peculiar problem after the war. Free schooling in England ends at the age of 14. An illegitimate, unsupported child has no chance for secondary or higher training, and would with difficulty be absorbed into industry. If they got into the public orphanages like the Bernado homes, they would in all likelihood be sent to the colonies like South Africa as indentured ser-- The outlook for them is grim.

Not only did the Americans try to keep down sex intermingling but it was charged openly in Parliament, that a directive had been given the WAASD (the English WACS) not to converse with coloured soldiers except in the presence of whites. This was denied, but another directive was hastily sent out which I quote in part.

"I am commanded in the Air Council to refer to recent allegations made in the House of Commons and in the press to the effect that in certain RAF stations racial discrimination is commanded between personnel of the WAAF and coloured airmen from Jamaica.

"Investigation of these allegations has suggested that uncertainty may have arisen on this matter to the extent of two Air Ministry confidential orders dealing respectively with the attitude to be adopted towards (a) US Negroes in the UK; and (b) coloured troops as British subjects from the colonies serving in this country with the RAF. Although the orders are still in operation, it is obviously undesirable that any instructions to WAAF and any advice which it

38-5-8

is deemed necessary to give RAF in conformity with this order should only be in the way of confidential talks and that any offending notices on notice boards should be removed forthwith.

"It should also be understood clearly that the above was issued not to encourage racial discrimination which would be contrary to the established government, but in order to meet the difference in outlook between white Americans and British personnel and should be explained in confidential talks to WAAF personnel, as to the relationship between while and black people.

"In case of British coloured personnel serving with the RAF similar considerations do not arise and it is the earnest wish of the Air Council that WAAF, equally with RAF personnel, should be encouraged to observe on stations towards these men the normal standard of service comradeship.

"It is realised, however, that some x airwomen, particularly the young and inexperienced, may regard the requirements of paragraph 4 of the above as an encouragement to associate off the station with the coloured men. I am, therefore, to request that all airmen should be advised in a cofidential talk, that they are not to infer from the requirements of the order the waling out or other intimate social

contact off-station with West Indians or other coloured RAF personnel, although civility should always be observed."

So the experiment was made and the results were bad and good. And yet on the whole it has been made clear to the people of Great Britain that American Negroes are average human beings, rather likable on the whole; and in many cases of splendid character and that they are fighting in America an unequal battle against prejudice, a battle which they deserve to win.

28-52

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Mark Foster W.E.B. Du Bois



# COLONIES AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

From a book which I have written and hope to see published this year, I am taking here a part of the second chapter which I call "The White Masters of the World". From this I have abstracted for the Journal of Negro Education the following passages which seem apposite to the subject assigned me.

The paradox of the peace movement of the nineteenth century is a baffling comment on European civilization. There was not a single year during the nineteenth century when the world was not at war. Chiefly, but not entirely, these wars were for the subjection of colonial peoples. They were carried on by Europeans and at least one hundred and fifty separate wars can be counted during the heyday of the peace movement. What the peace movement really meant was peace in Europe and between Europeans, while for the conquest of the world and because of the suspicion which they held toward each other, every nation maintained a standing army which steadily grew in cost and menace.

There can be no doubt but that one of the chief causes which thus distorted the development of Europe was the African slave trade. We have tried to re-write its history and meaning, and to make it occupy a much less important place in the world's history than it deserves.

The result of the African slave trade and slavery on the European mind and culture was to degrade the position of labor and respect for humanity as such. Not, God knows, that the ancient world honored labor. With exceptions here and there, it despised, enslaved and crucified

human toil. But there were counter-currents and in Europe with the Renaissance, that new light with which Asia and Africa illumined the Dark Ages of Europe, came new hope for mankind. A new religion of personal sacrifice was building on five hundred years of the self-effacement of Budha, and the equalitarianism of Mohammed six hundred years after Christ's birth. A new world was seeking birth in Europe as well as being discovered beyond the sunset.

With this new world came fatally the African slave trade and Negro slavery in America with new cruelties, new despisings of human beings, and a new degradation of human labor. The temptation was made vaster and deeper by incredible accumulation of wealth based on slave labor; by boundless growth of greed and worldwide organization for new agricultural crops, new technique in industry and world-wide trade.

Europe lurched forward to a new realization of beauty, a new freedom of thought and religious belief, a new demand by laborers to choose their work and enjoy its fruit; and yet right here when the fruit of labor was uncounted treasure, uncurbed greed rose to seize and monopolize it. Labor was degraded, humanity was despised, the theory of "race" arose. There came a new doctrine of universal labor: mankind were of two sorts - the superior and the inferior; the latter toiled for the former and the former were real men, the latter half men or less. Among the white Lords of creation there were "lower classes" resembling the inferior darker folk. They could and must be raised to equality with the master class. But no equality was possible or desirable for "darkies". Across this growing conviction, the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant, at first damned the heathen blacks with the "curse of Canaan", then held out hope of freedom through "conversion" and finally acquiesced in a permanent status of human slavery.

Despite the fact that the nineteenth century saw an up-surge in the

power of laboring classes and a fight toward economic equality and political democracy, this movement and battle was made fiercer and less successful and lagged far behind the accumulation of wealth because in popular opinion labor was fundamentally degrading and the just burden of inferior people. Luxury and plenty for the few and poverty for the many was looked upon as inevitable in the course of nature. In addition to this it went without saying that the white people of Europe had a right to live upon the labor and property of the colored peoples of the world.

In order to establish the righteousness of this point of view, science and religion, government and industry were wheeled into line. The word "Negro" was invented and used for the first time in the world's history tying color to race and blackness to slavery and degradation. The white race was pictured as "pure" and superior; the black race as dirty, dumb and inevitably inferior; the yellow race as sharing in deception and cowardice much of this color inferiority; while mixture of race was the prime cause of degradation and failure in civilization. Everything great, everything fine, everything really successful in human culture was white.

In order to prove this, black people in India and Africa were labeled as white if they showed any trace of progress; and on the other hand any progress by colored people was attributed to some intermixture, ancient or modern, of white blood, or some influence of white civilization.

This logical contradiction influenced and misled science. The same person declared the inferiority of mulattoes and warned against miscegenation and yet at the same time attributed the preeminence of a Dumas, a Frederick Douglas or a Booker Washington to their white blood.

A system at first conscious and then unconscious of lying about history and distorting it to the disadvantage of the Negroids became so widespread that the history of Africa ceased to be taught, the color of Memnon was forgotten and every effort was made in archeaology, history and biography; in biology, psychology and sociology, to prove the all but universal assumption of the scientific basis of the color line.

36-7-169

Without the winking of an eye, printing, gun-powder, the smelting of iron, the beginnings of social organization, not to mention political life and democracy, were attributed exclusively to the white race and to Nordic Europe. Religion sighed with relief when it could base its denial of the ethics of Christ and the brotherhood of men upon the science of Darwin, Gobineau and Reisner. It was bad enough in all conscience to have the consequences of this thought, these scientific conclusions and ethical sanctions, to fall upon colored people the world over; but in the end it was even worse when one considers what this attitude did to the European worker, that his aim and ideal was distorted; he did not wish to become efficient but rich. He began to want not comfort for all men but power over other men for himself. He did not love humanity, he hated "niggers".

From the early Christian communism and sense of human brotherhood which began to grow in the Dark Ages and to blossom in the Renaissance, there came to white workers in England, France and Germany, the iron law of wages, the population doctrines of Malthus and the bitter fight against the early trade unions. The first efforts at education and particularly the trend toward political democracy, aroused an antagonism of which the French Revolution did not dream. It was this bitter fight that exacerbated the class struggle and resulted in the first furious expression of Communism and attempt at revolution. The unity of apprentice

and master, the Christian sympathy between rich and poor, the communism of medieval charity, all were thrust into the new straight-jacket of thought; poverty was the result of sloth and crime; wealth was the reward of virtue and work. The degraded yellow and black peoples were in the places which the world of necessity assigned to the inferior; and toward these lower ranks the working classes of all countries tended to sink save as they were raised and supported by the rich, the investors, the captains of industry.

In some parts of the world, notably in the Southern states of America, the argument went further than this: frank slavery of black folk was a better economic system than factory exploitation of whites. It was the natural arrangement of industry. It ought to be extended certainly where colored people were in majority. For a half century before 1861 the bolder minds of the South dreamed of slave empire embracing the American tropics and extending eventually around the world. While their thought did not go to a final appraisement of white laboring classes, they certainly had in mind that these classes must rise or fall, must be forced into the class of employers with political power, or like the poor whites of the South, be pushed down beside or even below the working slaves.

This philosophy had sympathy in Europe. Without doubt a large majority of influential public opinion in England and possibly in both France and Germany favored the South at the outbreak of the Civil War and sternly set its face against allowing any maudlin sympathy with "darkies", half-monkeys and half-men, in the stern fight for the survival of European domination of the world. Widespread insensibility to cruelty and suffering spread in the white world, and to guard against too much emotional sympathy with the distressed of the world, every effort was made to keep

women and children and the more sensitive men deceived as to what was going on, not only in the slums of white countries, but all over Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea. Elaborate writing disguised as interpretation, and the testimony of so-called "experts", made it impossible for charming people in Europe to realize what their comforts and luxuries cost in sweat, blood and death, and in despair elsewhere in the world and even on their own door step.

A gracious culture was built up, a delicately poised literature treating the little intellectual problems of the rich and well-born, discussing small matters of manners and convention and omitting the weightier ones of law, mercy, justice and truth. Even the evidence of the eyes and senses was denied by the mere weight of reiteration. The race that produced the ugly features of a Darwin or a Winston Churchill was always "beautiful", while a Toussaint and a Menelik must be ugly because they were black. The concept of the European gentleman was evolved: a man well-bred and of meticulous grooming, of knightly sportsmanship and invincible courage even in the face of death; but one who did not hesitate to use machine guns against assegais and to cheat "niggers"; an ideal of sportsmanship which reflected the Golden Rule and yet in the face of this, not only in business and in industry within white countries, but all over Asia and Africa, arose lying, murder, theft, rape, deception and degradation of the same sort and kind which leaves a world aghast when they read today of what the Nazis did in Europe.

There was no Nazi atrocity of concentration camps, no wholesale maiming and murder, no defilement of women or ghastly blasphemy of childhood, which the Christian civilization of Europe had not long been practising against colored folk in all parts of the world in the name of and for defense of a Superior Race born to rule the world.

Together with this there grew up in Europe and America an astonishing ideal of world wealth and luxury: the man of independent income who did not have to work for a living, who could indulge his whims and fantasies, who was free from all compulsion either of ethics or hunger, became the hero of novels, of drama and of fairytale. This wealth was built in Africa especially upon diamonds and gold, copper and tin, ivory and mahogany, palm oil and cocoa, seeds extracted and grown, beaten out of the blood-stained bodies of the natives, transported to Europe, processed by wage slaves who were not receiving enough to become educated and healthy human beings, and then distributed among prostitutes and gamblers as well as among well-bred followers of art, literature and drama.

Cities were built, ugly and horrible, with regions for the culture of crime, disease and suffering, but characterized in popular myth and blindness by wide and beautiful avenues where the rich and fortunate lived, laughed and drank tea. National heroes were created by lopping off their sins and canonizing their virtues, so that Gladstone had no connection with slavery, Chinese Gordon did not get drunk; William Pitt was a great patriot and not an international thief. Education was so arranged that the young learned not necessarily the truth but that aspect and interpretation of the truth which the rulers of the world wished them to know and follow.

In other words we had progress by poverty in the face of accumulating wealth, and that poverty was not simply the poverty of slaves of Africa and peons of Asia, but the poverty of the mass of workers in England, France, Germany and the United States. Art, both in building, painting and literature, became widely cynical and decadent. Literature became realistic and therefore pessimistic. Religion became organized in social

clubs where well-bred people met in luxurious churches and gave alms to the poor. On Sunday they listened to sermons, "Blessed are the meek", "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"; "Do unto others even as you would that others do unto you"; "If thine enemy smite thee, turn the other cheek", "But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" "It is more blessed to give than to receive"; listened and paid no more practical attention to these high precepts than as though they had said, as in every truth they ought to have said: "Might is right", "Do others before they do you", "Kill your enemies or be killed", "Make profits by any method and at any cost so long as you can escape the lenient law". This is a fair picture of the decadence of that Europe which led human civilization during the nineteenth century and looked unmoved on the writhing of Asia and of Africa.

36-7-173

It would be unfair to paint the total modern picture of Europe as decadent. There were souls that revolted and voices that cried aloud. Men arraigned poverty, ignorance and disease as unnecessary. The public school and the ballot fought for uplift and freedom. Democracy for women and laborers and Negro freedom was extended. But this forward-looking vision had but partial and limited success. Race tyrany, aristocratic pretense, monpolized wealth, still prevailed and widely triumphed. The church fled uptown to escape the poor and black. Jesus laughed - and wept.

The dawn of the twentieth century found white Europe master of the world and the white peoples almost universally recognized as the rulers for whose benefit the rest of the world existed. Never before in the history of civilization has self-worship of a peoples' accomplishment attained the heights that the worship of white Europe reached in this area.

Our poets in the "Foremost Ranks of Time", became dithyrambic: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay!" In home and school the legend grew of this strong masterful giant with mighty intellect,

clear brain and unrivalled moral stamina, who was conducting the world to the last heights of human culture. Yet within less than a half century this magnificent self-worshipping structure had crashed to the earth.

Why was this? It was from no lack of power. The power of white Europe and North America was unquestionable. Their science dominated the scientific thought of the world. The only writing called literature was that written by English and French writers, Germans and Italians with some recognition of writers in Spain and the United States. The Christian religion, as represented by the Catholic Church and the leading protestant denominations, was the only system of belief recognized as real religion. Under heathenism was comprehended all Mohammedans, Buddhists, Shintoists and others.

The most tremendous expression of power was economic; the industrial organization and integration of modern industry in management and work, in trade and manufacture had its power concentrated in England, France, Germany and the United States. All Asia and eastern Europe was an appendage; all Africa, China, India and the islands of the sea; Central and South America and the Caribbean were dominated by Europe, while Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium were silent co-partners in this domination. The domination showed itself in its final form in political power either through direct rulership, as in the case of colonies or indirect economic power backed by military pressure exercised over the backward nations. It was rather definitely assumed in the latter part of the nineteenth century that this economic domination was but a passing phase which in time would lead to colonial absorption.

Particularly was this true with regard to Asia. India was already a part of the British Empire, and Burma. Indonesia was Dutch and Indo-China, French. The future of China depended upon how Europe decided that land

would be divided between the British Empire and the Germans, American trade, Italy, France and Russia. It was a matter simply of time and agreement. General consent had long since decided that China should no longer rule itself.

With regard to South America there was the determination that these countries must obey the economic rule of the European and North American system. The world looked forward to political and economic domination by Europe and North America, and toward a more or less complete approach to the colonial status for the rest of the earth. Africa, of course, must remain in absolute thrall, save its white immigrants, who alone would rule the blacks.

36-7-175

The reason for this world mastery of Europe was rationalized as the natural and inborn superiority of white peoples, showing itself not only in the loftiest of religions, but in a technical mastery of the forces of nature, all this contrasted with the low mentality and natural immorality of the darker races living in lovely lands, "Where every prospect pleases and only Man is vile!" As the high-minded Christians sang piously. But they forgot or never were told just how white superiority wielded its power or accomplished this dominion.

The singular thing about this whole European movement of aggression and dominance was the rationalization for it. Missionary effort during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was widespread. Millions of pounds and dollars went into the conversion of the heathen to Christianity and the education of the native. Some few efforts, as in Liberia and Sierra Leone, were made early in the nineteenth century to establish independent Negro countries, but this was before Europe realized that political domination was necessary to full exploitation.

Slowly the Sudan from the Atlantic to the Nile was conquered.

Slowly Egypt itself and the Egyptian Sudan passed under the control of Europe. The resistance of Nubia and Ethiopia was almost in vain down until the twentieth century. West Africa fought brilliantly and continuously. But in all this development the idea persisted in European minds that no matter what the cost in cruelty, lying and blood, the triumph of Europe was to the glory of God and untrammelled power of the only people on earth who deserved to rule; that the right and justice of their rule was proven by their own success and particularly by their great cities, their enormous technical mastery over the power of nature, their gigantic manufacture of goods and systems of transportation over the world. Production for production's sake, without inquiry as to how the wealth and services were distributed, was the watchword of the day.

For years the imperial governments avoided direct responsibility for colonial exploitation. It was all at first "free enterprise" and "individual initiative." When the scandal of murder and loot could no longer be ignored, exploitation became socialized with Imperialism. Thus, for a century or more the West India Company, the Niger Company, the South and East African Companies robbed and murdered as they pleased with no public accounting. At length when these companies stole, killed and cheated to such an extent that the facts could not be suppressed, governments themselves came into control with curbing of the more outrageous excesses, and rationalization of the whole system.

Science was called to help. Students of Africa, especially since the ivory-sugar-cotton-Negro complex of the nineteenth century, became hadridden by the obsession that nothing civilized is Negroid and every evidence of high culture in Africa must be white or at least yellow. The very vocabulary of civilization expressed this idea; the Spanish word "Negro", from being a descriptive adjective, was raised to the substantive name of a race and then deprived of its capital letter.

Then came efforts to bring harmony and cooperation, unity among the exploiters. A newspaper correspondent who had received world-wide publicity because of his travels in Africa was hired by the shrewd and unscrupulous king of a little European state to establish an international country in central Africa "to peacefully conquer and subdue it, to remold it in harmony with modern ideas into National States, within whose limits the European merchant shall go hand in hand with the dark African trader, and justice law and order shall prevail, and murder and lawlessness and the cruel barter of slaves shall be overcome."

Thus arose the Congo Free State and by balancing the scret designs of German, French and British against each other this state not only became one of the worst centers of African exploitation but the beginning of the partition of Africa among European powers. It was designed to form a pattern for similar partition of Asia and the South Sea. The Berlin Congress and Conference followed. The prodcuts of Africa began to be shared and distributed around the world. The dependence of civilized life upon products from the ends of the world made the everyday citizen tied closer and closer to the exploitation of each colonial area: tea and coffee, diamonds and gold, copper and vegetable oils, nuts and dates, pepper and spices, olives and cocoa, rubber, hemp, silk, fibres of all sorts, rare metals, valuable lumber, fruit, sugar. All these things and a hundred others became the necessity of modern life and modern life thus was built around colonial ownership and exploitation.

The cost of this exploitation was enormous in all sense of the word. The colonial system caused ten times more deaths than actual war. In twenty-five years famines in India at the beginning of the nineteenth century starved a million men and famine was bound up with exploitation. Widespread monopoly of land to deprive all men of primary sources of support

were carried out either through direct ownership or indirect mortgage and exorbitant interest. Disease could not be checked; tuberculosis in the mines of South Africa, syphilis in all colonial regions, cholera, leprosy, malaria.

Perhaps the worst thing about the colonial system was the contradiction which arose and had to arise in Europe with regard to the whole situation. Poverty and extreme poverty in colonies was a main cause of wealth and luxury in Europe. The results of this poverty were disease, ignorance and crime. Yet these had to be represented as natural characteristics of backward peoples. Education for colonial people must inevitably mean unrest and revolt; education, therefore, had to be limited and used to inculcate obedience and servility lest the whole colonial system be overthrown. Ability, self-assertion, resentment, among colonial peoples must be represented as irrational efforts of "agitators" - folks trying to attain that for which they were not by nature fitted. To prove the unfitness of most human beings for self-rule and self-expression, every device of science was used: evolution to prove that Negroes and Asiatics were less developed human beings than whites; history so written as to make all civilization the development of white people; economics so taught as to make all wealth due mainly to the technical accomplishment of white folk, supplemented only by the brute toil of colored peoples; brain weights and intelligence tests were used and distorted to prove the superiority of white folk. The result was complete domination of the world by Europe and North America and a culmination and tempo of civilization singularly satisfactory to the majority of writers and thinkers at the beginning of the twentieth century. But it was a result that was hollow, contradictory and fatal as the next few years quickly showed.

1,052 words

THE NATION
SEPT. 7, 1940

# A Crisis at Fisk

by

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois

There is a crisis developing at Fisk University which is of more than local or even racial significance. Fisk is at Nashville and is one of the older of the institutions for the higher training of Negroes. Its body of alumni form a distinguished group numbering perhaps today three thousand five hundred living persons.

So long as segregated colleges are compulsory, a colored man, if properly trained, should head a school for colored students for obvious social and psychological reasons. But presidential timber among Negroes is rare because of limited education, lack of cultural contacts, and especially lack of business and administrative experience. Gradually, however, Negro presidents are being selected as in the case of John Hope at Atlanta, Mordecai Johnson at Howard, and recently Horace Mann Bond at Lincoln, Pennsylvania. In other words, while it is more difficult to find the right colored man for the presidency of such colleges, it is no longer impossible.

When a vacancy in the presidency was imminent at Fisk, an ideal Negro candidate for the presidency was presented, who had practically the unanimous backing of the alumni.

Charles Harris Wesley was born in Kentucky in 1891. He is a graduate and trustee of Fisk University; a doctor of philosophy of Harvard University in history (1925); teacher and professor of history at Howard, 1913-1938, then dean of the graduate school 1938-1942. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow and has received an award from the Social Science Research Council; he has written books and articles, especially

one of the best histories of Negro labor in the United States.

For four years he has been president of Wilberforce University in Ohio and has conducted it with marked success, reducing its debt, increasing its attendance and raising its scholastic standards. Personally, Wesley is a man of breeding and excellent appearance against whose character no word has ever been said.

26-7-129

But the Board of Trustees of Fisk University at its June meeting postponed the election, although there were no other serious candidacies in the field. The alumni charge that this was for two reasons: first, the objection to giving a Negro voice in the financial affairs of the university; and second, fear on the part of the white South at encouraging intelligent and liberal leadership of Negroes by men of their own race.

Fisk has an endowment of about three million dollars. No Negro trustee is on the finance committee and the financial affairs of the University are known in detail to few trustees. It has been charged that the administration of university funds is unduly costly. One trustee is said to receive some $22,000 annually for handling the portfolio of investments and it is alleged that the office of the vice-chairman of the Board receives $12,000 annually for "promotion and publicity". The auditors in their last report declared that they had not examined the portfolio of investments. The Board of Trustees and its vice-chairman, Mr. Hollingsworth Wood, may be able to allay this unrest among the alumni by inviting investigation and giving frank explanation.

But a more serious matter has appeared. The folklore of Southern race relations leads to some awkward practices. Recently, for instance, the campaign of the United Negro College Fund, was

launched in Nashville, in May, by the retiring white president of Fisk University, At this luncheon, of course, no Negro could appear. There was present according to the Nashville Banner (May 2, 1946), Nathan Adams, of the First National Bank of Dallas, Texas, "who is a leader in the Fund campaign"; Edward Potter, Jr. a white Southerner and vice-president of the Fisk trustees, and several other whites, Northern and Southern. Potter explained that the white Nashville members of the Fisk Board "have not approved of some things" at Fisk, but thought it was better "to try to improve situations drifting into bad directions" than to desert and let the school "go to rout - to the left wing."

36-7-130

President Jones complained that the attempt to name Wesley was precipitate; and then Adams, the white Texas banker, "strongly denounced the present federal administration, Communism and Eastern meddling as confusing the racial problems of the South. 'The Negro won't work as long as Mr. Truman gives us Santa Claus in every community,' Adams charged. He said, he wondered 'how many of us know how far to the Left we have already gone' and predicted that solution to present day problems is impossible 'as long as we remain blind to the Left Wing.' Pointing out that adoption of FEPC philosophies would mean we have come a long way from freedom, Adams warned, 'Don't let them take the Democratic Party completely away from us. What are we, a bunch of morons?'"

This is extraordinary. It would be impossible today to find in the United States many educated Negroes who do not believe in the FEPC, and very few who were not eternally grateful for the forward looking social work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If now such men are to be deprived of leadership among their own group, and if this is the policy of the United Negro College Fund, it is time that this was clearly stated.

There can be no doubt as to the present status of the matter: the Northern white trustees hesitate to put a Negro into the presidency; they would prefer a complacent even if second-class white man. The white Southern trustees would consent to a Negro president provided he was a Negro amenable to their guidance and not "radical", that is, not an advocate of the FEPC, the abolition of the poll tax or any New Deal policies. It is rumored that they are in partial agreement on a man of this sort.

36-7-131

Perhaps the time has come when Negro higher education can no longer depend upon gifts from the North or cooperation with the white South but must be supported by the students and alumni themselves. It would be a hard task, for education today is costly, and the alumni and constituency of Negro colleges are almost entirely in the lower income brackets. But whatever the cost, Negro education cannot be dictated to by financiers in the North who are not frank, and by so-called "liberal" Southerners who are trying to stop the Negro from thinking.

1946 Not used

There is a crisis developing at Fisk University which is of more than local or even racial significance. Fisk is at Nashville, and is one of the older of the institutions for the higher training of Negroes. Its body of alumni form a distinguished group numbering perhaps today three thousand five hundred living persons.

So long as segregated colleges are compulsory, a colored man, if properly trained, should head a school for colored students for obvious social and psychological reasons. But presidential timber among Negroes is rare because of limited education, lack of cultural contacts, and especially lack of business and administrative experience. Gradually, however, Negro presidents are being selected as in the case of John Hope at Atlanta, Mordecai Johnson at Howard, and recently Horace Mann Bond at Lincoln, Pennsylvania. In other words, while it is more difficult to find the right colored man for the presidency of such colleges, it is no longer impossible.

When a vacancy in the presidency was imminent at Fisk, an ideal Negro candidate for the presidency was presented, who had practically the unanimous backing of the alumni.

Charles Harris Wesley was born in Kentucky in 1891. He is a graduate and trustee of Fisk University; a doctor of philosophy of Harvard University in history (1925); teacher and professor of history at Howard, 1913-38, then dean of the graduate school 1938-1942. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow and has received an award from the Social Science Research Council; he has written books and articles, especially one of the best histories of Negro labor in the United States.

For four years he has been president of Wilberforce University in Ohio and has conducted it with marked success, reducing its debt,

increasing its attendance and raising its scholastic standards. Personally, Wesley is a man of breeding and excellent appearance against whose character no word has ever been said.

But the Board of Trustees of Fisk University at its June meeting postponed the election, although there were no other serious candidacies in the field. The alumni charge that this was for two reasons: first, the objection to giving a Negro voice in the financial affairs of the university; and second, fear on the part of the white South at encouraging intelligent and liberal leadership of Negroes by men of their own race.

Fisk has an endowment of about three million dollars. No alumni trustee or Negro trustee is on the finance committee and the financial affairs of the University are known in detail to few trustees. It has been charged that the administration of university funds is unduly costly. One trustee receives some $22,000 annually for handling the portfolio of investments and that the office of the vice-chairman of the Board, Hollingsworth Wood receives $12,000 annually for promotion and public relations. The auditors in their last report declared that they had not examined the portfolio of investments. The Board of Trustees and its vice-chairman, Mr. Hollingsworth Wood, may be able to allay this unrest among the alumni by inviting investigation and giving frank explanation.

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46-7-2102

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Evidently the opposition in the white South is not to a colored man as president, of Fisk but is clearly a demand that the head of one of the most prominent Negro colleges must be a man who has no social tendencies "to the left". Moreover, the "left" is defined as any sympathy with the New Deal even as represented by Mr. Truman, and any belief in the Fair Employment Practices legislation!

This is extraordinary, It would be impossible today to find in the United States many educated Negroes who do not believe in the FEPC, and very few who were not eternally grateful for the forward

looking social work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. If now such men are to be deprived of leadership among their own group, and if this is the policy of the United Negro College Fund, it is time that this was clearly stated.

It is said that the white Southern trustees are gradually veering toward a Negro candidate who may be considered "safer" than Wesley because he is willing to follow the Southern "advice". Unfortunately this candidate has not got the backing of the alumni nor of the forward-thinking Negroes of the nation. We have therefore staged here a critical delemma. Are the Negroes going to have a decisive voice in the choice of their leadership or is that leadership to be dictated to them by philanthrophy on the one hand or by the reactionary white South on the other?

Perhaps the time has come when Negro higher education can no longer depend upon gifts or cooperation with the white South but must be supported by the students and alumni themselves. It would be a hard task, for education today is costly, and the alumni and constituency of Negro colleges are almost entirely in the lower income brackets. But whatever the cost, Negro education cannot be dictated to by financiers in the North who are not frank, and by so-called "liberal" Southerners who are trying to stop the Negro from thinking.

What about direct quotations from alumni?

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In a case like this the question of succession presents difficult problems: logically, a colored man should head a school for colored students, for obvious social and psychological reasons. But presidential timber among Negroes is rare because of limited training, lack of cultural contacts, and especially lack of business and administrative experience. Gradually however Negro presidents are being selected, as in the case of John Hope at Atlanta, Mordicai Johnson at Howard and recently, Horace Mann Bond at Lincoln, Pennsylvania. In other words, while it is more difficult to find the right colored man for the presidency of such colleges, it is no longer impossible. Mistakes have been made in the past and will be in such selection but on the whole the gradual transition is succeeding and is inevitable.

When it does succeed, it settles many irritating dilemmas: the social relations of the president and his family with alumni and students; the educational contact of the school with the surrounding white city. The earlier missionaries settled this by being cut off almost entirely from the white world. Later they segregated themselves as far as possible from colored folk; a few have tried to keep both contacts but this is difficult. On the other hand the handling of business and the endowment funds has always been a stumbling block; few Negroes have had such experience in as would qualify them to handle for instance, the 10 million endowment of Hampton, Altho they help handle Tuskegee's 7 million. This with other reasons have hitherto kept the Negro out of the presidency there.

46-7-30

Other reasons which militate against a Negro President; the reluctance of the white south to see a colored man in authority unless they can be sure he will follow the race relations pattern which it believes in and which most educated Negroes refuse to do. Then within the Negro group is the natural rivalries among alumni, who having few chances for well-paid employment and often therefore, prefer a white man, rather than to see one of their fellows succeed to a powerful and well-paid position. The alumni at Hampton for instance have always strongly opposed a Negro President, and there was opposition at Lincoln and still is at Howard. This however will wear away with time, commonsense and especially with unquestioned ability.

It happens that at Fisk when a vacancy in the presidency was imminent, an ideal candidate for the presidency was presented, who had practically the unanimous backing of the alumni, and apparently no open opposition anywhere; but strange underground currents began setting in strongly against him, which this paper desires to examine.

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First of all, the Alumni Association before Jones' resignation had expressed dissatisfaction with the administration of the endowment funds of Fisk University and demanded investigation. The President of the Alumni Association says: "First, in regard to the request of the Alumni Association for the investigation of the affairs at Fisk, you will recall that this matter was given approval by the Board over Jones' protest. After its approval, we had a very difficult time in getting any action from the Board or the President. We worked out the areas to be surveyed. They called for a new scrutiny into many phases of the affairs of the institution, including finances. We pressed for action with the President and the acting Chairman, Mr. Wood. Mr. Wood appointed a committee to meet with the committee from the Alumni Association for a final determination of a program of procedure. Appointments with the members of the Board on this committee were made on two occasions. I journeyed to Nashville twice to meet them: none of them showed up."

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47-7-33

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~~the management of property and investments.~~

~~It happened that~~ When a vacancy in the Presidency at Fisk was imminent, the alumni office of the institution under the instruction of the general alumni association, polled the alumni on their choice for the presidency asking for specific recommendations and a statement as to whether they wanted a Negro or a white president. Practically the unanimous vote expressed a desire for the best available man regardless of race or color, but this statement was modified by a large number of alumni stating that they felt certain that the best available man was a Negro.

~~Louise,~~ The older, is a graduate of Oberlin Conservatory of Music ~~with the Bachelor of Music degree~~, having also attended the Guildhall School of Music in London for a year. She is now Instructor in Piano at Wilberforce University. ~~Charlotte Wesley "Holloman"~~ is a graduate of Howard University with the degree of Mus.B. and ~~the~~ Master of Arts degree from Columbia University. ~~She was a teacher for one year in the William Penn High School, Philadelphia, and for one year at the Stitt Junior High School, New York City. The change was made in the latter location in order that she might be with her husband, Dr. John L. Holloman, (B.A., Virginia Union University; M.D., University of Michigan), who was an interne in the Harlem Hospital and~~ recently a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps. ~~Charlotte was also a student in the Guildhall School of Music in London, England, for one year.~~ Both have appeared in ~~recital~~, Louise being a piano major and ~~Charlotte~~ a voice major. ~~Charlotte is now on leave and is the mother of a three months old baby.~~

32-12-49

the younger

She is married & a mother. the latter two

~~man for Fisk.~~ I'd like to know definitely that it is or is not true. Even in the material sent out recently, there is an indication that Wood's office rent is paid in New York by Fisk, and I'd like to know how much we pay for that so-called office rent. These are affairs pertaining to Fisk University's finance which are unknown to some Trustees and there is, of course, no colored man on the Board who is a member of the Finance Committee.

37-12-50

Another alumnus adds: "Two years ago Wood forced a Resolution through the Executive Committee, making it unnecessary for Wesley (as Secretary) to put his signature on any documents involving sale of property, etc. Wesley told me in Nashville that he objected to this so strenously (privately) that Wood changed it about one year later. Only three (3) men know the actual earnings from Endowment Stocks (Wood, Haydock, and Jones). The Auditor states in his report that he has not seen nor

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Lately in my column in the Chicago Defender, I talked about liquor. I repeat it here with some elaboration. Liquor-drinking is becoming a serious problem in America. As I have glimpsed the world during the last few years I am struck by the apparently increased habit among us, and perhaps among all American, of drinking alcoholic beverages. My own attitude toward liquor drinking goes back to the Murphy Blue Ribbon Movement which struck my little birth town in Massachusetts when I was a boy of perhaps ten or twelve. I "signed the pledge" and wore the badge, because in that town excessive liquor drinking and drunkenness were common among all classes of society. It was a means of escape from hum-drum living and a substitute for lack of recreation. The drinking centered in the saloon and I had strict orders from my mother never to enter a saloon. To this day with very few exceptions I have kept that command.

But the crowds of people whom I see today clustered about bars - morning, noon and night - are to me inexplicable. It is not the kind of drinking that I used to see in Germany, France and Italy late in the nineteenth century: there I first saw drinking as a pleasant and comparatively, harmless recreation; the lolling at little tables in shadow and sunshine during the early evening with family and friends where the drinking of a glass of beer or wine consumed fifteen minutes to an hour. The liquor drunk there and then, like the native drinks of primitive people, was of small alcoholic content and drunkness was uncommon. In America drinking has always tended to be excessive. The custom came down to us from rough frontier days of drinking hard distilled liquor so strong that one threw it hastily down the throat without letting it burn the membranes and in order to get drunk more quickly. Today this hard liquor drinking has increased enormously. People drink straight whiskey by the bottlefull

and whiskey at that which is often manufactured rather than distilled and actually almost poisonous. Good people of standing begin a dinner with one or two cocktails with perhaps ninety per cent of alcohol while the gentry of the last century were content with a ten per cent bit of sherry.

From all this I am not moralizing or forbidding. The old literature that pictured every one who tasted liquor as a drunkard and all alcoholic drink as poison was overdrawn. I lived through our attempt at prohibition and it was a failure undoubtedly. I resented it; I wanted wine and beer occasionally. I wanted pure government inspected drinks. I hated "boot-leg" poison and lecherous speakeasies. At the same time it is as clear to me as the nose on my face that the youth of today and their elders are defeating their own enjoyment by drinking too much and by encouraging habits of drunkness.

36-7-40

I like wine and beer, that is, decent wine and light beer. I do not like whiskey and gin except as they are used sparingly to flavor drinks. My father-in-law insisted that gin was only useful to take the crank out of new shoes. But what I especially dislike is the sight of young men and women with brains and breeding who are deliberately and regularly befuddling their senses and making silly spectacles and shortening otherwise useful lives by acquiring a habit which does not increase joy of living. Recently I have seen friends in the prime of life sicken and die suddenly from alcoholic poison; from drinking excessively and regularly astounding quantities of bad liquor. I do not think that the situation can be cured by law. At least not until a vast majority of people see the evil and paradox and demand cure; and that cure must begin with one's self. Knowing one's own delicate nervous balance it is a question which each has to settle as to whether one needs alcohol for stimulus and how much he needs and how often. Then having acquired this knowledge to take a polite and

firm stand upon it. Especially it seems to me of major importance that reasonable beings should not make crowded poorly lighted and ill-ventilated bars and night clubs a place of enjoyment, which they are certainly not for people in their right minds.

I can remember sitting high on a mountain in Thuringia looking out across the world and talking and laughing with friends and students and drinking light beer and eating sandwiches, then walking ten miles in the rare afternoon sun. That is what I call enjoying alcohol. But the modern bar like the ancient saloon of my birthplace, is still a center of over-indulgence, of prostitution, gambling and stories which are not funny but simply dirty. If this is where we are educating the post-war generation, we are facing an ignorant and misdirected world.

36-7-41

American Negroes especially need to avoid handicapping themselves for the great struggle of the latter half of the twentieth century by drinking too much and too often.

Jan 31, 1947 New Masses

# SMUTS

There is no person who illustrates better the confusion and paradox of our present situation than Jan Christian Smuts. It is characteristic that he should be named "Christian." It is characteristic that he should be the man who lately presided over the British War Council in the absence of Churchill; that he should be called "One of the world's few illustrious men", and at the same time, stand to most of us, as the typical representative of the hypocrisy, double dealing, and cold calculated cruelty of the modern world.

I am at a loss to understand ~~if~~ how Mr. Smuts regards himself. I saw him at San Francisco in 1945, standing before the assembled nations of the world and pleading for "human rights". A year later, before the United Nations, he was asking that the natives of South West Africa, be turned over to the Union of South Africa; to be treated as the natives are there: that is, disfranchised; unable to form or join labor unions; compelled to accept the lowest of modern wages under partially slave conditions; practically without civil rights except the very minimum.

35-1-13

What can this man think of himself. How did he come to be? To seek answers for this, we must become familiar with his background. We must remember that he belonged to the Boers, "God fearing men", who regarded the natives of South Africa as made for their benefit, and who said in the constitution of their church, "There shall never be any equality between blacks and whites in South Africa.", and there never has been.

Until he was twelve years old, this boy was unable to read and write and spoke a language which was a mixture of South African Dutch and native Bantu dialect. He probably never forgets this and despises black folk accordingly.

When he got a chance to go to school, he studied coldly and furiously and with single mind, until he landed at Christ Church College, Cambridge

University, England. Here then, two keys to his career: his lowly birth and discouraging suroundings; and his sudden acquaintance with the might of accomplishment of the British Empire. He had intellectual ambitions. He wrote while in college on the personality of Walt Whitman! He became a lawyer and returned to South Africa.

There he came in contact with Cecil Rhodes and became a firm servant of capitalistic investment. It is ominous that the very year he was born, diamonds were found at Kimberly; and when he was sixteen and beginning his English education, gold was found on the Witwatersrand.

35-1-14

In 1895, Smuts opened his law office at Cape Town, and became an eager follower of Cecil Rhodes, who was bent on making Africa British. But what Smuts wanted was the capitalistic development of South Africa for the benefit of the Boers and especially he wanted power. He was then, as the Boers taunted him later:

Jannie's for South Africa.
One and great and free.
But he says, "If you want it so,"
"You must leave it all to me."

When England, through Dr. Jameson, tried to seize control of South Africa, this was too much for Smuts. He was left out of the inner circle. He withdrew to leadership of the Boers and developed hatred toward England and especially toward Milner, the High Commissioner.

The Boer War came in 1899 and Smuts became the guerrilla chief; fighting for the Boers against the English. He was nearly killed by the black Basutås, but he saved Winston Churchill, then war correspondant, from being shot, and put him in a detention camp. Finally when peace came, Smuts was one of the chief negoiators, although characteristically not regularily appointed so that he

did not have actually to vote.

Botha, the chief Boer leader and Smuts now became the leaders of South Africa and Smuts naturally had to pay for his change of face. He was hated by the Boers, he was suspected by the English. But he played a smooth double game until in 1910, he secured self-rule for the Union of South Africa from the British and control of the black labor force by disfranchising them and the colored people.

35-415

Botha died in 1919, but in the meantime, Smuts had fought through the First World War in South West Africa, and in East Africa, and had spent much time in England, as a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. He was flattered, honored, and groomed for securing British investment in African wealth for the Empire. He was rapidly becoming the first South African. Naturally he was for the League of Nations; but to illustrate specifically what that meant, let us for a moment stop and remember the Bondelschwarts.

Once upon a time the word "Bondelschwarts" evoked among intelligent readers the response: "Southwest Africa" and "Smuts." But that was twenty-five years ago and we have forgotten. On September 8, 1922, the Assembly of the League of Nations listened to a speech by a Negro from Haiti, Dantes Bellegarde, calling attention to the "League's duties to mankind" and referring to "the recent reported massacre of Bondelschwarts Hottentots by a South African expeditionary force." Bellegarde asked full investigation. The United States controller of Haitian finances promptly disallowed the Haitian delegate's expenses as a member of the Assembly, but the Assembly ordered the Mandates Commission to investigate.

The Commission was embarrassed. It had no right to investigate or summon any witness except the South African Government itself. Prime Minister Smuts admitted that to quell "a revolt" he had sent a force of 390 men with four

machine guns and two bombing planes against a tribe of natives of whom less than 200 were alleged to have had shot guns and only 45 guns were actually found. The South Africans killed over a hundred men, women and children, and wounded several hundred more.

"Why?" asked the Mandates Commission, very politely. Well the real reasons for the revolt were not clear. But a commission of inquiry appointed by Smuts himself showed that these natives had not paid the tax on sheep dogs. This tax which the Germans, when in control, had not levied at all, had been raised by the Union from no tax on one dog and $1.25 on a second, to $5.00 on the first and $50.00 for ten dogs. The natives could not pay and between September, 1921 and January, 1922, over a hundred of them had been arrested as tax delinquents and fined ten dollars each.

35-1-16

There were other grievances, connected with the fact that hereditary chiefs had been displaced and that the poor Boer farmers pouring in from the Union (over 20,000 between 1914 to 1936) had no money to pay hired labor and scarcely needed to, as they were allowed to "recruit" their own labor wherever they found it. Natives naturally complained, but as the white commissioner testified "there was no mass insurrection", and the rising could have been prevented by timely action by the authorities. The Mandates Commission decided in a burst of understatement that the occurrence was "regrettable" and the repression "carried out with excessive severity."

Thereupon, General Smuts and South Africa, being satisfied that the Mandates Commission was powerless, rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They gave the law-making power over these 300,000 square miles of territory with 300,000 natives exclusively to the white Administrator, with a council elected by the whites. They allowed the natives to keep 15% of the land and gave 30% to the whites outright with good prospect of getting the other 55% in due time. They transferred the Union native legislation bodily to the Mandate, with pass-laws and concentration

areas. Practically black labor was reduced to serfdom and not a single government school has yet in 1947 been established, although the Government gives a pittance to 4,000 native pupils in the 83 mission schools which serve the whole colony.

Why is Mr. Smuts, the great humanitarian, so anxious and insistent on this great expanse of desert, somewhat larger than Texas with only one inhabitant to a square mile? The fact is there are diamonds, gold, tin, vanadium, and other minerals in the territory and a good trade in hides. There are being developed by investors from in Europe and America. Before the last war over a hundred million dollars of foreign capital had been invested in the Southwest Africa, and the Union government had obligingly stepped in and helped protect the diamond monopoly in accordance with the pattern now in use in the Union of South Africa.

In other words, South West Africa is part of that vast investment of industry in Africa which depends for its profits on the low wages of labor, primitive conditions of work and the seizure of the land. Small wonder that Great Britain agrees with Mr. Smuts, while United States, represented by the pious Mr. Dulles has climbed carefully on the fence to overlook the situation.

After the First World War, Smuts made alliance with Hetzog, who represented the Boers and hated him. But through that alliance, he became eventually Prime Minister of South Africa and a most eminent Englishman. He lectured on "freedom" at St. Andrew's University in 1934; he spoke on "plans for a better world" in 1942. He found time to write and publish a philosophical treaty on "Holism", in which he said, "The rise of self protection of wholes in the whole is the slow but unerring process of this holistic universe."

And yet this the man who refuses to give to the black South African, even though he may be a university graduate and of unblemished character, any voice, not only in government, but even in industry; and who does this, because unless he stands on this platform, he loses his political leadership of

the Union of South Africa. If this is not the essence of opportunistic hypocrisy, then the word has lost its meaning.

35-1-18

16 October 1946 for Negro Digest

# 1865-1965

By W.E.B. Du Bois

December 18, 1865, the thirteenth amendment was declared a part of the Constitution of the United States. This amendment abolished slavery and was followed by amendments giving the Negro civil rights and the right to vote.

If we look forward one hundred years from 1865 to 1965, what may we expect as to legal and social condition of the Negro? Certainly it was not true that slavery actually ended in 1865. There was a long period, not entirely concluded today, when numbers of Negroes were in semi-slavery. They did not receive regular wages; they were restricted in their movements, and in their civil rights; and their attemp to vote was only partially successful up until 1876, when it was practically nullified in the former slave states.

What now can we expect in real freedom and equality by 1965? Prophecy in human actions should depend upon history; but unfortunately history has not been in the past scientifically recorded. It has been a matter of wish and assumption, as often as of careful research and measurment.

If therefore we refer to the past in order to see what may happen in the future, the reference must be limited in significance. We might for instance go back to a certain period twenty-one hundred years before Christ, some four thousand years ago; it was then that the Shepherd kings came down upon Egypt and practically enslaved the Egyptians. Manetho tell us how this "ignoble race" invaded Egypt "killed the rulers, burnt our cities and demolished temples of God and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, enslaving some and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slavery." This practical slavery of Egyptians lasted for five hundred and eleven years. It was not until

Ashmes and his black wife, Nefertari came to the rescue of Egypt in the eighteenth dynasty that Egypt became free. Five hundred years for emancipation is a long time; but we may say that this after all was a matter of the ancient world; we move faster in these days. Suppose, therefore, we look for other historical parallels. Suppose instead of looking forward from 1865, we look backward to 1765. In 1765 the British slave-trade was reaching its height. Between fifty and a hundred thousand black slaves a year were being seized in Africa and rushed to America. London, Bristol and Liverpool were being built up by the slave-trade. Within fifty years British shipping quadrupled in tonnage, a British empire was built upon black slavery and the cotton kingdom established in the United States. 1765 was the culminating heyday of this development.

39-7-27

In one hundred years the cotton kingdom has arisen and fallen and slavery in the United States, at least legally, was abolished. This is a great deal to happen in one century.

Turning now from our historical parallels let us look directly at the period between 1865 to 1965. I have been able to observe personally as a thinking adult some sixty years of this development. Such personal knowledge has of course the advantage of judgment by one personality, although in that time the personality itself changes to some extent.

But taking say a half century of observation, I can think of two typical parts of the United States where observation of our progress may be noted. First, New York. Forty years ago in New York City the Negro population was sixty thousand. Negroes had difficulty in finding work. They were admitted to the schools but there were only few Negro teachers. They were especially limited in the areas where they could live; they could only attend theatres in the balcony and then were often segregated. Few restaurants received them. They voted solidly the Republican ticket and therefore received no consideration from either party. No New York daily had Negro reporters or usually reported Ne

news except crime.

Forty-five years later there were nearly a half million Negroes in New York. Their chances for work had greatly widened, although there were large numbers of Negro teachers and some principals. The Negro population had spread widely and while there were still restricted areas they were not as nearly widespread as formerly. Theatres and movies were open practically without discrimination to Negro patrons; most restaurants catered to the Negro. The Negro vote was a determining factor in many parts of the city and we had one Congressman, several members of the legislature and several judges on the bench. All the newspapers carry Negro news and most of them have Negro reporters.

36-7-28

Now let us turn to Atlanta. In 1900 Atlanta had thirty-five thousand Negroes. Work was strictly segregated by race and wages low. At least two-thirds of the workers were servants and common laborers. The schools nearly all had double sessions, many children had no seats and there were no high schools or night schools for Negroes. The Negroes were segregated in the slum areas around Decatur Street with only a few living elsewhere. There were no theatres for Negroes and no admission to the general theatres save to the top balcony of one or two. There were no local Negro newspapers.

In 1945 there were over one hundred thousand Negroes in Atlanta. The area of work had broadened and the wages were much better. There was a high school and two junior high schools, but they were crowded and there were still double sessions in the other schools. Night schools were provided. The Negro population had spread toward the west with many new and excellent homes. There were six or eight Negro movie theatres run by whites with colored employees; only two of them were clean and fairly presentable. The Negroes were beginning to vote even in the white primaries; there was a Negro daily newspaper, the only one in the United Stetes.

Now at first sight this record of change does not seem to be

impressive. There is progress and clear progress but it is slow and gradual, and difficult to measure exactly. Especially we do not know the exact facts about the vital and fundamental areas of work and rates of wages. Nevertheless the progress there is undoubted.

36-7-29

In general then we can say that there has been no fundamental change in this half century but the advance is a matter of slow but decided steps forward.

Perhaps firmer forward steps are clear in legislation and court decisions. Our legal status has been immensely strengthened by court decision since 1900. Mob violence has decreased. Georgia lynched four Negroes in 1946; but from 1904-18 Georgia lynched one or two Negroes every month, totaling five hundred mass murders in a generation--1882-1918.

Now with this unsatisfactory and somewhat sketchy appeal to history and experience, let us face the real subject: what can the American Negro to expect by 1965? Unless we are devastated by further castrophes of war; and if, as is probable, we settle down to something like real social advance throughout the world, it is fairly certain that by 1965 the American Negro will have a fair chance to earn a living at decent wages. There will still be discrimination in work and wages but the mass of Negroes will have begun their economic emancipation. The shhools will be distinctly better; there will still be separate schools in the South, but separation in education in the lwwer parts of the North and even in some border states will have ceased. More money will be spent on Negro schools in the South and the gap in efficiency between them and the white schools will be narrowed. Segregation in home and residential areas will for the most part have disappeared and race segregation by covenant will be illega The Negro will be voting effectively both in the North and in the South.

Of course, all this will not settle the real problem of Americ Negroes, because that problem will still be what we do with the increas

wage, extension of education, better home surroundings and the right to vote. What are these privileges for? Are we going to try to increase the wealth of the richest by climbing on the faces of the poorest among us? Are we going to use our education for enjoyment or for service? Are our homes going to be centers of gorging and gambling entertainment or for civilization? With the right to vote what are we going to vote for? Why are we going to vote? What kind of social organization are we going to build?

I doubt if these fundamental matters will have been settled by 1965, but perhaps we will begin by that time to face them; we will realize that human advance is long, slow and tedious, with periods of acceleration and stoppage even of retrogression; undoubtedly now and again, the world falls backward. We will realize that the inner core of the problem of American Negroes is not discrimination but a question of ideal and ability. Discrimination hinders the formation of ideals and the emerging of ability. But the doing away with discrimination will never settle these matters - rather it opens the way for us to face the real problems of life.

The most significant thing in the last forty-five years has been the discovery and recognition of unusual ability among Americans of Negro descent. The persons who for two centuries have been basing faith and acts on Negro failure to achieve, have been left dumb with open mouths. Outstanding individuals have received recognition in art, as painters and sculptors; in literature as writers of fiction and essays and as historians; in science as chemists, physicians and surgeons, physicists, and sociologists in the professions as lawyers, actors and teachers; in active life as merchants, engineers and civil servants. This undisputed and increasing array of talent has put an end to the question as to whether Negroes can accomplish results in the higher fields of human endeavor. We must remember that it was just as the end of the nineteenth century when a former

president of the United States told students at Johns-Hopkins that the Slater Fund (of which he was then the head) had been looking for Negroes of unusual ability so as to offer them higher training but had been unable to find any.

It is highly probable that in the next twenty years this discovery of talent will go on at increased tempo and will be the most outstanding development in race relations.

It will bring, however, certain curious problems. How far will these young Negroes consider that their primary duty is toward the cultural group which they represent and which created them? If they had been born in Russia, or England; in France, or Japan; in white America, such question would not arise. Quite naturally they would become national scientists and artists, and their work for the most part would go for the building up of the interests of the group or nation to which they belong, and to which they owe inspiration and help.

On the other hand, Negroes in the United States, being on the one hand American and on the other hand members, more or less integrated, of the Negro group, will not have so clear a duty before their eyes. They may think of their preferment chiefly as their personal accomplishment and therefore as a chance to escape unpleasant environment and hateful conditions. They may look upon their careers as American, not Negro; withdrawing themselves from the Negro group as far as possible. If they do this, they will fail to recognize how much that cultural group has meant to them; how tremendously it has inspired them to effort and how a large sum has been given by poor unlettered black folk to the education and training of outstanding young men and women of Negro descent. Repayment for this cannot be made to persons and organizations, but it can be made by extending opportunities for other persons within the Negro group and without to find themselves and to gain recognition for unborn talent.

Considerable as is the number of Negroes who have reached recognized accomplishment, we must remember that the great mass of talent among us still hidden and buried by the lack of education, encouragement and opportunity.

36-7-32

New Masses

Mar 1, 1937

# THE BLACK MAHDI

by W.E.B. Du Bois

The Prime Minister of Great Britain has recently received in audience, a Soudanese, whom the British have knighted, Sir Sayed Abdul Rahaman Mohammed Ahmed el Mahdi Pasha. But for one of his six names, outside his titles, the world might fail to recall the identity of this religious leader of the Sudan, i.e., Land of the Blacks. That significant name is "El Mahdi", the Redeemer.

Mahdis have appeared from time among the Mohammedans, like that leader of the Fatimids in the Eleventh Century, who swooped down from Morocco and conquered Egypt, Syria, and eventually Syria, Sicily and the Hejaz. But the Mahdi of the Nineteenth Century was the black Mohammed Ahmed from Dongola. He arose to power in a day of turmoil in the Sudan. The Negro Fung had established the great state of Dafur on the upper Nile, and sought to divide Ethiopia between themselves and the mixed Arabs and Asiatics then dominant in Egypt. Here they ruled from 1500 to 1800. In the nineteenth century Mehemet Ali who had seized power in Egypt and murdered the Mamelukes, sent his son into the Sudan to conquer the Fung. This son founded Khartoum, but was killed by the enemy in 1822. Mehemet Ali wreaked bloody vengeance on the blacks and finally in conjunction with the ivory merchants prepared to join in the lucrative ivory and slave trade in 1839.

The ivory trade was based on the demand for ivory for piano keys, billiard balls and ornaments in England and America. These countries furnished firearms and other capital for the trade. Arabs and Negroes explored Central Africa for elephants to furnish the tusks. These tusks were loaded on the backs of porters forced into service from the local Central African tribes and brought to the East Coast of Africa or down the Nile. Once their burden of ivory was unloaded, instead of paying

or returning the porters, the Arabs and Egyptians sold them into slavery.

This atrocious exploitation to furnish luxury items for rich Americans and Englishmen, reduced the Sudan to unparalleled turmoil and misery in the nineteenth century. Great Britain blamed Arab and Negro slavery for all this and on that argument extended the British Empire under the pretext of suppressing slavery. But the slave dealers were under the dictation of Mehemet Ali and other allies of Britain and the trade continued. The Sudanese themselves had no doubt as to where the blame lay. Driv en to despair they declared Holy War against Christians under one of their religious leaders, Mohammed Ahmed, who proclaimed himself the "Mahdi", or Redeemer. He was set upon by English and Egyptians when he revolted in 1881, but aided by the Dinka Negroes, saved Kordofan, in 1883, where he massacred the English army, led by Kicks Pasha. He gathered a large number of followers and in 1885 attached Kartoum.

In Khartoum at this time was Chinese Gordon. This singular soldier of fortune had sold his ability to organize murder and pillage to the highest bidder anywhere in the world. In China he had helped to put down the rebels who were fighting wildly but desperately to save their country from Europe. He had offered his services to Leopold of Belgium to enslave the natives of the Congo, when the English who were determined to reduce Egypt to British rule, bid for his services and secured them. Gordon was a religious fanatic, who got drunk and prayed and had illegitimate colored children. But he bore the English banner of emancipating the slaves, although as a matter of fact he permitted the slave trade in the Soudan, in order to pacify the Egyptians.

The wild hordes of the Mahdi burst into Khartoum and killed Chinese Gordon. Both British and Egyptians ran wildly out of the Sudan and for thirteen years did not dare return. The Mahdi died in 1886, but his successor, called the Khalifa, continued his victorious rule.

No real history of this era of the Sudan has ever been written, nor has any adequate social study ever been made. We have been made to depend for the truth on the folk-lore of British imperialism, which represents the Mahdi as a cruel and barbarous fanatic, forcing slavery on the blacks, which the English finally rescued with machine guns under Kitchener in 1896. But the facts do not uphold this theory. First England did not return to the Sudan in 1897 for any philanthropic reasons but because she saw her investments in danger and the political power back of those investments about to be attacked.

When driven out of the Sudan in 1885, she had been compelled to give up her designs upon Abyssinia. Thereupon she encouraged Italy in an attempt to annex Abyssinia. Abyssinia had been beset by the Khalifa and her King killed; but the successor of that king, Menelik, aided by France and Italy restored his rule and held back the Khalifa. Italy thereupon demanded as payment, virtual control of Ethiopia by a deceptive treaty. The black Lion of Judah roared and thoroughly trounced Italy at Adua. Here now suddenly appeared in Africa, two triumphant black nations, the Sudanese and Ethiopia. Not only this, but France which had refused to join England in dominating Egypt, and had aided Ethiopia now was on the point of renewing her imperialist dreams. She swept secretly across North Africa and was not only approaching the Nile Valley but made alliance with Abyssinia.

The English imperialists were aroused. Gold discoveries had been added to the diamonds of South Africa, and Cape to Cairo was not merely a dream -- it was a vast and increasing investment manipulated by Cecil Rhodes. Every effort was made to stir up British imperialistic enthusiasm. Gordon appeared as a martyr to emancipation. The "Little Englanders" were bitterly ridiculed, and Kitchener, armed with the latest machine-guns and other weapons of war was hastened to Africa against the dervishes, while Egypt was encouraged to join in re-conquest of "her" Sudan.

Kitchener conquered slaughtering 27,000 Sudanese. He dug up the dead bones of the Mahdi and contemptiously threw them on the ground. Britian cheered wildly but never forgot "Cape to Cairo" Kitchener. He hastened down to Fashoda, where a little French army had appeared after a long march from West Africa. He offered the French surrender or war. France submitted and the Sudan reappeared under the dubious title, the "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan".

To-day, fifty years later, after two world wars, which the imperialism of the nineteenth century hatched, and which have nearly overthrown European civilization, there appears in England the son of the black Mahdi of the nineteenth century. What does he ask? He demands that in the treaty by which Great Britain recognizes the independence of Egypt, that this recognition shall not include the Sudan as belonging to Egypt. Going away back to the invasion of Nubia by Selim of Egypt in 1617, the son of the Mahdi declared that Egypt and the Sudan had been independent countries under treaty of alliance despite the lawless slave raids and oppression of Mehemet Ali. That for five thousand years previously, the Land of the Blacks had never been conquered by the Pharaohs of Egypt, the Kings of Assyria, Alexander the Great, the Empire of Rome, the Mohammedans, the Turks or even the great Saladin. Only after the final overthrow of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, did the Sudanese submit to unwilling rule under the English and Egyptians, who still call the Sudanese, slaves.

The situation is curiously complicated today. British and European capital have developed the water power of the Sudan upon which the very life of Egypt depends. Moreover the Egyptians have done little to placate or attract the Sudanese. The ruling caste in Egypt remains Asiatic, although the Negro blood of the Fellahin throughout Egypt is plainly apparent. Yet few persons of Negro blood reach high position in Egypt either in politics, science or society. In other words, a color

line is apparent in Egypt -- not the legal caste of the United States, nor the deeply imbedded custom as in British dominions; but nevertheless clear and obvious.

The English, on the other hand, have cultivated the Sudanese. They have given them in Gordon College and other schools, secondary education enabling them to fill the civil service with Sudanese rather than Egyptians. And just as in West Africa and the West Indies, the British have dangled before the Sudanese the promise of eventual autonomy. They have distributed a few knighthoods, and ribbons of distinction; but they have carefully limited higher training, and encouraged few blacks to enter English universities.

But in Egypt the agitation for independence from England and for democracy in Egypt has been carried on by students, and among this group black blood is wide-spread. Now that real Egyptian independence is in sight, the radicals want the cooperation of the Sudanese. But the Sudanese are divided. Some led by the son of the Mahdi, do not trust the Egyptians. They see in Egypt a poverty and degradation among the poor peasants which is perhaps the worst on earth. Still believing in the honesty of the English, they demand an independent Sudan, with autonomy in the near future. The British hesitate; they fear the wrath of investors, the hate of Egypt and the real menace of a holy war, which El Mahdi boldly threatens, speaking aloud in London.

When it became clear that sooner or later, Egypt could no longer be held in political subjection forever, the British have undoubtedly deliberately promised the Sudanese autonomy. But, complain the Egyptians bitterly, this would be a pistol aimed at our heads, especially since the English will still hold the investments and dominate the Sudan as a British colony. What will a promise of freedom for the Sudan be worth even under the Socialist Labor government?

Here we can see in tragic outline, the mess which capitalism

has forced upon the modern world. Without plan or foresight, save to make private profit as huge and fast as possible, millions of people today stand tied hand and foot. Britain cannot apply socialism to Africa, lest she antagonize the most powerful elements in her society; Egypt cannot be free, because her freedom involves the continued slavery of the Sudan; the Sudan cannot be independent, because her autonomy threatens the bread and butter of Egypt, through British investment. Moreover a successful, free Sudan, would loose in Central Africa, a force which would in time surely drive the land monopolists of Kenya into the sea and reverberate in that Rhodesia and South Africa where capitalism and human slavery are today building their last and strongest bulwarks.

35-1-12

[Soviet Russia Today, Sept. 1947]

Statement sent to "Soviet Russia Today" commemorating 30th Anniv. of U.S.S.R. Sept. 17, 1947

114 E. 32nd St. NYC

I believe that the greatest events of the twentieth century have been the Russian Revolution and the Freeing of India. I look upon Russia today as the most hopeful state in the world, not because its efforts have been perfection or without mistakes, but because it has attacked the fundamental problem of our day, the problem of the poverty, ignorance and disease of the great mass of mankind.

If the world, and especially the American World, would appreciate the significance of these magnificent efforts and realize how much has been accomplished they would be willing to work with Russia on any reasonable terms. They would be willing to study and understand her difficulties and her programs and they would not hesitate to integrate in the American way of life much that the Russians have adopted since the revolution.

22-11-13

It is because we are misled by propaganda and by a press which is not free but monopolized that we are letting the money-makers drive almost unhindered toward the ruin of modern civilization by a third world war. It is the bounden duty of decent men in the United States, in all the Americas, in Europe and the world, to set their faces like flint against future war; to be willing to cooperate with Russia and with other countries to solve problems, which we our selves have never been willing directly and honestly to face.

I am glad to greet Russia on the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State and the fourteenth anniversary of the establishment of American-Soviet Diplomatic Relations.

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35-1-201

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Requested article

[publ. in F.E. News ↑ under "Only Unity Can Lead Workers to Victory"]

# RACE PREJUDICE AND THE CIO

W.E.B. DuBois

When I was a boy I lived in a little New England town. In that town was a factory, The Berkshire Woolen Mills. The workers in that factory were Irish and German immigrants. They were poor and ignorant. Their homes formed the slum area of this prim New England village. They were Catholics, but the overwhelming majority were Protestants who feared their religion. The children did not usually attend the public schools, and were ragged and dirty.

35-2-327

With the population of the town, I looked down upon this mass of laboring poor people and despised them. I assumed that they liked dirt and poverty; that they lived in filth, in their ill-smelling hovels, because they either preferred that sort of thing or were too lazy to ask for anything else. There was to my mind at that time no corresponding problem of Negroes. In the first place, there were very few Negroes in town, those few were for the most part my relatives. They were poor people, but their homes were neat and prim. They worked as servants and laborers, but they did not live in segregated slums, chiefly because there were not enough of them.

Then I grew up. I went out into the world; first to the world of New England, and then to the South, where I saw the Negro problem for the first time. I taught school in Middle Tennessee, in districts where there had been almost no education since the Civil War. I saw poverty there of the equal to the poverty of the Irish and Germans in New England.

By that time there had come a new element into my thought: the people responsible for the poverty of the Negro in the South seemed to be the white people and, so far as I could [illegible] poor white people. Consequently, I still saw no connection between the laboring white poor and the laboring black poor. I learned that the laboring white poor had kept the laboring black poor from getting jobs; that they would not work with them, that they would not admit them to their unions; that they were the cause of disorder and violence, so that my [illegible] world was sharply divided.

violence, so that my labor world was sharply divided.

But I went still further and in the halls of a great university I began to study the labor movement. I began to realize that the exploitation of labor was universal, and that the people, who were making money out of a system which paid low wages in return for the making of goods which sold at high prices, did not care whether the hands which made these good or served them in other ways were white or black. That they were undistrubed by the fact that most of the laborers were too poor to take advantage of the education which the public offered. And that this poverty and ignorance and the consequent ill-health were part of one problem where the matter of color and race never entered.

35-2-328

I began then, as teacher and lecturer, to put before my audiences, which were chiefly colored, the case of the rights of the laborers; of the way in which the laborers had joined together and fought long years for higher wages and better conditions of work. But I found to my disappointment that my colored audiences did not listen to me. They said, one reason why we are so poor and have such difficulty in finding work is that white union workers will not allow us to join their unions or work beside them. When I made special study of the situation of the Negroes in New York and Philadelphia and various parts of the South, I found fact piled upon fact which proved the exclusion of Negro labor from the chief benefits of the union movement.

But on the other hand, I found other facts. I found that Negroes were willing and sometimes compelled to act as scabs to break strikes, to hold down the wages of labor in self-defense against their exclusion from certain kinds of work. Finally, I began to see the whole thing as one well-nigh universal pattern: the setting of groups of laborers against each other for various reasons---for reasons of religion, of race, of color, of nationality. But whatever the reason given, the real one was that by this division of laborers into opposing groups, the rate of wages could be kept down, the effectiveness of unions could be stopped, and the mass of laboring people could be kept poor, ignorant, and sick.

25-2-329

I then began a propaganda among both colored people and white, in which I tried to make frontal attack upon the problem of race. I tried to say that the appearance of a black skin among people unused to seeing col red folk was just as startling as the appearance of a white skin to colored people. The children of Africa laughed and shrieked at the coming of explorers and missionaries; and in the same way the children of Ireland, England, and Germany laughed, and yelled, and stared at a black face. But I tried to emphasize the fact, that there is no such difference between human beings as the apprent contrasts in skin color seems to imply. There are differences between persons, but there is only one great family of human beings, and among all of its branches there is essential equality in ability, growth, and reaction.

This fact, which was long the hope of philanthropy, is today the undisputed dictum of science; and the first thing that the C.I.O. ought to teach among its members is that any discrimination within the Union, based on differences of racial characteristics, or of nationality, or of religion, is absolutely unjustifiable, and will be taken advantage of by exploiters in every way possible. That the differences between human beings are mainly differences of strength, of will, of desire to do right, of honesty and good-will towards their fellow men; and that these differences are distributed among men regardless of racial characteristics, regardless of physical characteristics, regardless of religion, sex, or nationality.

When the labor movement learns this and begins to take special effort to bring these facts to all their members they will have taken a great and important step. So long as the labor movement is headed by such great organizations as the Railway Conductors, Engineers, and other railway unions, which say frankly and flatly in their constitutions that Negroes cannot belong to their unions, it is doing more harm against itself than the Taft-Hartley Bill could ever do. Once the labor movement in the United States has

learned the fundamentals of interracial democracy, then we have begun to build an organization which in the long run cannot be kept from achieving its great objective.

25-2-330

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# THE ETHICS OF THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

By W. E. B. Du Bois

What is there right and wrong in the question of Palestine, which today faces not simply the United States but the whole world? It is not a difficult question. There is something terribly simple about it. Every child knows that ancient Jewish civilization and religion centered in Palestine. One has but to name its cities, rivers and places, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Damascus, Jordan, Gallilee and a hundred others. Everyone knows the way in which the history of the Jewish religion is wound about Palestine and from there how the thread runs through all modern history.

Into this land from 1700 B. C. to the 19th century passed a succession of peoples and empires; Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Greece. About 1,000 B. C. the Hebrew monarchy arose and persisted with conquest and revival until the time of Alexander the Great. After his death began the world-wide dispersal of the Jews, their struggle with Rome and overthrow by Islam. When, therefore, it comes a question of original possession and ownership there is no final answer for any people. After all, as Americans ought to know, the question of possession of a land is in the long run the question of the use to which the land is put.

Palestine is a land largely of plateaus, mountains, and deserts, sparcely inhabited, and could easily maintain millions more people than the two millions it has today. Among the million Arabs there is widespread ignorance, poverty and disease and a fanatic belief in the Mohammedan religion, which makes these people suspicious of other peoples and other religions. Their

rulership is a family and clan despotism which makes effective use of democratic methods difficult.

Now it happens that the Jew wandering through Europe has for two thousand years been fighting for a place. He was not allowed in mediaeval Europe, because of his religion, to pursue the ordinary vocations of most people. He became, therefore, a peddler and a financier, beginning his work with the new capitalism that arose in the Middle Ages. Here he found his vocation and served in every country.

25-2-82

There is no question of the contribution which he made to modern civilization, not only in banking and finance, but in the arts, in the fineness of his family life, in the magnificent clearness of his intellect. But he was faced always by three alternatives: Should he lose himself in the surrounding population and through that give up his peculiar culture and religion; should he keep to himself, an integral unit; or finally, should he try to find a state of his own? All three of those answers were made. Millions of Jews had lost themselves in the population of Europe and their blood mingles with that of other people's.

At the same time they have kept a curious and fruitful unity in their culture and in t eir religion. Finally, after a bitter fight, there arose with increasing voice, a demand on the part of the Jews themselves that they should go back to Zion and refound the state which they had lost. This Zionism met opposition from many thoughtful Jews. They said this would increase anti-Jewish attitudes rather than decrease them. But the situation ceased to be academic. There began to be a growing feeling that certain of the Jews could only escape persecution by migration to a homeland.

Then during the First World War, on November 2, 1917, came the great promise of the British Empire: "His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object." Moreover, this was no longer a mere question of religion and culture. It was a question of young and forward thinking Jews, bringing a new civilization into an old land and building up that land out of the ignorance, disease, and poverty into which it had fallen; and by democratic methods to build a new and peculiarly fateful modern state. A start has been made in education, agriculture, water power, industry, and commerce.

Therefore, one man furnished the catalysis and that was Adolph Hitler. Rising on the backs of Jews because of the envy and jealousy which they had aroused in Germany, he built a new anti-Semitism in Europe which resulted in the murder of six million people and the dispersement of practically all of the Jews in Eastern Europe. What had been a theoretical demand for a Zion, now became a necessity for more than a million displaced and homeless Jews. There was actually no other place on earth for them to go.

But at this time, because of the increased use of oil in industry and war, because of the fear of Russia with her new plan of the emancipation of the mass of people, the discovery of oil in Arabia. Great Britain opposed Zion.

Ernest Bevin, the Labor party's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, building on some half-hidden

dislike of Jews in his own mind, not only refused to carry out the British promise but used British troops against the Jews, trained Arab troops for use in the future against them, and used the Navy for keeping the displaced persons from migrating into Zion. In the United States, President Truman, after having promised to stand by the founding of Zion, inexplicably went back upon his word, refused to permit arms to be given to the beleagured Jews in Palestine and since then has been trying to straddle the fence and make any efforts of the United Nations ineffective and impossible. This has precipitated a fatal test of the new effort to unite mankind. It was because the League of Nations refused to follow the lead of Russia into disarmament, and then refused to take any stand with regard to the rape of Ethiopia, that, primarily, the League of Nations died.

35-2-84

Today the matter comes up again in different guise before the United Nations. This organization of nations started more favorably because the world realizes the absolute necessity of a union of the peoples of the world. The United States which refused to join the League of Nations, which was largely its own handicap, helped to make the League of Nations ineffective. But we are taking a leading part in the United Nations.

The United Nations, therefore, faces these problems: the problem of communism in Russia; the problem of colonies, the problem of Palestine. Under Roosevelt we were making headway with the problem of Russia. Russians and Americans and Britishers were sitting down and talking together. They were compromising, they were seeking to make One World; until the same

interests, which put profit in private industry and war-making ahead of the interests of One World, are today threatening to make the differences between Russia and the United States, scuttle and ruin the United Nations. With regard to colonies, there again, we are more interested in investment in Africa and in Asia and in Arabia, than we are in the freedom of mankind; and for that reason we have hamstrung the whole trusteeship system ; and have practically taken no forward steps in the matter of colonies. And finally, in the case of Palestine, the United Nations is standing apparently helpless.

35-2-85

In the meantime, a million displaced Jews are begging to be allowed to migrate to Palestine, where there is room for them, where there is work for them to do, where what Jews have already done is for the advantage, not simply of the Jews, but of the Arabs. The British Navy is keeping the Jews out and when the British Navy ceases to act, the British trained Arabian Army will walk in and begin war. This may be the Third World War. If it is, the guilt of this final disaster of modern civilization lies upon the heads of Ernest Bevin and Harry Truman.

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Lincoln Center
700 Oakwood Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

Make Folder
in file with DuBois
material

# GANDHI

By W. E. B. Du Bois

At his death, Mohandas Gandhi was the greatest man in the world. He was the Prince of Peace and stood among living leaders alone, because of that fact. For his color and his poverty he was despised and rejected by most of the world. He had no form nor comeliness that men should desire him and yet he stood for the one thing which the powerful Christian Church has been supposed to advocate for nearly two thousand years.

23-24-28

It is singular that a man who was not a follower of the Christian religion should be in his day the best exemplification of the principles which that religion was supposed to lay down. While the Christian Church during its two thousand years of existence has been foremost in war and organized murder, Mohandas Gandhi has been foremost in exemplifying peace as a method of political progress.

I remember once sitting at a large dinner in a New York hotel where there were a number of christian ministers, including a few from colored Harlem. Madame Pandit, the sister of Nehru was one of the speakers and as the singularly beautiful woman rose and looked upon that audience, she said with a smile, "You know I am a heathen", and as a heathen she represented something bigger and finer than those professed representatives of the Christian church. The church which had defended slavery and was defending with few exceptions, present color caste; and was not only foremost in the promotion of the first and second World Wars but ready for a third World War.

Since the beginning of this era, the rise of the industrial revolution in the 18th century, the world has increasingly counted upon war as the chief method of social uplift. This is in direct contradiction to the ethics of the Christian religion. It is as

far as one can conceive from the Christ doctrine of turning the other cheek, of self sacrifice, of peace and good-will. Yet we have not only insisted upon war as the chief weapon of civilization but our insistence has progressibely increased, until today after a world war so total and costly th t it well nigh stopped civilization, we are doggedly preparing frantically for a Third War and what must be looked upon as a Final effort at suicide. Our greatest leaders, with few exceptions seem to agree with this program. Winston Churchill, ever since he was disappointed at not maintaining control of the British Empire has not only advocated war but persistently pushed and advised the United States to lead it. I know of very few great leaders who have taken their stand upon the Christian doctrine of peace. Mohandas Gandhi was the one magnificent exception. For years now he has been a leader in the peace movement and also a leader in the rise of the colored peoples. He has changed their attitude. Formerly there seemed absolutely no chance for the majority of people in the world to gain freedom and autonomy except by fighting and over-coming the dominant white race. This trend of thought Gandhi ended.

23-24-29

How is it now that among civilized people this kind of contradiction can happen? That you can have an organization and a creed and personal profession standing for one thing and yet actions which entirely contradict them? It is of course because we accept hypocrisy and lying as part of our creed. We become used not only to saying one thing and meaning another, but of professing one belief and acting in contradiction to it, and then neither permiting criticism willingly, nor heeding it if the criticism is made.

When this kind of action characterises an era its fall and destruction is forecast. It is impossible to maintain integrity and

logical balance in the midst of hypocrisy and lying. On the other hand, and no one knew this more than Mohandas Gandhi, the price of standing up against overwhelming world opinion is terrible. Gandhi began fightinf for Indians and Negroes in South Africa and there in the most reactionary and utterly debased of modern countrys called civilized he fought his battle for equality. Then when he went back to India he was faced by the inevitable difficulty of finding power and wealth in high places, of finding war and organized murder almost universally accepted as a method of progress. He must as a result of this find himself. And he did so gradually but determinedly.

2-24-30

He tried at first to follow the faith which indluenced so many of us in the First World War. He wanted India to take part in a war to end all Wars; in a war to stop the war psychosis. But he found out, as so many of us did, that the First World War was simply prelude to a second; that it was not a war for freedom but for industrial profit. When Gandhi saw that its results in Asia included massacres like that of Amritsar and the imprisoning and torture of liberal leadership, he turned to "Passive Resistence." He tried by inaction and refusal to cooperate in wrong, to compel the governing powers of the British Empire to give India her freedom. He even tried to face and fight the great organization of industry based on the modern machine and accumulated capital. It was a hard, and for long years, a failing fight; but today we see that in the long run the Gandhi doctrine must triumph or modern civilization falls as the cultures of Greece and Rome fell two thousand years ago.

Much depends upon our attitude toward Gandhi and his doctrines. Is it not possible for the world to turn and say,"No more war!", to reinstate the Prince of Peace as founder and guide of the Christian

religion; to acknowledge that it took a heathen to show Christians the way of life and to refuse to be carried further in this insane determination to commit suicide through a third World War.

He knew as all men with wisdom know that peace cannot be obtained through war, that this psychosis of murder which has gradually gripped the modern civilized world means its utter suicide, and therefore in his great work of emancipatiog more than three hundred and fifty millions of human beings Gandhi sought to find the path of peace, rather than the path of war. He practically invented "Passive Resistence"; he carried it out to an extent which no other great group of people, not even the Quakers had ever attempted before. He led hundreds of millions toward this program of peace and sacrifice. It was not as successful as he hoped and nevertheless at his death he could see that his program was a greater and finer program than anything that the world had tried, certainly during the twenty centuries of Christian leadership.

23-24-31

The impact of his magnificent courage and his stubborn standing by principle will not soon be forgotten. This is not to say that Gandhi was all-wise, that for instance his fight against capitalism and his laying down of great principles was always unassailable by criticism and logic; but with all of his mistakes, and they were many, his fundamental principles were unquestionable his unselfishness and spirit of sacrifice was something that the modern world has gone so far astray that it cannot properly evaluate or worship. It was perhaps in the end better that he should die violently by the hand of an Indian fanatic rather than be whipped to death by an English imperial aristocrat.

In the end, of course, the whole situation was the product of English imperialism, was the result of that ruthless will to power and to wealth which has made Great Britain one of the worst examples of expansion and government the world has ever known. The hypocrisy and violence of the British spawned the violence that killed Gandhi, and in the long run, not only international war but national peace is going to come through the broad principles which Mohandas Gandhi laid down. It is unfortunate that America never saw him. He expressed a wish once to come here, but John Haynes Holmes said, "No, America could not appreciate you. They would sneer at your loin cloth, laugh at your words, and curse your color." So he never came to great America which wri gles on its belly to welcome a little King Michael.

23-24-32

It would be singularly fitting if America, or that part of it which has the breadth of mind to appreciate Mohandas Gandhi, should somewhere in India raise a magnificent monument for all men to see, illustrating this colored man, little, ugly, yet sublime, who believed in and did the things that the United States of America, although professing, has never been able to accomplish.

THIRTY-THREE YEARS, 1914 to 1947

In these years the American Negro has faced his severest trial and fought a most dogged defense. He has seen two World Wars, in which he has participated as soldier and worker in larger proportion than his percentage in the population required. He has passed through a severe economic depression, in which as one of the lowest of the economic groups he suffered cruelly. He was one of the beneficiaries of the Roosevelt planned economy, but was deprived of his just share by discrimination in relief and wage floors. He has seen two attempts at world government, but has been deprived of all voice even to appeal for justice.

35-1-48

As a result of these happenings the population of the United States which is admittedly of Negro descent, amounting today to persons, was in 1917 faced by the question as to whether he was to be recognized under the law as a citizen liable to military draft or could be reduced to forced labor. Fear and rumors of disaffection through German propaganda led to quick affirmation of his legal liability to the draft as a full American citizen; but the Army under cover of the acts of Congress forced him into separate Negro units, involving numerous difficulties and delays and making the determination of the army to use the Negro as a stevedore and not as a fighter in the ranks, easier of realization. Every effort was made to refuse any Negro a commission, by denying him admisson to officer training camps. His one representative in the army officers corps, a man of distinction and graduate of West Point and co-worker with Pershg in Mexico, was forced out of active service lest he become a general. Especial hardship arose from the establishment of training camps in the South and insisting that Colored troups submit without question to the caste and insult of the former slave states. Revolt and blodshed ensued over wide aras In the state militia regiments, incorporated in the A.E.F., Negro officers were almost completely weeded out and Negro troops reduced to labor batalns In Europe the discrimination against Negro troops was carried out systematically. Nevertheless the black troops and laborers did their jobs well, hoping that this proof of their patriotism and loyalty under the most difficult and discouraging conditions would win their race freedom and equality

at home.

They were widely disappointed. In the United States, between violent anti-Negro riots brooke out in East St. Louis, Chicago and even in Washington, the capital of the nation. There was a sudden increase in lynching while leading scientists tried repeatedly to use the unfair "intelligence tests" to prove the ineradicable inferiority of the Negro race.

35-1-49

Race discrimination in many directions notably increased: in travel, Negroes were seperated with inferior accommodations, dispite the law not only in the South but sometimes in the North. There was little decrease in the chances for Negroes to obtain decent accommodation in hotels and restaurants anywhere in the nation; housing covenants between private parties in defiance of the law, deprived Negroes of decent homes and were upheld by the courts; many of the largest and strongest labor unions openly refused membership to Negroes and others discriminated secretly; the jobs which Negroes could get the wages and conditions of work offered were the lowest, and when Negroes sought to better their condition by migration from the South and from country to city they were met by segregation ordinances or mob violence.

Especiall ydid Negro education suffer. Under various devices and excuses, the mass of Negroes were segrated in schools and the increased cost of this segration made excuse for denying Negroes, school-houses salaries for decent teachers or necessary equipment. White colleges discouraged or flatly refused Negro students and Negro colleges had no funds to gieve adequate training. After 70 years effort a third of Negro recruits could not read and write. Dissease still wracked the race because medical training and hospitalization was refused on any adequate scale. As a result, increased discrimination was excuse by charges of ignorance and disease

Artist
W. E. B. Du Bois

# INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Independent Africa, of course, begins with Egypt some five thousand years before Christ. The rule of Egypt was interrupted by the rise of Ethiopia in the eighth century before Christ and with various vicissitudes and geographical changes, Ethiopia and Egypt still exist. Toward the West, African independence emerges with Ghana, a thousand years before Christ, merging into the Mellestine in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries and the Songhay which preceeded and outlasted the Mellestine until the latter part of the 16th century.

38-16-1

These independent nations moved under various names toward the East and toward the West coast. On the West coast we know them as Yoruba and Benin and other countries conquered by France and England in the 19th Century. Southeast, arose two or three thousand years ago the realm of the Monomotapa; and further North in the 16th century the kingdom of the Mvata Yanvo which became the modern Uganda. Uganda after fierce resistence became merged into the British Empire. In the West, England conquered the Ashanti after six wars and with the help of the Fanti, and it was the Fanti confederation in 1867 which produced the first modern African constitution. The British put its authors in jail. In South Africa came the successive migration of the Bantu under their various tribal names, who after a century of battles with the Dutch and the English were finally subdued.

Today on the African continent, Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia are independent states, and there are movements towards independence in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis. The Union of South Africa is independent and dominated by whites.

In the Sudan there is the revolt which has resolved itself into a battle between Egypt and England for the control of these seven million people. At present, England is in the ascendance. Around Ethiopia there are independence movements in Eritrea and Somaliland and some parts of Lybia. On the West Coast, in Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, has emerged recently independence movements. Other movements toward autonomy, but not envisaging complete independence are decernible in East Africa.

On the whole, the wave of European control and conquest has deprived black African populations of all independence except in Ethiopia and Liberia, where they are under economic threat; and in the case of British West Africa, where the apparent demand for autonomy and even separation is growing.

38-16-2

Carter

CARTER (Sunday [redacted])

The eminent Negro historian, author and editor, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, vice-chairman of the Council on African Affairs, was told that we were anxious to get a comprehensive statement from him for these articles on Negro progress. He decided he had better write the statement himself, and not rely on the interview method. His article follows, and it is an important one -- Richard Carter.

By Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

The Ottley-Carter method of social inquiry is very old and always interesting, but seldom conclusive and never scientific. Human life is tremendously complicated and this is a vast country. There are more Negroes in it today than there were Englishmen in England 100 years ago. If now a man starts out to see what the condition of American Negroes really is, he can easily find:

A- Startling and encouraging instances of progress.

B- Discouraging evidences of cultural lag in the real emancipation of this group from prejudice and repression.

If either investigation is weighted for or against a given conclusion, the result may be anything. Which of the two pictures is the real picture? Neither.

Well, then, which on the whole is symptomatic of current trends? Undoubtedly, the optimistic and encouraging, as painted by Ottley.

BUT -- and here is the real question, is the progress so marked and so advanced that we need no longer be apprehensive as to the eventual settlement of the race problem?

more

The answer here is emphatically no, and THE DAILY COMPASS and Richard Carter deserve all praise for stressing it.

Why do I say no? Because:

1- Two-thirds of Southern Negroes are still disfranchised in defiance of law.

2- Tow-thirds of ~~xxxxxxx~~ the U.S. Negro population have incomes too low for a decent standard of living, which means over-exposure ~~xx~~ to disease and death, and prevalence of crime.

38-12-4

3- Despite inaccurate census reports, army experience indicates 30 per cent illiteracy among Negroes, 86 years after emancipation. Russia eliminated illiteracy in 25 years. Today the average Negro child in the rural South, where there are 5,000,000 Negroes, does not have a chance to learn to read and write. Most Negro elementary grades are so crowded that decent education is impossible.

4- If it is admitted as some claim that religion is the highest expression of national social and ethical standards, then it must be admitted also that the pattern of Jim Crow ~~xxxx~~ is more widely practices by churches than by any other public institution.

5- In human rights, including travel, recreation, public courtesy, marriage and death, it is clear that Negroes can still be insulted and deprived of rights and decencies beyon any other group in this country or in any other country which claims to be civilized.

The first reponse to all this, on the part of many, will be that the statements are either not true or are exaggerated. Such persons are mostly in the category of knowing nothing of the Negro problem by personal experience, and judge from the very limited number of Negroes they see or hear about; or depend on newspapers and word of mouth.

It must be admitted that there is no established basis of carefully ascertained fact beyond this to which one can turn for scientific truth about American Negroes. The U.S. Census is the nearest, but is admittedly inaccurate and careless. For instance, counting the Negro population depends on the judgement of untrained canvassers. If the person who comes to the door looks white, the family is white. If the person says he can read and write, he goes down as literate.

All my life I have tried to establish an institution for the accurate, scientific study of Negroes in America. I have never been able to get the funds. I have, however, over an active life of 60 years, probably collected more data than any other person.

I have visited repeatedly every state in the union, and in many centers spent from one to 10 years in study. I have lived in tens of thousands of Negro homes and taught 100,000 Negro children. I thus have an overall knowledge of Negroes which, while not scientifically accurate, is worth expressing. Let us return, then, to my numbered statements above:

1-More Negroes are voting than ever before. But most Negroes of the South are kept from voting. It may be admitted the progress is gratifying, but it is also true that the Southern rotten borough system and Negro disfranchisement is the greatest imaginable blot on our so-called democracy.

A cheap demagog from Mississippi can go to Congress on 7,000 votes and make more noise and exercise more influence that a New Yorker who speaks for 100,000. The Southern congressmen who filibustered against the bill for Negro rights represented 4,000,000 and outweighed 40,000,000.

The country allowed them thus to flout democracy because as a whole the country despises "niggers." And that was the frightening thing about the failure of this legislation: not that it failed, but that the whole country let a bunch of Negro-haters, led by a Michigan copperhead, stop Congress from even voting on whether the matter should come to a vote.

2- The basic ill of Negroes is poverty and inability to get work for which they qualify at pay equal to that paid white folk. We all know how "lazy" and "inefficient" Negroes have always been painted by those who fatten on their unpaid or half-paid toil. When the President of the U.S., pushed by a splendid, factual civil rights report, proposed to Congress that this situation be bettered, Congress would not even vote on it, and the President himself went fishing.

Let us not be too optimistic about the Negro's efforts to get rich, American style. Our survival will not depend on the number of Cadillacs we own.

3- The education of Negroes is cause for pride and thankfulness. It has abolished the illiteracy of most Negroes and given the mass a trained leadership which has made its mark on the nation's culture. At the same time, the U.S. and state governments do as little, as late as they can, in Negro education. States temper their discrimination usually in fear of retaliation from philanthropy or Washington. Washington, in turn, gives the states every opportunity to cheat the Negroes of their just share of the national bounty.

Yet the South has the effrontery to demand national aid for her schools on condition and only on condition the Negroes continue to be cheated. The president of Harvard defends this non-interference with local "self rule." more

We could have wiped out Negro and white illiteracy in this land by 1900 if we had wanted to. We didn't want to.

4- The antics of religion before the race problem must make joy in Hell. Religion excused slavery as an instrument to convert the heathen. When the heathen were converted, most churches damned abolition. Some churches split on the slavery issue, and when the Methodists united a while ago, they failed to invite into the reunion the Colored ~~xxxx~~ Methodists. They simply invited the whites who expelled the blacks, and praised God.

Today, in lynching, disfranchisement, social recognition and other issues, the Catholic and Protestant churches stand at the head of the segregation column.

5- If I should start South on a train tomorrow, I could be put off the coach and arrested for "disturbing the peace" as soon as I reach Virginia. I could not be served in any first class Washington restaurant. If I should enter the flower gardens in the parks of Charleston, S.C., I could be arrested for trespass. If Paul Robeson's son should take his bride to Texas, they could be jailed for fornication. When my first-born son died in Georgia, I brought his body 1,000 miles to place it in uncursed soil.

So what? The American Negro has made amazing progress. White public opinion has ~~xx~~ yielded before proof of his ability. There is less crude race hatred.

We have a right to note this and rejoice in it. But we are not called upon to prance down Fifth Ave. with vine-leaves in our hair, nor bound in gratitude to crawl into the White House and greet Truman as "Marse Linkum." We can be mildly grateful that this Missouri

to say something, even if he did nothin-

The situation is difficult and demands rare poise and balanced judgement. I have at times in the past felt a glow of pleasure when a white man showed me some small act of courtesy. And then a minute later I flushed with anger to remember that I actually had to be glad to be regarded as a human being.

Indicated today for black folk is some reasonable attitude between hysterical thankfulness and grim determination never to be satisfied with less than all.

That, and courage. Nobody can blame a Negro from being scared. It is still possible for a massacre of Negroes worse than what 6,000,000 Jews suffered in Germany.

The way to meet this is not to grin and bow. It is not to run and hide when somebody whispers "Communist." Everybody is a Communist today who stands up for anything decent.

No. Stand and be counted. This nation is still a wretched travesty on democracy and Christianity. But there are min welcome signs of dawn.

38-12-8

Mailed to "Soviet Russia Today" - Jessica Smith
Aug. 2, 1949

THE SANE LIBERAL

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

My friends all agree that the reading of the morning paper these days is a most difficult and discouraging chore. One reads that apparently in the United States, war is taken for granted; most of our money, most of our newspaper space apparently most of our talk goes to the matter of past war, of present conflict and of future inevitable organized murder of human beings. It is spoken of jauntily, it usurps the headlines and it is promenent in editorial opinions. There is the old Holy Alliance--now called the Atlantic Pact--on which the chief war organizers of the world are today consulting and we are about to put in to the arming of Europe, more money than we have any ideaof spending for education, health or housing. This morning the perennial candidate for the Republican nomination for President tell us that we must go to war in Asia, and the heads of the chief universities in the United States have just told us that nobody who believes in Communism has any right to teach anything he knows.

But the Liberal who remains sane has after all not so much reason to despair as he might assume without thinking. First of all there is the memory of two great meetings for Peace: the one in New York and the one in Paris. One has but to read that recent volume. "SPEAKING OF PEACE" to realize what it was that those three thousand people who supported the Waldorf-Astoria Meeting meant and thought. Here are set down in logical sequence the words and advice of a host of speakers; not all in agreement, except on one thing: that War as an instrument of human progress is no longer to be considered. It might be an excellent thing if those who are despairing would substitute this volume for their morning newspaper during the next week.

49-33-1

Beyond this and to emphasize it is the memory of the Peace Meeting in Paris. Much has been said of the meeting itself and of the speakers, but perhaps more emphasis could be laid upon what those people represented. Here in a city whose every monument is reminiscent of war and conquest; where arch and tower and pâacque remind us of the terrible series of wars, covering centuries, through which the French nation has marched; if any people have a right to be judges as to the efficiency and hope of war, the French people are those people. And it is undoubtedly the truth that today, France as a nation has determined that she will not fight again. There may be those who have not said this as clearly as the speakers in Paris said it. But I think there can be no doubt of the attitude of the mass of the French people. They have seen war of every sort, offence and defense, of florious victory and ignominous defeat, and they know as no other people that this path cannot longer be tread by civilized men.

But not only the French, the representatives of other people; the Italians, the Eastern European countries, the Balkans, Asia and Africa; all came to support this conclusion. There could be no doubt on the part of those attending these series of meetings, that the considered opinion of the mass of thinking people in the world is today against war. In fact as it seemed to Americans in Paris and to Americans here in New York, that the only country today which openly and flippantly is talking about the inevitability of war and its efficiency in pushing human progress is the United States of America.

Even here it is splendid to have the chorus at least halted and to read that excellent report of the Quakers on the Road to Peace. Here is one of the few sane efforts on the part of persons who cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called Communists, to sit down and consider without hysteria the actual Communist position. It goes to support the impression which the Communists and representatives of Russia in both New York and Paris

made upon the audience. Here were people who had a belief; and that belief is based upon a strong conviction that something is fundamentally wrong in the present organization of work and industry throughout most of the world. Every Liberal is bound to be a fellow-traveler with the Communists in a large number of things for which Communism and Socialism stand. And too, there is no question about the fact that however large a section of our present capitalistic organization we retain, if we are going to succeed in reforming this system in industry, in accordance with the best thought of mankind, we have got to subordinate the profit motive to the motive of the social welfare of the mass of men.

Can a person today be considered a Liberal unless he stands for these Seven Pillars of Reform:

1. Peace; no more War
2. The abolition of poverty
3. Compulsory education and health maintenance
4. The subordination of private property to public welfare
5. The planning of industry for social progress and not for private profit
6. The distribution of income so as to maintain life; reward effort and incite ability
7. The maximum of individual freedom compatible with the objects enumerated above.

There are innumerable ways of expressing the truths thus put down, with variations of emphasis and endless differences of method. But surely no liberal today can advocate war or ignore poverty; or fail to resent the rule of wealth, the anarchy of industry and the utterly unreasonable and dangerous division of wealth; while education and health are evidently the plain paths to any beneficient change. On these main objects then Communism and Free Enterprise must agree. Can there not be cooperation as to some of the specific means to accomplish these ends? Is War the only answer for the areas of difference?

Upon these tow things Liberals must insist:

1. It is idiotic for a man to say: I believe this, but I will not work for it if anyone else whom I do not like or who has other beliefs with which I do not agree, supports my program.

49-33-3

2. Intelligent men must not insist that in the United States, we have an example of Free and unsocialized Enterprise and that it is successful; when we know perfectly well that much of our enterprise is regulated by socialistic planning and that all of our large industries are planned although at present this planning is primarily for the profit of the owners; and only secondarily for social progress.

If now, in the face of this situation, we are going to sit down and refuse to discuss and understand the objects of socialism and communism, and refuse to go along with these great systems of human effort so far as this is consistent with our own beliefs, then we are foolish and ignorant men. And if on the other hand, knowing what we do about the history of industry, in the United States, we are going to let Du Pont, The Steel Trust, General Motors or General Electric plan our industry while we are declaiming that we are free in our industrial initiative and in our enterprise, then again we are not acting like intelligent members of a democracy.

These two things we have got to stand for: the right to examine Communism and Socialism; the right to go just as far on the paths which they lay out as is consistent with our beliefs and no further; and in the second place the right to challenge and challenge directly and definitively the private profit motive and its dominance over our American ideals. Unless we take our stand here we are going to be the victims of deliberate and planned red-baiting and smearing of Russia and denial of our own right of belief; of ourselves overturning the great landmarks of human liberty which have been raised in the last four centeries.

Just Editorial

THE SANE LIBERAL

BY

W. E. B. Du Bois

35-3-276

My friends all agree that the reading of the morning paper these days is a most difficult and discouraging chore. One reads that apparently in the United States, war is taken for granted; Most of our money, most of our newspaper space apparently most of our talk goes to the matter of past war, of present conflict and of future inevitable organized murder of human beings. It is spoken of jauntily, it upsups the headlines and it is promeminent in editorial opinions. There is the old Holy Alliance, now called the Atlantic Pact --on which the chief war organizations of the world are today consulting and we are about to put in to the arming of Europe, more money than we have any idea of spending for education, or health or housing.

This morning the perrenial candidate for the Republican nomination for President tells us that we must go to war in Asia, and the heads of the chief universities in the United States have just told us that nobody who believes in Communism has any right to teach ~~his belief or even to explain it.~~ anything he knows

But the Liberal who remains sane has afterall not so much reason to despair as he might assume without thinking. First of all there is the memory of two great meetings for Peace. The one in New York and the one in Paris. One has but to read that recent volume, "SPEAKING OF PEACE" to realize what it was that those three thousand people who supported the Waldorf-Astoria Meeting meant and thought. Here are set down in logical sequence the words and advice of a host of speakers; not all in agreement except on one thing: that War as an instrument of human progress is no longer to be considered. It might be an excellent thing if those who are despairing would substitute this volume for their morning newspaper during the next week. Beyond this and to emphasize it is the memory of the Peace Meeting in Paris. Much has been said of the meeting itself and of the speakers, but perhaps more emphasis could not be laid upon what those people represented. Here in a city whose every monument is reminescent of

35-3-217

war and conquest; where arch and tower and placque remind us of the terrible series of wars, covernig centuries, through which the French nation has marched; If any people have a right to be judges as to the efficiency and hope of war, the French people are those people. And it is undoubtedly the truth that today, France as a nation has determined that she will not fight again. There may be those who have not said this as clearly as the speakers in Paris said it. But I think there can be no doubt of the attitude of the mass of the French people. They have seen war of every sort, of offence and defense, of glorious victory and humiliating defeat, and they know as no other people that this path cannot longer be treaded by civilized men.

But not only the French, the representatives of other peoples, of the Italians, the Eastern European countries, the Balkans, of Asia and Africa - all came to support this conclusion. There could be no doubt on the part of those attending these series of meetings, that the considered opinion of the mass of thinking people in the world is today against war. In fact as it seemed to Americans in Paris and to Americans here in New York, that the only country today which openly and flippantly is talking about the inevitability of war and its efficiency in pushing human progress is the United States of America. Even there it is splendid to have the chorus at least halted and to read that excellent report of the Quakers on the Road to Peace. Here is one of the few sane efforts on the part of persons who cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called Communists, to sit down and consider without hysteria the actual Communist position. It goes to support the impression which the Communists and representatives of Russia in both New York and Paris made upon the audience. Here were people who believed in something, and that belief is based upon a strong conviction that something is fundamentally wrong in the present organizations of work and industry throughout most of the world. And that brings us to two fundamental things, which every liberal must insist upon and which is the strong effort of controlling forces in states which make impossible of consideration the first is that every liberal is

35-3-248

made upon the audience. Here were people who had a belief; ~~believed in something,~~ and that belief is based upon a strong conviction that something is fundamentally wrong in the present organization of work and industry throughout most of the world. Every Liberal is bound to be a fellow-traveler with the Communists in a large number of things for which Communism and Socialism stand. And too, there is no question about the fact that however large a section of ourpresent capitalistic organization we retain, if we are going to succeed in reforming this system in industry, in accordance with the best thought of mankind, we have got to subordinate the profit motive to the motive of the social welfare of the mass of men.

(A)

(1.) upon These two things Liberals ~~have got to~~ must insist ~~upon.~~ It is idiotic for a man to say, ~~This is my belief, but~~ I believe this, but I will not work for it if anyone else whom I do not like or who has other beliefs with which I do not agree, ~~is willing to~~ support my program, ~~then I will give up the pursuit of my own beliefs.~~ Or, on the other hand, to have (2.) intelligent men must not insist that in the United States, we have an example of free and unsocialized enterprise and that it is successful; when we know perfectly well that much of our enterprise is regulated by socialistic planning and that all of our large industries are planned although at present this planning is ~~not for the progress of the mass of men but~~ primarily for the profit of the owners, and only secondarily for social progress

If now, in the face of this situation, we are going to sit down and refuse to discuss and understand the objects of socialism and communism, and refuse to go along with these great systems of human effort so far as this is consistent with our own beliefs, than we are foolish and ignorant men. And if on the other hand, knowing what we do about the history of industry in the United States, we are going to let Du Pont, The Steel Trust, General Motors or General Electric plan our industry while we are declaiming that we are free in our industrial initiative and in our enterprise, then again we are not

acting like intelligent members of a democracy.

These two things we have got to stand for: the right to examine Communism and Socialism; the right to go just as far on the paths which they lay out as is consistent with our beliefs and no further; and in the second place the right to challenge and challenge directly and definitively the private profit motive and its dominance over our American ideals. Unless we take our stand here we are going to be the victims of ~~their~~ deliberate and planned red-bating and smearing of Russia and denial of our own right of belief; of ourselves overturning the great landmarks of human liberty ~~that~~ which have been raised in the last four centuries.

35-3-250

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35-3-217

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There are innumerable ways of expressing the truths thus put down, with variations of emphasis and ~~indica-~~ endless differences ~~tions~~ of method. But surely no liberal today can advocate war ~~today~~, or ignore poverty; or fail to resent the rule of wealth the anarchy of industry ~~or~~ and the utterly unreasonable and dangerous division of wealth; while education and health are evidently the plain paths to any beneficent change. On these main ~~ends~~ objects Communism and Free Enterprize must agree. Can there not be cooperation as to some of the specific means? Must Free Enterprize keep silent when Communism ~~cries~~ advocates peace; and if it does will it not lay itself open to the suspicion of neither wishing nor being able to achieve peace?

To accomplish these ends?

So War the ~~answer~~ only answer for the areas of difference?

# PAUL ROBESON

by W. E. B. Du BOIS

It was in Paris, April 1949. The Salle Pleyel was packed to the high, many-balconied ceiling with delegates from countries representing practically all the world, Europe, Asia and Africa. Paul Robeson entered and the whole audience rose and cheered with 2000 voices and in all human tongues. I doubt if any other person on earth could have elicited such spontaneous tribute. It was a many-sided outburst: to a magnificent voice; to a recent visitor in every country of Europe -- England, Denmark, Sweden, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, whence he had flown to Paris; to a son of black slaves, a co-worker not with wealthy and titled snobs but with laborers of all climes and colors. We had men of stature and renown at that gathering: Joliot-Curie and Aragon, Nenni and Bernal, Zilliacus and Fadeev; none of these received so tumultous a tribute. The program was interrupted and Robeson ascended the podium. His great voice rose in song -- song of black slaves, song of white slaves, songs of Russia and France. Then among the few words of a short speech, Robeson said: "The black folk of America will never fight against the Soviet Union!" The applause swept up to the skies.

That was what happened. What was Robeson in reality saying? He knew better than most men, because he had long experience in both the Soviet Union and the United States, that of all countries, Russia alone has made race prejudice a crime; of all great imperialisms, Russia alone owns no colonies of dark serfs or white and what is more important has no investments in colonies and is lifting no blood-soaked profits from cheap labor in Asia and Africa. Robeson believed that facing the possibility of war with such a country, no black American of intelligence would fer

a moment take up arms. In a rare case a Britisher might fight Britain; an Italian war against Italy or a German against the Fatherland; but this would be because of principle and not against fundamental conviction. For a man or a people to fight against his own conscience, against the very foundation of all he believed made life worth living, Robeson could not conceive that any people would do that and live and look men in the face. And so he declared that American Negro victims of color prejudice, serfdom, slavery and race hate, if in their right minds, would never fight a country which alone among nations opposes these crimes against civilisation.

It was the natural conclusion of a clear-headed, straight-thinking artist and idealist which Robeson has always been. Robeson was wrong but wrong not in his logic, much less in his lofty ideals; he was wrong only in having too great faith in human beings. What then he really was saying was: FROM MY NATURE AND BELIEFS, IT IS TO ME INCONCEIVABLE THAT 15,000,000 DESCENDANTS OF NEGRO SLAVES WHO KNOW FROM BITTER AND CONTINUING EXPERIENCE WHAT RACE PREJUDICE AND THE ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICA AND ASIA HAS DONE NOT ONLY TO MY PEOPLE, BUT TO CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY AND HUMAN DECENCY FOR 500 YEARS -- IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THESE PEOPLE WOULD IN ANY SINGLE CASE WILLINGLY JOIN IN WAR AGAINST THE ONE GREAT MODERN COUNTRY WHICH HAS OPPOSED PREJUDICE IN A LAND ONCE RIDDLED BY IT, AND THE CONQUEST AND SUBJECTION OF COLONIES IN A WORLD WHERE COLONIAL IMPERIALISM HAS MURDERED MILLIONS AND WHICH IS SUFFERING TODAY IN THE EYES OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND AMERICA MAINLY FOR THIS STAND.

Immediately this word of Robeson's, so dangerous to those who make money out of war and get huge income out of the gold and diamonds of South Africa, the rubber of Indo-China and tin of Indonesia, was spoken, the

bought press agencies lifted this out of all which this greatest of peace congresses was saying -- and it was saying brave and indisputable things -- and featured Paul Robeson's voice in America as treason; and treason in truth it was to all who want war at any price and who are more than willing to use "niggers" to gain their ends. Moreover, certain Negro leaders hastened to "beat the gun" in denouncing Robeson before they e even knew with certainty what he said or meant. This was the old plantation technique which hastened to outdo "Ole Massa" himself in denouncing any slave who dared lift his head even for a minute out of the dirt of slavery.

I wrote at that time, a short word to express my feeling and sent it to the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune and the colored press. The white journals ignored it; some Negro papers printed it. I said:

> I agree with Paul Robeson absolutely, that Negroes should never willingly fight in an unjust war. I do not share his honest hope that all will not. A certain sheep-like disposition, inevitably born of slavery, will, I am afraid, lead many of them to join America in any enterprise, provided the whites will grant them equal right to do wrong.

The white press ignored this. Some Negro papers printed it. Why is all this important? Why should we worry if the white race is set on dragging down in one maelstrom the remnants of human culture and decency which two wars of unexampled cost, cruelty and destruction both physical and moral have begun? As people who now for two generations have been striving desperately to be recognized as American citizens, it it not only our duty but our strategy to agree with the United States in everything she wants or thinks she needs, going along eagerly with the current

majority toward any goals they envision? This is a common belief of American Negroes. It is smart, they argue; it brings popularity and pays dividents in jobs and gifts to our schools and churches. Moreover, argue these statesmen out of the sides of their mouths, what business is it of ours if the White World is bent on suicide and the sabotage of all they have done to make this a decent world?

25-3-278

I submit that this selfish and self-centered philosophy is worse than idiotic; it spells self-destruction and the collapse of a civilization which is the property of black folk as well as white; and the ruin of a nation which our blood has fertilized and in whose future we have more than a stake. Are we trying to prove that those opponents of Negro suffrage were right when they declared that giving freedmen votes would add nothing to our strength or wise judgment? That at best Negroes would herd like tame sheep with those who offered them the most food or bought their vote at the highest price? There were others, black and white who declared and still aver that democracy is a contribution and reservoir and not merely a privilege; that we Negroes are Americans, not simply to follow, but to lead in fields where our experience makes us experts. And on War we are expert. The American Civil War was not fought to free the slaves and if it accomplished this partially, a wiser nation could have done more by peace than by murder and destruction. We gained noting in the First nor Second World War which was not neutralized by the plunging of this country into the grip of a Plutocracy ruled increasingly for the benefit of the rich and the ruthless all over the world.

45-3-11

A Third World War would destroy the very culture which today we are beginning to share and enlarge. Our interest is not in destruction and

revenge; not even in gloating over the disaster of the boastful white- rulers of the universe; but far more in rescuing from imminent destruction that culture to which we have given song and rhythm, hard work and creative patience and a capacity for spiritual life unequalled by any similar group on earth. Peace on earth today is a must for us. We need it for survival, for accomplishment, for equality with the best of earths peoples.

Instead of realizing this, we are being led like the Gadarene swine down to the depths of murder, destruction and hate; by spending our hard-earned dollars for Atom bombs instead of houses and bread. And remember it is OUR money that is financing war: the nine hundred millions which today we are gaily sending to Europe does not come from the rich of America--they easily escape their just share of taxation; but from the poor, the laborers, the scrub-women, the shop-girls, the small merchants and teachers who must pay on the nail or go to jail.

What would $900,000,000 dollars do for Negro education? It would insure the utter disappearance of illiteracy in a generation; the college training of Negroes of ability; the professional training of enough Negro physicians to do away with preventable disease; the ridding of jails of Negro sick and insane, now classed with criminals; the building of decent Negro homes where marriage could flourish; all this and easily. Small wonder that so many American prefer to spend this fortune on murderous explosions and goose-stepping.

Moreover the case is so clear; the arguments for peace so overwhelming; the lie of the threat of Russia and Communism so phoney, that every effort is taken to stop the public from hearing the truth or discussing it. The Press is so monopolized that the truth is suppressed or half told or deliberately lied about all over the land. The chief magazines are owned by

banking syndicates. Any man who dares to talk peace or Russia is not only in danger of personal violence as at Peekskill, but what is more frightening, may lose his job or find himself in jail, on accusations which often he cannot know because of"security."

Less than a year ago, a prominent member of the Negro college fund, said openly that advocacy of the FEPC and civil rights was "subversive." Negro postal clerks have been threatened with dismissal for attending a NAACP meeting; and the effort of American Negroes to cooperate with the emancipation of Africa has been officially called dangerous by an Attorney-General of the United States, who now graces the Supreme Court to poison the sources of constitutional law from that high vantage ground.

I freely admit that in the present hysteria and witch-hunting, there are Negroes whose responsibility to home and family, closes their mouths. But my dead friend, Henry Hunt used to say "I can keep still in seven languages." When he did talk he told the truth. I can understand the lockjaw which is affecting most of our college presidents, teachers and civil servants. The President of Morgan College invited me to deliver the Commencement address last June. Then he begged me frantically not to come because I had "been present" when Robeson spoke in Paris! I commend his courage to his students.

I am unable to understand why our professional men, our preachers, and business men; our artisans and housewives should join the hounds of American reaction to stop free speech; to hamper thought and the search for truth, just because this happens to be the popular sport today. Paul Robeson is a great American and an honest man. Every Negro should defend his right to think and speak whether he agrees with him or not. To sneer at him and help gag him is beneath contempt.

We are selling our birthright in a great nation not for a mess---and a pretty nasty mess, of pottage, but for only the promise of such a mess; when

the pay-off is due, the happy President of the United States is fishing and the Republican Copperhead from Michigan does the dirty work in the Senate, feeling that he has the Negro vote of Michigan in his pious pockets. Promise, sweetened with appointments judiciously scattered, are supposed to keep Negroes mouths shut. State appropriations for Negro schools will close the mouths of many college presidents. But all this will not keep Paul Robeson quiet and it ought not to. What we want, what the world wants, is not agreement, not unanimity, but Light, more Light; argument, facts, pursuasion, appeal. It does not answer Robeson's demand for opposition to war with Russia to call his "silly" or declare pontifically that Robeson does not speak for the American Negro. Neither for that matter does Phillip Randolph although at times one might think so. But Robeson does speak for Paul Robeson and more Negroes agree with his thought than with many other American Negroes; and many more would agree if they had a chance to hear the truth from his mouth or from others. That is the reason and none other that Robeson concerts are opposed by mobs of the American Legion.

This is the crisis of modern civilization. The Negroes of the United States more than any Negroid group in the world and as much as any underprivileged group have the legal right to indluence and help to decide the issue in these perilous times. We can save civilization if we have the sense and courage. But today we in common with the majority of our white fellow-citizens, are scared. We are deathly afraid to act or talk or even think in any way which is in opposition or can be interpreted as opposing the current hysteria. Those who have brains and use them know perfectly well that propaganda about Russia and her threat of war is in part an elaborately concocted lie, and in part groundless fear.

All men know the Soviet Union has never started a war but has been the repeated victim of invasion, aggression, spying and betrayal; they know that

her overtures for peace and comity with the West were spurned until her co-operation was absolutely indispensable for stopping Nazi conquest of the world; they know that Russia laid down fifteen million lives to save Europe and America, while we and Britain fiddled about to await her destruction; we know when, to our astonishment, she conquered Hitler, we have been trying to welsh on our bargain until finally we made Russia our enemy and Nazi Germany our future ally.

All intelligent men know the Socialism is growing in every civilized country on earth; that our New Deal was socialism pure and simple, and must be restored or continued war expenditure will end in worse disaster than the Great Depression. We ought to know that Communism is Socialism with more extreme methods and more immediate goals, but that the Russia of the Czars would have been rescued from utter collapse by no other method. If America and other lands can reform their industry and social ills by methods other than Communism, Russia has never tried to force them to do otherwise. The only area where Russia has actively supported Communism are in the countries on her border where western Europe repeatedly and by elaborate spying and intrigue, tried to make Poland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Finland and the Balkans, jumping off places to re-conquer Russia and East Europe, for the cause of high profits based on ignorance and cheap labor. This is the reason that certain powerful elements in America do not want Socialism or Communism even discussed and will call any Progressive Party or movement "subversive." Paul Robeson stands for Peace and Free Speech to fight War and Poverty.

2 carbons

PAUL ROBESON

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

35-3-145

It was in Paris, April 1949. The Salle Pleyel was packed to the high many balconied ceiling with delegates from countries representing practically all the world, Europe, Asia and Africa. Paul Robeson entered and the whole audience rose and cheered with ~~1200~~ 2000 voices and in all human tongues. I doubt if any other ~~single person~~ person on earth could have elicited ~~that~~ such spontaneous tribute. It was a many-sided outburst: to a magnificent voice; to a recent visitor ~~to~~ in every country of Europe -- England, Denmark, Sweden, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, whence he had flown to Paris; a son of black slaves, a co-worker not with wealthy -- talked w/ him but with laborers of all climes and colors. We had men of stature and renown at that gathering: Joliot-Curie and Aragon, Nenni and Bernal, Zilliacus and Fadeev; none of these had received so tumultuous a tribute. ~~They~~ was interrupted the program and Robeson ascended the podium rostrum. His great voice rose in song-- song of black slaves, songs of white slaves, songs of Russia and France. Then among the few words of a short speech, Robeson said: "The black folk of America will never fight against the Soviet Union!" The applause swept up to the skies.

That was what happened. What was Robeson in reality saying? ~~He was expressing his firm faith that American Negroes, known~~ He knew better than most men, because he had long experience with both the United States & the Soviet Union, that of all countries, Russia alone has made race prejudice a crime; of all great imperialisms Russia alone owned 5 no colonies of dark serfs or white and what is more important had no investments in colonies; that facing the possibility of war with such a country, no black American of intelligence would for a moment take up arms. Just as no Anglo-American would willingly go to war with Britain, nor Italian fight Italy, nor German fight the Fatherland, even less so would ~~victims of~~ color prejudice serfdom, and slavery and race hate, if in their right minds, would never fight a country who is alone among nations opposed these crimes against of civilization.

OVER

It was the natural conclusion of a ~~simple hearted~~ clear-headed, straight thinking artist and idealist which Robeson has always been. Robeson was wrong but much less wrong not in his logic nor lofty ideals; he was wrong only in ~~expressing~~ having too great

In rare case a Britisher might fight Britain; Italian, an war against Italy or a German against the Fatherland; but this would be because of principle and not ~~against~~ against fundamental conviction. For a man or a people to fight against his own conscience ~~and belief~~, against the very foundation of all he believed made lfe worth living, Robeson could not ~~believe~~ concieve that any people would do that and and live and look men in the face. And so he declared that American Negro victims of

faith in human beings. What he really was saying was: "From my nature and beliefs, it is inconceivable that 15,000,000 descendants of Negro slaves who know from bitter experience what race prejudice and the enslavement of Africa has done not only to my people, but to civilization and Christianity and human decency -- it is inconceivable that these people would in any single case, in war against the one great modern country which has opposed prejudice and colonies and is suffering today in the eyes of Imperial Europe for this this stand.

Immediately this word so dangerous to those who make money out of war and get huge income out of the gold and diamonds of South Africa, the rubber of Indonesia and tin of Indonesia, was spoken, bought press agencies lifted this out of all this congress was saying and it was saying brave and indisputable things and featured it in America as treason; and treason in truth it was to all who want war at any price and are more than willing to use "niggers" to g gain their ends. Moreover certain Negro leaders hastened to "beat the gun" in denouncing Robeson before they even knew with certainty what he said or meant. This was the old plantation technique which hastened to outdo "Ole Massa" himself in denouncing slaves who dared lift their heads even for a minute out of the dirt of slavery.

I wrote at that time, a short word to express my feeling and sent it to the New York Times, the Herald-Tribune and the colored press The white journals ignored it; some Negro papers printed it. I said:

35-3-146

P The white press ignored this. Some Negro papers printed it.

Why is all this important? Why should we worry if the white race is ~~bent~~ ~~set~~ on ~~committing suicide and~~ dragging down in one maelstrom the remnants of human culture and decency which two wars of unexampled cost, cruelty and destruction both physical and moral have begun? As people who now for two generations have been striving desperately to be recognoized as American citizens, is it not only our duty but our strategy to agree with the United States in everything she wants or thinks she needs, going along eagerly with the current majority toward any goals they envision? This is a common belief of American Negroes. It is smart, they argue; it brings ~~and~~ popularity and pays dividends in jobs and ~~nice~~ gifts to our schools and churches. Moreover argue these statesmen out of the sides of their mouths, What business is it of ours if the White World is bent on suicide and the sabotage of all they have done to make this a decent world?

I submit that this selfish and self-centered philosophy is worse than idiotic; it spells self-destruction and the collapse of a civilization which is the property of black folk as well as white, and the ruin of a nation which our blood has fertilized and in whose future we have more than a stake Are we trying to prove that those opponents of Negro Suffrage were right when they declared that giving freedmen votes would add nothing to our strength or wise judgment? That at best, negroes would herd like tame sheep with those who offered them the most food or bought ~~our suffrage~~ their vote at the highest price? There were others, black and white who, declared and still aver that democracy is a contribution and reservoir and not

merely a privilege. That we are Americans, not simply to follow, but to lead in fields where our experience makes us experts. And on War we are expert: we have not gained by war: the Civil War was not fought to make us free and we stand today to testify that it did not free us; even the half-freedom of legal emancipation came from our own labor and fighting in that war, and not from the fighting of either North or South. We gained nothing in the First nor Second World War, which was not neutralized by the plunging of this country into the grip of a Plutocracy ruled incr asingly for the benefit of the Rich and the Ruthless all over the world

A Third World War would destroy the very culture which today we are beginning to share and enlarge. Our interest is not in destruction and revenge; not even in gloating over the disaster of the boastful white rulers of the universe; but far more in rescuing from imminent destruction, that culture to which we have given song and rhythm, hard work and creative patience and a capacity for spiritual life unequalled by any similar group on earth. Peace on earth today is a must for us. We need it for survaival, for accomplishment, for equality with the best of earth peoples.

35-3-148

Instead of realizing this, we are being led like the Gadarene swine down to the depths of murder, destruction and hate; by spending our hard-earned dollars for Atom bombs instead of houses and bread. And remember it is OUR money that is financing war: the nine hundred millions which today we are gaily sending to Europe ~~to by guns~~, does not come from the rich of America-- they easily escape their just share of taxation; but from the poor, the laborers, the coal-women, the shop-girls, the small merchants and teachers who must pay on the nail or go to jail. (over)

Moreover the case is so clear; the arguments for peace so overwhelming; the lie of the threat of Russia and Communism so phoney, that every effort ~~must be~~ is taken to stop the public from hearing the truth or discussing it. The Press is so monopolized that the truth is suppressed or half told or deliberately lied about all over the land. The chief magazines are owned by banking syndicates. Any man who dares to talk peace or Russia is not only in danger of personal violence as at Peekskill, but what is more frightening, may lose his job or find himself in jail, on accusations which, often, he cannot ~~be permitted to~~ know because of "security".

Less than a year ago, a prominent member of the Negro

What would $900,000,000 dollars do for Negro education? It would insure the utter disappearance of illiteracy in a generation; the college training of of Negro of ability; the professional training of enough Negroe physicians to do away with preventable disease; the ridding of jails of Negro sick and insane, now classed with criminals; the buidling of decent Negro homes where no marriage could flourish; all this and easily. Small wonder that so many Americans prefer to spend this fortune on murderous explosions and goose-stepping.

college fund, said openly that advocacy of the FEPC and civil rights was "subversive". Negro postal clerks have been threatened with dismissal for attending a NAACP meeting; and the effort of American Negroes to cooperate with the emancipation of Africa has been officially called ~~"subversive"~~ dangerous by an Attorney-General of the United States, who now graces the Supreme Court to poisom the sources of constitutional law from that high vantage ground.

35-3-149

We ar selling our birthright in a great nation not ~~for~~ for a mess -- and a pretty nasty mess, of pottage, but for only the promise of such a mess; when the pay-off is due, the happy President of the United States is fishing and the Republican Copperhaad from Michigan does the dirty work in the Senate, ~~knowing~~ feeling that he has the Negro vote of Michigan in his pious pockets. Promise, sweeteded with appointments judiciously scattered, are supposed to keep Negroes mouths shut. ~~Promises embellished by small endowments~~ Slight appropriations for Negro schools will keep the mouths of many college presidents ~~singing sweet tunes.~~ But all this will not keep Paul Robeson quiet ~~still~~ and it ought not to. What we want, what the world wants, is not agreement, not unanimity, but Light, more Light; argument, facts, pursuasion, appeal. It does not answer Robeson's demand for oppositin to war with Russia to call him "silly" or declare pontifically that Robeson does not speak for the American Negro Neither for that matter does Phillip Randolph although at times one might think so. But Robeson does does speak for Paul Robeson and more ~~people~~ Negroes agree with his thought than with many other American Negroes; And many more would agree if they had a chance to hear the truth from his mouth or from others. That is the reason and none other that Robeson concerts are opposed by mobs of the American Legion

I freely admit that in the present hysteria and witch-hunting, there are Negroes whose responsibility to home and family, closes their mouths But my dead friend, Henry Hunt used to say "I can keep still in seven languages." ~~But~~ When he did talk he told the truth. I can understand the lockjaw which is affecting most of our college presidents, teachers and civil servants. The President of Morgan College invited me to deliver the Commencement address. Then he begged me frantically not to come because I had been present when Robeson spoke in Paris. I commend his courage to his students.

~~But~~ I am unable to understand why our professional men, our preachers and business men; our artisans and housewives should join the hounds of American reaction to stop free speech; to hamper thought and the search for truth, just because this happens to be the popular sport today Paul Robeson is a great American and an honest man. Every ~~honest~~ Negro should defend his right to think and speak whether he agrees with him or not. To sneer at him and help gag him is beneath contempt

35-3-150

majority toward any goals they envision? This is a common belief of American Negroes. It is smart, they argue; it brings popularity and pays dividends in ~~popularity and~~ jobs and gifts to our schools and churches. Moreover, argue these statesmen out of the sides of their mouths, what business is it of ours if the White World is bent on suicide and the sabotage of all they have done to make this a decent world?

I submit that this selfish and self-centered philosophy is worse than idiotic; it spells self-destruction and the collapse of a civilization which is the property of black folk as well as white; and the ruin of a nation which our blood has fertilized and in whose future we have more than a stake. Are we trying to prove that those opponents of Negro Suffrage were right when they declared that giving freedmen votes would add nothing to our strength or wise judgment? That at best Negroes would herd like tame sheep with those who offered them the most food or bought their vote at the highest price? There were others, black and white who declared and still aver that democracy is a contribution and reservoir and not merely a privilege; that we Negroes are Americans, not simply to follow, but to lead in fields where our experience makes us experts. And on War we are expert; we have not gained by war: the Civil War was not fought to make us free and we stand today to testify that it did not free us; even the half-freedom of legal emancipation came from our own labor and fighting in that war and not from the fighting of either North or South. We gained nothing in the First nor Second World War which was not neutralized by the plunging of this country into the grip of a Plutocracy ruled increasingly for the benefit of the rich and the ruthless all over the world.

A Third World War would destroy the very culture which today we are beginning to share and enlarge. Our interest is not in destruction and

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The American Civil war was not fought to free the slaves and if it accomplished this partially, a wiser nation could have done more by peace than by murder and destruction

This is the crisis of modern civilization. The Negroes of the United Stat more than any Negroid group in the world, and as much as any underprivil eged group ~~in the world~~ have the legal right to influence and ~~in some cases~~ both to decide the issue in these perilous times. We can save civilization if we have the sense and courage. But today we, in common with the majority of our white fellow-citizens, are scared. We are deathly afraid to act or talk or even think in any way which is in opposition or can be interpret ed as opposing the current hysteria. Those who have brains and use them know perfectly well that propaganda about Russia and her threat of war is in part an elaborately concocted lie, and in part groundless fear. All men know the the Soviet Union has never started a war but has been the repeated victim of invasion, aggression, spying and betrayal; they know that her overtures for peace and comity with the West were spurne until her cooperation was absolutely indispensable for stopping Nazi conquest of the world; they know that Russia laid down ~~50,000,000~~ 15 million lives to save Europe and America, while we and Britain fiddled abou to await her destruction; we know when, to our astonishment, she conquered Hitler, we have been trying to welsh on our bargain and have finally we made Russia our enemy and Nazi Germany our future ally. All intelligent men know the Socialism is growing in every civilized country on earth; that our New Deal was socialism pure and simple, and must be restored or continued war expenditure ~~of over taxed people~~ will end in worse disaster than the Great Depredsion. We ought to know that Communism is Socialism with more extreme methods amd more immediate goals, but that Russia of the czars could have been rescued from utter collapse by no other meth od. If America and other lands can reform their industry and social ills by methods other than Communism, Russia has never tried to force them to do otherwise. The only area where Russia has actively supported Communism are in the countries on her border where western Europe repeatedly and by elaborate spying and intrigue, have tried to make Poland, Esthonia, Latvi a Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Finland and the Balkans, jumping off places to conquer Russia and east Europe, the cause for high profits based on ignorance and cheap labor. This is the reason that certain powerful elements in America do not want Socialism Communism even discussed, ~~will not permit a Communist Party to function~~ and call any Progressive Party or movement subversive. Paul Robeson stands for Peace and free speech to fight War and Poverty,

35-3-151

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CARTER GOODWIN WOODSON

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Carter Goodwin Woodson, who is dead in Washington at the age of 71, illustrates what race prejudice can do to a human soul and also what it is powerless to prevent. Of course, race prejudice is only one particular form of the oppression which human beings have used toward each other throughout all the ages. Oppression cramps thought and development, individuality and freedom. Woodson was naturally a big strong man with a good mind; not brilliant, not a genius, but steady, sound and logical in his thinking processes, and capable of great application and concentration in his work. He was a man of normal appetites, who under ordinary circumstances and with no handicap of color, would have made a good and valuable career. As it happened however, he did not have the chance for normal development; he spent his childwood working in a mine and did not get education enough to enter high school until he was twenty; he never married, and one could say almost that he never played; he could laugh and joke on occasion but those occasions did not often arise.

42-118-28

I have known him for 40 years and more, and have often wondered what he did for recreation, if anything. He had very little outdoor life, he had few close friends. He cared nothing for baseball nor football and did not play cards, smoke nor drink. "Wine, women and song" were not for him. In later years his only indulgence was over-eating so that after fifty he was considerably overweight. All this arose in the first place, because like most people on earth he was born poor. But his poverty was the special case of being one of nine children of poor American Negroes, who had been born slaves. This meant that from the beginning he was handicapped; it was difficult for him to go regularly to the very poor country school

in his neighborhood, and for six years during his youth, when he ought to have been in school, he was working in a coal mine; so that he was grown before he entered high school in Huntington, West Virginia. Once started, however he went to college at Berea, Kentucky; then to the University of Chicago. He alternated with public school teaching, travel and study in Europe and finally taught ten years in the public schools of Washington, D. C. 1908-1918.

In 1912, he took his doctorate in philosophy at Harvard in history. It is quite possible that had he been a white man he might have entered a university career then, as instructor and eventually as a professor with small but adequate salary; enough for marriage, home and children. But of course, at the time he got his doctorate, there was not the slightest thought that ~~the~~ a black man could ever be on the faculty of Harvard or of any other great school. In Washington, he got his main experience of regular teaching work. It was hard and not inspiring. The "Jim-crow" school system of the District of Columbia is perhaps the best of its kind in the United States; but it had the difficulties of all segregated schools, with special arrangements and peculiar difficulties; they are not the kind of schools which would inspire most men to further study or to an academic career.

42-118-29

It was natural then, that after that experience, Woodson should turn to college work. He served as dean for a year at Howard University and for four years at West Virginia College. He might have ended his career in this way as president of ~~the~~ a small Southern colored college. His duties would have been collecting funds and superintending discipline among teachers and students; or if it had been in a state school, he would have cajoled and played up to a set of half-educated Southern whites as trustees, so as to get for Negroes a third or a half of the funds they were legally entitled to. It would have been the kind of executive job which has killed many a man, white and black, either physically or mentally or both; and it was the sort of

thing that Woodson was determined not to do.

He had by this time made up his mind that he was going to devote himself to the history of the Negro race as a permanent career. In doing that he knew the difficulties which he was going to face. Study and publication, if at all successful, call for money, and money for any scientific effort for or by a Negro means abject begging; and at begging Woodson was not adept.

That was an era moreover, when all Negro education was largely charity; not only college education, but elementary and high school training. Groups of Negro and white teachers in Southern schools made regular pilgrimages to the North to collect money from churches and philanthrophists in order to support their schools. But Woodson's job which he had carved out for himself was not a school; it was a matter of a periodical, with research and publication and it was to be done in a field, not only unpopular but practically unrecognized. Most people even historians would have doubted if there was enough of distinctly Negro history in America to call for publication. For thirteen years at Atlanta University we had tried to raise money for research and publication of studies in Negro sociology; five thousand a year, outside my salary. We had to give up the attempt in 1910. But one thing that Woodsons' career had done for him was to make him stubborn and single-minded. He had no ties, family or social; he had chosen this life work and he never wavered from it after 1922.

His efforts at raising money for the work had some initial success; for 10 years or more Julius Rosenwald, the Jewish philanthrophist of Chicago gave him $400 a year. Woodson organized the Association of Negro Life and History and already as early as January, 1916, while still teaching, he began publication of "The Journal of Negro History," a quarterly which is now in its 34th year of continuous publication.

"The Journal", was an excellent piece of work and received commendation from high sources. The Carnegie Foundation and afterwards the Spelman Mem-

42-18-30

Fund of the Rockefellers gave him $50,000 in installments of $5,000 a year beginning in 1921. But Woodson did not prove the ideal recipient of philanthropy. He was not a follower of the school of Booker Washington and had neither the humility nor finesse of social uplifters. His independence of thought and action was exaggerated; he went out to meet opposition before it arose, and he was fiercely determined to be master of his own enterprises and final judge of what he wanted to do and say. He pretty soon got the reputation of not being the kind of "trustworthy" Negro to whom help should be given. It was not for a moment intimated that the philanthrophists wanted to curb his work or guide it, but if Woodson had anticipated their wishes and conformed to their attitudes, money would have poured in. Only those persons who followed the Washington philosophy and whose attitude toward the South was in accord with the new orientation of the North, could be sure to have encouragement and continued help. After a while it became the settled policy of philanthropic foundations and of academic circles to intimate that Carter Woodson was altogether too self-centered and self-assertive to receive any great encouragement. His work was individual with no guarantee of permanence.

42-18-31

There was just enough truth in this accusation, to make the criticism stick. Even his colored friends and admirers, encountered refusal to cooperate or take counsel. Twice, alarmed because of his meager income, and his overwork, I ventured to propose alliance and help; I offered to incorporate The Journal into the Department of Publications and Research of the NAACP, with promise of as much autonomy as was allowed men. He considered, but refused, unless an entirely separate department was set up for him. This the Board refused to consider as I knew it would. Then I suggested incorporation of his work into that of Howard University; but after trial, this also fell through, and his friends concluded that he must be left to

carry on his great work without interference in any way from others. Several times he took in assistants and helpers, but never gave them authority or permanent tenure. He was always the lone pioneer and remained this until his death.

It was this very attitude however that brought out the iron in Woodsons' soul. He was 44 in 1922 when he began this independent career. He therefore gradually buckled up his belt, gave up most of the things which a man of his age would be looking forward to, and put the whole of his energy into his work. As I have said, he never married, hatnever had a home; he lived in lodgings as a boarder, or ate in restaurants; he schooled himself to small and uncertain income; it is probable that he lived many years on not more than $1000 and probably never as much as $5000.

42-118-32

Deliberately he cut down his wants and that was not difficult in Washington. Washington had not theatre for Negroes; its music was limited; there were art galleries, but they were not particularly attractive until recent years and never catered to black folk. In many cases they refused to exhibit the work of Negro artists. Parks and public recreation had many restrictions; there was little chance at club life or opportunity to meet men of standing either American or passing foreigners. Woodson did not have enough money to spend much time in New York or abroad. He therefore concentrated his time, his energy, and his little money in building up his enterprise, and especially in organizing a constituency among American Negroes to support his work. That was the most astonishing result of his career.

From subscriptions to his quarterly, from donations made by small groups and organizations, from sale of books, he not only continued to publish his magazine, but he also went into the publishing business and issued a score of books written by himself and by others; and then as the crowning

achievement, he established Negro History Week. He literally made this country, which has only the slightest respect for people of color, recognize and celebrate each year, a week in which they studied the effect which the American Negro has upon life, thought and action in the United States. I know of no one man who in a lifetime has, unaided, built up such a national celebration.

42-1B-33

Every year in practically every state of the United States, Negro History Week is celebrated; and its celebration was almost forced upon school authorities, on churches and other organizations by the influence of the groups of people who had banded themselves together to help Carter Woodsons' Association of Negro Life and History. His chief work, "The Negro in Our History", went through seven or eight editions, with its nearly eight hundred pages and wealth of illustration, and was used in the Negro public schools of the nation. More lately his monthly "Bulletin" of news, had wide curculation and use.

It is a unique and marvelous monument which Carter Woodson has thus left to the people of the United States. But in this and in all his life, he was, and had to be, a cramped soul. There was in him no geniality and very little humor. To him life was hard and cynically logical; his writing was mechanical and unemotional. He never had the opportunity to develop warm sympathy with other human beings; and he did develope a deep-seated dislike, if not hatred, for the white people of the United States and of the world. He never believed in their generosity or good faith. He did not attack them; he did not complain about them, he simply ignored them so far as possible and went on with his work without expecting help or sympathetic cooperation from them.

He did not usually attend meetings of scientists in history; he was not often asked to read papers on such occasions; for the most part so far as the professors in history of this country were concerned he was forgotten and passed over; and yet few men have made so deep an imprint as Carter Woodson on thousands of scholars in historical study and research.

In his death he does not leave many friends; there were few tears shed at his grave. But on the other hand, among American Negroes, and among those whites who knew about his work, and among those who in after years must learn about it, there will be vast respect and thankfulness for the life of this man. He was one who under the hardest conditions of environment kept himself to one great goal, worked at it stubbornly and with unwavering application, and died knowing that he had accomplished much if not all that he had planned.

42-1B-34

He left unfinished, an "Encyclopaedia Africana", it was an idea which I had toyed with in 1909, securing as collaborators Sir Harry Johnston, Flinders-Petrie, Guiseppi Sergi, Albert Bushnel Hart and Franz Boas. But my project never got beyond the name stage and was forgotten. Later Woodson took up the idea as a by-product of his Journal ; but few knew of his project at the time. Finally in 1931, the Phelps-Stokes Fund projected an Encyclopaedia of the Negro, but invited neither Woodson nor me to participate.

However the group called together, including Moton of Tuskegee and Hope of Atlanta, protested and finally we were both invited. I attended the subsequent meetings but Woodson refused. I and many others talked to him and begged him to come in; but no; there were two reasons: this was, he considered, a white enterprise forced on Negroes; and secondly, he had himself already collected data enough eventually to make an encyclopaedia. We demurred, not because we were unwilling to have him work on the encyclopaedia; indeed we were eager; but because we knew that one man and especially one man with a rather narrow and racial outlook which had been forced upon him, could not write a scientific encyclopaedia of sufficient breadth to satisfy the world. Eventually this Phelps-Stokes project was unable to collect sufficient funds chiefly, I am sure, because I had been maned Editor-in Chief. So this project closed its effort with the publication of only one thin preliminary volume. But Woodson left the kernal of a great work. It would be a magnificient

monument to his memory, if this were to be made the basis of broad rewriting and extension, and published as a memorial to his life work.

As a historian, Woodson left something to be desired. He was indefatigable in research: for instance, his collection of photographs of Negroes and abolitionists is invaluable; his "Negro in American History" deserved the wide use which it has had. Some of his works like his "Education of the Negro prior to 1861." "A Century of Negro Migration," "Negro Orators and their Orations," "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830", "Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States," "The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-60", are solid works of historical research. Others of his books were not of so great value.

42-18-35

Indeed his service to history was not so much his books as his editorship of the Journal, which brought into print some of the best scholars in this branch of history. On the other hand, Woodson himself lacked background for broad historical writing; he was almost contemptuous of emotion; he had limited human contacts and sympathies; he had no conception of the place of woman in creation. His book reviews were often pedantic and ~~o~~ opinionated. Much of his otherwise excellent research will have to be reinterpreted by scholars of wider reading and better understanding of the social sciences, especially in economics and psychology; for Woodson never read Karl Marx.

The passing of Carter Woodson leaves a vaccum hard to fill. His memory leaves a lesson of determination and sacrifice which all men, young and old, black and white, may emulate to the glory of man and the uplift of [redacted] world.

Ms/4 Corrections

CARTER GOODWIN WOODSON

BY

W. E. B. Du Bois

1954

Carter Goodwin Woodson, who is dead in Washington at the age of 71, illustrates what race prejudice can do to a human soul and also what it is powerless to accomplish. Of course, race prejudice is simply one particular form of oppression such as human beings have used toward each other throughout all the ages. Oppression cramps thought and development, individuality and freedom. Woodson was naturally a big strong man with a good mind; not brilliant, not a genius, but steady, sound and logical in his thinking processes, and capable of great application and concentration in his work. He was a man of normal appetities, who under ordinary circumstances and with no handicap of color, would have made a good and valuable career. As it happened however, he did not have the chance for normal development; he spent his childhood working in a mine and did not get education enough to enter high school until he was twenty, he never married, and one could say almost that he never played; he could laugh and joke on occasion but those occasions did not often arise.

I have known him for 40 years and more, and I have often wondered what he did for recreation, if anything. He had very little outdoor life, he had few close friends. All this arose in the first place, because like most people on earth he was born poor. But his poverty was the special case of being one of nine children of poor American Negroes, who had been born slaves. This meant that from the beginning he was handicapped; it was difficult for him to go regularly to the very poor country school in his neighborhood, and for six years during his youth when he ought to have been in school, he was working in a mine, so that he was grown before he entered high school in Huntington, West Virginia. Once started, however he went to college at

Berea, Kentucky; then to the University of Chicago. He alternated with public school teaching, travel and study in Europe and finally ten years in the public schools of Washington, D. C. 1908 -1918.

38-6-18

In 1912, he took his doctorate in philosophy at Harvard in history. It is quite possible that had he been a white man he might have entered a university career then, as instructor and eventually as a professor with small but adequate salary, enough for marriage, home and children. But of course, at the time he got his doctorate, there was not the slightest thought that the black man could be on the faculty of Harvard or of any other great school. There he got his main experience of regular teaching work. It was hard and not inspiring, the "Jim-crow" school system of the District of Columbia is perhaps the best of its kind in the United States; but it had all the difficulties of all segregated schools with special arrangements and peculiar difficulties; they are not the kind of schools which would inspire most men to further study or to an academic career.

It was natural then, that after that experience Woodson should turn to college work. He served as dean for a year at Howard University and for four years at West Virginia College. He might have ended his career in this way as president of the small Southern college. His duties would have been collecting funds and superintending discipline among teachers and students, or if it had been in a state school he would have cajoled and played up to a set of half educated Southern whites so as to get for Negroes a third or a half of the funds they should have. It would have been the kind of executive job which has killed many a man, white and black either physically or mentally or both; and it was the short of thing that Woodson was determined not to do.

He had by this time made up his mind that he was going to devote himself to the history of the Negro race as a permenent career. In doing that he knew the difficulties which he was going to face. Study and publication if at all successful, call for money, and money for any scientific effort

for or by a Negro means abject begging; and at begging Woodson was not adept. That was an era moreover, what all Negro education was largely charity, not only college education, but elementary and high school training. Groups of Negro and white teachers in Southern schools made regular pilgrimages to the North to collect money from Churches and Philanthrophists in order to support their schools. But Woodsons' job which he had carved out for himself was not a school; it was a matter of a periodical with research and publication and it was done in a field, not only unpopular but practically unrecognized. Most people even historians would have doubted if there was enough of distinctly Negro history to call for publication; for thirteen years at Atlanta University we had tried to raise money for research and publication of studies in Negro sociology, five thousand a year, outside my salary. We had to give up the attempt in 1910. But one thing that Woodsons' career had done for him was to make him stubborn and single minded. He had no ties, family or social. He had determined upon this life work and he never wavered from it after 1922.

His efforts at raising money for the work had some initial success; for 10 years or more Julius Rosenwald, the Jewish philanthrophist of Chicago gave him $400 a year. Woodson organized the Association of Negro Life and History and already as early as January, 1916, he began publication of The Journal of Negro History, a quarterly which is now in its 34th year of continuous publication.

The Journal was an excellent piece of work and received commendation from high sources. The Carnegie Foundation and afterwards the Spelman Memorial Fund of the Rockefellers gave him fairly generous appropriations for a period of years. But Woodson did not prove the ideal recipient of philanthropy. He was not a follower of the school of Booker Washington and had neither the humility nor finese of social uplifters. His independence

of thought and action was exaggerated, he went out to meet opposition before it arose, and he was fiercely determined to be master of his own enterprises and final judge of what he wanted to do and say. He pretty soon got the reputation of not being the kind of trustworthy Negro to whom help should be given. It was not for a moment intimated that the philanthrophists wanted to curb his work and guide it, but if Woodson had anticipated their wishes and conformed to their attitude, money would have poured in. Only those persons who followed the Washington philosophy and whose attitude toward the South was in accord with the new orientation of the North, could be sure to have encouragement and continued help. After a while it became the settled policy of philanthrophic foundations and of academic circles to intimate that Carter Woodson was altogether too self-centered and self-assertive to receive any great encouragement. His work was individual with not guarantee of permanence.

38-6-20

There was just enough truth in this accusation, to make the criticism stick. Even his colored friends and admirers, encountered refusal to cooperate or take counsel. Twice, alarmed because of his meager income, and his overwork, I ventured to propose alliance and help; I offered to incorporate the Journal into the Department of Publications and Research of the NAACP, with promise of as much autonomy as was allowed me. He considered, but refused unless an entirely separate department was set up for him. This the Board refused to consider as I knew it would. Then I suggested incorporation of his work into that of Howard University; but after trial this also fell through, and his friends concluded that he must be left to carry on his great work without interference in any way from others. Several times he took in assistants and helpers, but never gave them authority or permanent tenure. He was always the lone pioneer and remained this until his death.

It was this very attitude however that brought out the iron in Woodsons' soul. He was 44 in 1922 when he began this independent career. He therefore gradually buckled up his belt, gave up most of the things which a man of his age would be looking forward to, and put the whole of his energy into his work. As I have said, he never married, he never had a home; he lived in lodgings as a boarder, or ate in restaurants; he schooled himself to small and uncertain income; it is probable that he lived many years on not more than a $1000 and probably never as much as $5000.

Deliberately he cut down his wants and that was not difficult in Washington. Washington had no theatre for Negroes; its music was limited; there were art galleries, but they were not particularly attractive until recent years and never catered to black folk. In many cases they refused to exhibit the work of Negro artists. Parks and public recreation had many restrictions; there was little chance at club life or opportunity to meet those of standing either American or passing foreigners. Woodson did not have enough money to spend much time in New York or abroad. He therefore concentrated his time, his energy, his little money in building up his enterprise and especially in organizing a constituancy among American Negroes to support his work. That was the most astonishing result of his career.

38-6-21

From subscriptions to his quarterly, from donations made by small groups and organizations, from sale of books he not only continued to publish his magazine, but he also went into a publishing business and issued a score of books written by himself and by others; and then as the crowning achievment, he established Negro History Week. He literally made this country, which had only slight respect for people of color, recognize and celebrate each year, a week in which they studied the effect which the American Negro had had upon life, thought and action in the United States. I know of no one man who in a lifetime has, unaided, built up such a national celebration.

Every year practically every state of the United States, Negro History Week is celebrated; and its celebration was almost forced upon school authorities, on churches and other organizations by the influence of the groups of people who had banded themselves together to help Carter Woodsons' Association of Negro Life and History. His chief work, "The Negro in Our History", went through seven or eight editions, with its nearly eight hundred pages and wealth of illustration, and was used in the Negro public schools of the nation. More lately his Bulletin had wide circulation and use.

It is a unique and marvelous monument which Carter Woodson has thus left to the people of the United States, but in this and in all his life, he was and had to be, a cramped soul. There was in him no geniality and very little humor. To him life was hard and cynically logical; his writing was mechanical and unemotional. He never had the opportu ity to develop warm sympathy with other human beings and he did develope a deep-seated dislike, if not hatred, for the white people of the United States and of the world. He never believed in their generosity or good faith. He did not attack them; he did not complain about them, he simply ignored them so far as possible and went on with his work without expecting help from them or sympathetic cooperation.

He did not usually attend meetings of scientists in history; he was not often asked to read paperson such occasions; for the most part so far as the professors in history of this country were concerned he was forgotten and passed over; and yet few men have made so deep an imprint as Carter Woodson on thousands of scholars in historical study and research.

In his death he does not leave many friends; there were few tears shed at his grave. But on the other hand, among American Negroes, and among those whites who knew about his work, and among those who in after years must learn about it, there will be vast respect and thankfulness for the life of this man. He was one who under the hardest conditions of evironment

38-6-22

kept himself to one great goal, worked at it stubbornly and with unwavering application, and died knowing that he had accomplished much if not all that he had planned.

He left unfinished, an Encyclopaedia Africana ; it was an idea which I had toyed with in 1909, securing as collaborators Sir Harry Johnston, Flinders-Petrie, Guisseppi Sergi, Albert Bushnel Hart and Franz Boas. But this project never got beyond the name state and was forgotten. Later Woodson took up the idea as a byproduct of his Journal; but few knew of his project at the time. Finally in 1931, the Phelps-Stokes Fund projected an Encyclopaedia of the Negro, but invited neither Woodson nor me to participate. However the group called together, including Moton of Tuskeegee and Hope of Atlanta, protested and finally we were both invited. I attended the subsequent meetings but Woodson refused. I and many others talked to him and begged him to come in; but no; there were two reasons: this was, he considerd a white enterprise forced on Negroes; and secondly he had himself already collected data enough to eventually make an encyclopaedia. We demurred, not because we were unwilling to have him work on an encyclopaedia, but because we knew that one man and especially one man with a rather narrow and racial outlook which had been forced upon him, could not wirte a scientific encyclopaedia of sufficient breadth to satisfy the world. Eventually this Phelps-Stokes project was unable to collect sufficient funds chiefly, I am sure, because I had been named Editor-in Chief. So this project closed its effort with the publication of only one thin preliminary volume. But Woodson left the kernal of a great work. It will be a magnificent monument to his memory if this was to be made the basis of broad rewriting and extension and published as a memorial to his life work.

As a historian, Woodson left something to be desired. He was indefatigable in research: for instance, his collection of photographs of Negroes and abolitionists is invaluable; his Negro in American History deserved the

38-6-23

wide use which it has had. Some of his works like his "Education of the Negro prior to 1861," "A Century of Negro Migration", "Negro Orators and their Orations," "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830," "Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States," "The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-60," are solid works of historical research. Others of his books were not of great value. Indeed his service to history was not personal, his books so much as his editorship of the Journal, which brought into print some of the best scholars in this branch of history. On the other hand, Woodson himself lacked background for broad historical writing; he was almost contemptuous of emotion; he had limited human contacts and sympathies; he had no conception of the place of the place of woman in creation. His book reviews were often pedantee and opinionated. Much of his otherwise excellent research will have to be reinterpreted by scholars of wider reading and better understanding of the social sciences, especially in economics and psychology, for Woodson never read Karl Marx.

38-6-24

The passing of Carter Woodson leaves a vaccum hard to fill. His memory leaves a lesson of determination and sacrifice which all men, young and old, black and white may emulate for the glory of man and the uplift of his world.

Explanation

# MY CAMPAIGN FOR SENATOR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

On August 2[illegible], 1950, I arrived in Paris from Prague. I hurried to my little hotel on the rive gauche, only a block from the beautiful flowers, sculpture and children of the Luxemburg Gardens. I was scarcely settled in my room, when John Abt of the Progressive Party telephoned me from New York and asked my consent to run for United States Senator from the state of New York on the ticket of the American Labor Party. I laughed.

25-6-130

I laughed because I remembered my grilling by the state department when I asked for a visa to visit Czechoslovakia. The young man in the New York office looked over my note of application and asked whom I knew in that country. I realized that I was under suspicion for the request, and I promised his details the next day. I appeared with a long letter in which I noted all the facts: that I had attended peace congresses in New York, France and Moscow in 1949, and now wished to attend a meeting of the Bureau of the World Partisans of Peace as their guest in Prague.

He scanned the letter and said that I must add that I was aware of the risk of post-war conditions; I assented and started to write " If war conditions prevent permission to go, I shall understand", when he interrupted me and said: "You must say that you know of the unsettled conditions in Czechoslovakia." But, I objected that I had no such knowledge. He assured me that the State Department had so notified his office. I said I was quite willing to say that the State Department so informed me. That would not do. "You know" he added "that Russia controls Czechoslovakia?" "No," I said, "I did not; I was under the impression that the Czechs were in control." He then gave up and passed me to an older official.

This man looked annoyed and hunted at length through a file of dispatches. He finally explained that the State Department had ordered them to obtain from all prospective visitors to Czechoslovakia an acknowledgement that they were aware of conditions there. Very well, I answered, and I appended to my letter this statement: "Whatever the conditions are in Czechoslovakia, I wish to make this trip." He eyed this disparageingly, but finally said "All right." It took ten days of deliberation in Washington and two telephone calls before my visa came. Even then it was carefully limited to 60 days, to Czechoslovakia and "necessary lands" en route and "was not to be validated for additional countries without the express authorization of the Department of State." I felt like a prisoner on Parole.

35-6-131

Remembering this testimony to my untrustworthy character, I was amused to think what such a reputation could add to any campaign; then I recalled that laughter over the long distance telephone is as costly as words and I proceeded to remind Abt of my age and political inexperience and my unwillingness to run for public office. But Abt said a number of things, of which two sunk in: 1. That this campaign would give me a chance to give the public a message which could be voiced in no other way. 2. My candidacy would help the campaign of Marcantonio. I thought this matter over gravely. Because of my support of the Progressive Party in 1948, my acceptance of an honorary and unpaid office with Paul Robeson in the Council on African Affairs, and for my activity in peace congresses in New York, Paris and Moscow, I found myself increasingly proscribed in pulpit, school and platform; my opportunity to write for publication was becoming narrower and narrower, even in the Negro press. I wondered if a series of plain talks in a political campaign would not be my last and only chance to tell the truth as I see it.

Beyond this, of all members of Congress, Vito Marcantonio has acted with courage, intelligence and steadfast integrity in the face of ridicule, mud-slinging and cheating. Liberals like Graham, Pepper and the Douglasses

have wavered, backed and filled and deserted their principles; the colored members of the House have been dumb or absent. If I could do anything for Marcantonio, I decided to try. On August 31, I wired, "Accept. Du Bois"

Of course whatever contribution I could make would I knew be small and not very effective. I did not have the strength for a hard, active campaign; I was no orator nor spell-binder, but only onw who w could reason with those who would listen and had brains enough to understand; I had no large group of close, personal friends and many of those whom I had dared not speak nor act because of fear for their jobs--a fear which was real and restraining; finally I had no money to spend nor moneyed friends to contribute; and anyone who thinks that money does not buy American elections is a fool.

25-6-132

I went into the campaign knowing well from the first that I did not have a ghost of a chance for election, and that my efforts would bring me ridicule at best and jail at worst. On the other hand I did have a message which was worth attention and which in the long run could not fail to have influence. The leaders of the American Labor Party and my colleagues on the ticket were more than kind and solicitous; they reduced my participation to a minimum, bore themselves an unfair part of the work, and gave me every help to keep my efforts within my strength and ability.

I delivered in all, ten speeches and made seven broadcasts. I began with a Press conference in Harlem, to which the Times and Herald-Tribune sent reporters and the Associated Press; only one Negro paper was represented. I addressed mass meetings in Harlem, Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx; each well attended by 1000 to 2500 persons, who gave me careful attention and generous applause. This was encouraging because I used manuscript, no gestures and few jokes. This method I have used on popular audiences for years; and while an audience always sighs at the sight of a roll of manuscript I am convinced that intelligent persons prefer to have a speaker really say

something, rather than entertain them with shouting and acting. But alas! audiences are not always composed of intelligent persons. My last speech in the city of New York was at that marvellous gathering of 17,000 persons at Madison Square Garden on October 24, news of which was nearly blacked out by the press.

On an up-state tour from Buffalo to Albany beginning October 15, I spoke four times to audiences of a few hundred persons in small and unobtrusive halls. There was a distinct air of fear and repression. "Free" Americans slipped in almost furtively and whispered many stories of how the industries of Rochester and Syracuse threatened their workers. In Albany political pressure was tense. While the press was courteous, we evidently were permitted just to touch the edges of real publicity. I realized from this how much money and effort in halls, advertisement and personal contacts was needed to get our message over to the mass of voters. Once reached even in small groups, they were eager and enthusiastic. They listened, leaning forward with rapt faces. But they and we were gripped by defeatism. Tom Dewey and Joe Hanley could talk to ten thousands while we spoke to a hundred even if they said nothing which they often did, their message reached every end of the state ~~dials~~. Senator Lehman and his friends did not have to go hungry in order for him comfortably to cover the state. I winced at our little collections; they drew blood. My colleages like McMannus, Schreiner and George Murphy spent day and night in personal contacts and conversation while I slept with guilty conscience. We needed a hundred workers where we had one.

I had another handicap and paradox. Of Hanley's utter unfitness for public office, especially when his famous letter came to light while I was in Albany, there was not the slightest doubt. Lehman was different. He was an honest man and wealthy; he had behind him a good record of publis service. Yet he ought not to sit in the United States Senate because he represents finance and foreign investment, and because of this is frantically

35-6-133

backing Truman in the Korean crime which Big Business precipitated. All that my candidacy however could possibly accomplish, in the immediate present, would be to draw enough votes from warmonger Lehman to replace him with a grafting politician. Many voters were indignant at this prospect and some accused me of being deliberately a catspaw or at best of poor judgment. For a time the political leaders were worried over this; and this angle gave me more publicity than any other, but they soon concluded that party discipline, patronage, freedom for gambling, liquor, prostitution and dope in Harlem, together with the threat of the "Red Smear", would keep the rank and file of Negro voters in line. They were right. I received ~~only 14%~~ less than one-fourth of the black vote of Harlem.

35-6-134

Yet I am sure, I was right and that even the threat of Hanley was worse that that of World War; and that overwhelming defeat today of my fight for Peace and Civil Rights, would some day prove worth while.

As my addresses were carefully prepared, there appeared to be a demand, voiced by word and mail to have opportunity to read them in print. I was easily persuaded to prepare them for publication. The ten speeches were based on three themes, represented by my talk on "Peace and Civil Rights" at Madison Square Garden; my address on "The American Way of Life" at the Queens rally; and my lecture on "Harlem" at the Golden Gate Ballroom. All my other speeches were combinations and adaptations of these.

For the seven broadcasts, I adopted another method: I planned a connected series of expositions on the underlying basis of the demand for peace and civil rights, emphasizing in succession the rule of propaganda, the misconception of Property, and the concept of democracy. These were interlarded between two general statements, one delivered on television and one in our final symposium.

On the whole I enjoyed this unique excursion into political activity.

I encountered little open race prejudice, although of course few New Yorkers wanted to be represented in Washington by a Negro; because of their prejudice and also because they suspected I was more Negro than American. To counteract this at least in part, I made no appeal to the Negro vote as such. I wanted the people of New York to know that as Senator I would represent the interests of the state and not merely those of one minority group. At the same time I knew and Negroes knew that I would regard Negro emancipation a a prime prerequisite to American freedom and possibly from birth, training and bitter experience, I would unconsciously overemphasize this aspect. The Negro voter of Harlem was in a quandary; he knew that no candidate would defend Negro rights as I would; he also knew I would be defeated and that he must depend on Lehman or Hanley. His path was cloudy.

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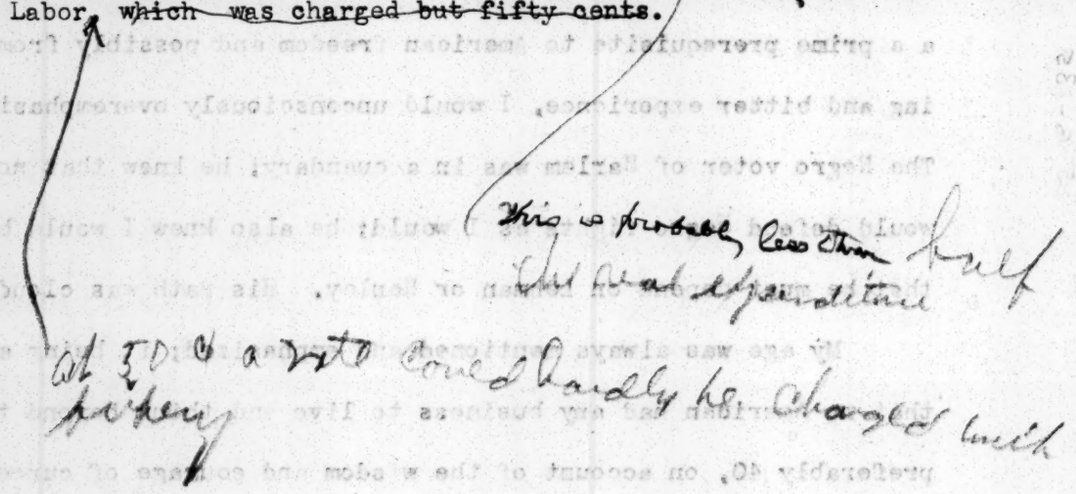
My age was always mentioned and emphasized; it being apparently assumed that no American had any business to live and think beyond the age of 70, or preferably 40, on account of the wisdom and courage of current youth. Naturally I was not impressed by this argument and was annoyed that age should continually outweigh reason. But above all I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the ~~millions~~ thousands spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "story told by an idiot."

~~Five~~ Four million persons voted in this election; of these ~~one-tenth~~ voted for me, which was far more than I expected. More than a ~~third~~ Million of the voters stayed from the polls. After a great social effort like the election of 1950, one must feel the let-down. Even the victors gain less than they wish, while the losers wonder if it was worth all the effort, all the worry, all the breathless disappointed hope. Yet there is a sense in which no

Admittedly incomplete returns of political expenses admit $600,000 spent by the Republicans; $500,000 by the Democrats and $90,000 by the Liberals. The American Labor Party spent $35,000. This almost looks as though the parties paid a dollar a piece for votes except American Labor, which was charged but fifty cents.



sound effort is in vain, least of all a struggle with high ideal and personal integrity.

One feels that in the end, all of this can never be lost; that somehow, somewhere, whatever was fine and noble in this campaign will triumph; and what was vicious and low will remain contemptible, no matter what the returns today say. Of course I was disgusted at the re-election of an acknowledged demogogue and opportunist like Thomas Dewey as governor of the Empire State and the continued threat of his elevation to presidency. I was insulted to know that two million New Yorkers wanted a petty grafter like Joe Hanley to be continued in public office. I was sorry to see Herbert Lehman go back to Washington to keep us in war and chains. But most of all I could not understand how a sane and intelligent electorate could reward the brave, lone fight of Vito Marcantonio with defeat. It just did not make sense, but dollars did it--just plain cash to purchase the election of as reactionary and characterless a nonentity as ever sat in Congress.

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I felt as seldom before the vicious use of money to nullify democracy and the chains of party politics for selfish and dirty ends. As for myself, having never expected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote fo 200,000--a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience; a vote from a tenth of the voters of a state owned, cowed and enslaved by Big Business. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for Peace and Civil Rights, for this I was happy.

I had slapped no backs during the campaign which I had not slapped before; I had beg ed no man for his vote as a personal favor; I had asked no vote simply because I was black. It was a fine adventure. I enjoyed it.

Forward

EXPLANATION

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Mailed 12/13/50

My Campaign

On August 2, 1950, I arrived in Paris from Prague. I hurried to my little hotel on the rive gauche, only a block from the beautiful flowers, sculpture and children of the Luxemburg Gardens. I was scarcely settled in my room, when John Abt of the Progressive Party telephoned me from New York and asked my consent to run for United States Senator from the state of New York on the ticket of the American Labor Party. I laughed.

I laughed because I remembered my grilling by the State Department when I asked for a visa to visit Czechoslovakia. The young man in the New York office looked over my note of application and asked whom I knew in the country. I realized that I was under suspicion for the request, and I promised him details, the next day. I appeared with a long letter in which I noted all the facts: that I had attended peace congresses in New York, France and Moscow in 1949, and now wished to attend a meeting of the Bureau of the World Partisans of Peace as their guest in Prague.

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The State Department

He scanned the letter and said that I must add that I was aware of the risk of post-war conditions; I assented and started to write: "If war conditions prevent permission to go, I shall understand," when he interrupted me and said: "You must say that you know of the unsettled conditions in Czechoslovakia." But, I objected that I had no such knowledge. He assured me that the State Department had so notified his office. I said I was quite willing to say that the State Department had so inofrmed me. That would not do. "You know", he added, "that Russia controls Czechoslovakia?" "No," I said, "I did not; I was under the impression that the Czechs were in control". He then gave up and passed me to an older official.

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Marcantonio

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my Speeches

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careful attention and generous applause. This was encouraging because I used manuscript, no gestures and few jokes. This method I have used on popular audiences for years; and while an audience always sighs at the sight of a roll of manuscript, I am convinced that intelligent persons prefer to have a speaker really say something, rather than entertain them with shouting and acting. But alas! Audiences are not always composed of intelligent persons. My last speech in the city of New York was at that marvellous gathering of 17,000 persons at Madison Square Garden on October 24, news of which was nearly blacked out by the press.

On an up-state tour from Buffalo to Albany beginning October 15, I spoke four times to audiences of a few hundred persons in small and onobtrusive halls. There was a distinct air of fear and repression. "Free" Americans slipped in almost furtively and whispered many stories of how the industries of Rochester and Syracuse threatened their workers. In Albany political pressur was tense. While the press was courteous, we evidently were permitted just to touch the edges of real publicity. I realized from this how much money and effort in halls, advertisement and personal contacts was needed to get our message over to the mass of voters. Once reached even in small groups, they were eager and enthusiastic. They listened, leaning forward with rapt faces. But they and we were gripped by defeatism. Tom Dewey and Joe Hanley could talk to ten thousands while we spoke to a hundred, even if they said nothing, which they often did. Thier message reached every end of the state. Senator Lehman and his friends did not have to go hungry in order for him comfortably to cover the state. I winced at our little collections; they drew ~~ink~~ blood. My colleagues like McMannus, Schreiner and George Murphy spent day and night in personal contacts and conversation while I slept with guilty conscience. We needed a hundred workers where we had one.

I had another handicap and paradox. Of Hanley's utter unfitness I

for public office, especially when his famous letter came to light while I was in Albany, there was not the slightest doubt. Lehman was different. He was an honest man and wealthy; he had behind him a good record of public service. Yet he ought not to sit in the United States Senate because he represents finacne and foreign investment, and because of this is frantically backing Truman in the Korean crime which Big Business precipitated. All that my candidacy however could possibly accomplish, in the immediate present, would be to draw enough votes from warmonger Lehman to replace him with a grafting politician. Many voters were indignant at this prospect and some accused me of being deliberately a catspaw or at best of poor judgment. For a time the political leaders were worried over this; and this angle gave me more publicity than any other, but they soon concluded that party discipline, patronage, freedom, for gambling, liquor, prostitution and dope in Harlem together with the threat of the "Red Smear," would keep the rank and file of Negro voters in line. They were right, I received less than one-fourth of the black vote of Harlem.

Yet I am sure, I was right and that even the threat of Hanley was worse than that of World War; and that overwhelming defeat today of my fight for Peace and Civil Rights, would some day prove worth while.

Marmaduke

As my addresses were carefully prepared, there appeared to be a demand, voiced by word and mail to have opportunity to read them in print. I was easily persuaded to prepare them for publication. The ten speeches were based on three themes, represented by my talk on "Peace and Civil Rights" at Madison Square Garden; my address on "The American Way of Life" at the Queens rally; and my lecture on "Harlem" at the Golden Gate Ballroom. All my other speeches were combinations and adaptations of these.

For the seven broadcasts, I adopted another method: I planned a connected series of expositions on the underlying basis of the demand for

861-7-198

peace and civil rights, emphasizing in succession the rule of propaganda, the misconception of property, and the concept of democracy. These were interlarded between two general statements, one delivered on television and one in our final symposium.

Experiences

On the whole I enjoyed this unique excursion into political activity. I encountered little open race prejudice, although of course few New Yorkers wanted to be represented in Washington by a Negro; because of their prejudice and also because they suspected I was more Negro than American. To counteract this at le st in part, I made no appeal to the Negro vote as such. I wanted the people of New York to know that as senator I would represent the interests of the state and not merely those of one minority group. At the same time, I knew and Negroes knew that I would regard Negro emancipation as a prime prerequisite to American freedom and possibly from birth, training and bitter experience, I would unconsciously overemphasize this aspect. The Negro voter of Harlem was in a quandary; he knew that no candidate would defend Negro rights as I would; he also knew I would be defeated and that he must depend on Lehman or Hanley . His path was cloudy.

My age was always mentioned and emphasized; it being apparently assumed that no American had any business to live and think beyond the age of 70, or preferably 40, on account of the wisdom and courage of current youth. Naturally I was not impressed by this argu ment and was annoyed that age should continually outweigh reason. But above all I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when firends of mine the n tion over sent $600 forfonther my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the thousands spent on Lehman and Hanley.

Admittedly incomplete returns of political e penses admit $600,000 spent by the Republicans; $500,000 by the Democrats and $90,000 by the Liberals.

This is probably less than half the real expenditure. The American Labor Party spent $35,000. This almost looks as though the parties paid a dollar or two apiece for votes. The American Labor Party at fifty cents a vote could hardly be charged with bribery. Small wonder the results of this election throughout the land sounded like a "story told by an idiot."

Five million persons voted in this election; of these four percent voted for me, which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the voters stayed from the polls. After a great social effort like the election of 1950, one must feel the let-down. Even the victors gain less than they wish, while the losers wonder if it was worth all the effort, all the worry, all the breathless disappointed hope. Yet there is a sense in which no sound effort is in vain, least of all a struggle with high ideal and personal integrity.

One feels that in the end, all of this can never be lost; that somehow, somewhere, whatever was fine and noble in this campaign will triumph; and what was vicious and low will remain contemptible, no matter what the returns today say. Of course I was disgusted at the re-election of an acknowledged demagogue and opportunist like Thomas Dewey as governor of the Empire State and the continued threat of his elevation to presidency. I was insulted to know that two million New Yorkers wanted a petty grafter like Joe Hanley to be continued in public office. I was sorry to see Herbert Lahman go back to Washington to keep us in war and chains. But most of all I could not understand how a sane and intelligent electorate could reward the brave, lone fight of Marcantonio with defeat. It just did not make sense, but dollars did it--just plain cash to purchase the election of as reactionary and characterless a nonentity as ever sat in Congress.

I felt as seldom before the vicious use of money to nullify democracy and the chains of party politics for selfish and dirty ends. As for myself, having never expected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if

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no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote of 200,000--a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience; a vote from a tenth of the voters of a state owned, cowed and enslaved by Big Business. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for Peace and Civil Rights, for this I was happy.

I had slapped no backs during the campaign which I had not slapped before; I had begged no man for his vote as a personal favor; I had asked no vote simply because I was black. It was a fine adventure. I enjoyed it.

45-7-281

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

After the death of Carter Woodson last April, I wrote of him that his crowning achievement was the establishment of Negro History Week: "He literally made this country ~~which has only the slightest respect for people~~ of color, recognize and celebrate each year a week in which it studied the effect which the American Negro has had upon life, thought and action in the United States. I know of no man who in a lifetime has unaided built up such a national celebration."

A

42-18-128

My own contribut on to Negro History Week lay in mylong effort as a historian and sociologist to make America and Negroes themselves aware of the significant facts of Negro history. The worst effect of slavery was to make Negroes doubt themselves and share in the national contempt for black folk. This, from the publication of my first book on the slave trade in 1896, I tried to correct. My study of the Philadelphia Negro was designed by its promoters to shunt the blame of dirty politics on Negro politicians. I showed what Negroes had meant in the history of Pennsylvania. From that I turned to an attempt to place the Negro problem in the United States on a scientific basis with the 15 annual Atlanta University studies. We could never get funds for the complete work we wanted to do, but we made a start on which others have built enduring studies. As editor of the Negro monthly, the CRISIS from 1910 to 1934, I hammered at stopping black folk from being ashamed of being called "Negroes"; of shrinking at having their dark skins appear in print; and I brought again and again the deeds of black folk to common knowledge. We compelled the leading newspapers and publishers to capitalize the word "Negro", which had lost its capital letter with the rise of the Cotton Kingdom about 1830.

I remember vividly when in 1914, a Harvard classmate of mine, who was on the American editorial board of the British Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, called on me. He wanted to add to this series, which was edited by Gilbert Murray, H.A. L. Fisher and Julian Huxley, a volume on the Negro. No historical series in the world had ever admitted that Africans had any history. It was explained that what was wanted was a small readable bo ok without footnotes which would tell the story simply.

I submitted a manuscript. The editor called. He said that my manuscript was very interesting, but contained so many facts and assertions without indication of authority, that he wondered if I would mind re-writing it with references to sources. I knew what he meant. He was trying to say that no history which he ever read had ever admitted that Africa had such history. As I indicated, I did not argue, but said I would be glad to try again. I produced a manuscript of twice the length needed but equipped with detailed references to authorities. My friend was enthusiastic and said he would try to have the work published in two voluems. I knew that no British board would be willing to devote two volu mes to black people. Sure enough I had a third visit. Would I be willing to let the editors shorten and condense my work, as it must be issued in one volume? I would not, but I would re-write the whole thing myself on a shorter scale. I wrote "The Negro" a third time and it appeared, in 1915 and had a long sale.

42-18-129

Later in "Black Reconstruction" I tried to correct the distortions of history in regard to Negro enfranchisement and make the nation conscious that this part of our citizenry were normal human beings who had served the nation creditably and were still being depirved of their credit by ignorant and prejudiced historians.

Others have added to and widely extended my first attempts--Frazier, Aptheker, Buckmaster, Wesley, Bond, Drake, Cayton, Charles Johnson, Locke

and Shirley Graham have built so firm and broad a foundation of truth under Negro history that none but the deeply prejudiced can persist in distortion. Myrdals' study capped this series.

Numbers of school text-books and some surveys of history still omit or lie about Negroes but this attitude Negro History Week is steadily attacking. Not long since, a Negro pupil in a Brooklyn Public School was reprimanded for asserting that Negro soldiers fought in the Civil War! May Quinn still has permission from the New York Board of Education to keep her position in the schools. She advised her Negro pupils not to go "where they are not wanted." But for the most part, the Negro child today learns at home and in school that the statement which I published in 1939, was a fair statement of the truth: "It is astonishing how the African has integrated himself into American civilization. The first national holiday, the fifth of March, commemorated the death of Crispus Attucks. In the War of 1812, the Civil War the Spanish War and the World War, Negro soldiers were prominent.

"Paul Cuffee began agitation and a movement to Africa, and David Walker's Appeal anticipated the abolition movement. That movement received indispensable aid from Douglass, Remond and Sojourner Truth. After the Civil War Lynch of Mississippi, Cardozo and Eliott of South Carolina and Dunn and Dubuclet of Louisiana were recognized as able political leaders.

"In science, Banneker issued early American almanacs and assisted in surveying the city of Washington. Later Just made a record in biology; Turner in entomology and Fuller in psychiatry; Hinton is today a leading American authority on syphilis.

"In religion, Richard Allen was a national leader; Payne and Turner prominent and forceful; and Pennington received his doctor of divinity from Heidelberg in 1843. Chavis and Booker Washington were leading educators; George Leile and Lott Carey led in American foreign missionary effort. As inventors Matseliger founded our pre-eminence in shoe manufacture,

12-18-130

Rillieux in sugar and McCoy began the lubrication of running machinery.

"But it is in art that the Negro stands pre-eminent: his folk song began its wide influence with the Fisk Jubilee Singers; and was followed by the compositions of the Lamberts, Rosamond Johnson, Dett, Burleigh and Handy. There are the great voices of the "Black Patti" Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson For years, before his death Henry O. Tanner was the dean of the American painters. The stage has had no comedian to surpass Bert Williams and every year brings a new dramatic figure like Gilpin and Richard Harrison.

2" The Negro's work in literature was begun by Phyllis Wheatley. She was not a great writer, but she led American literature in her day. In Louisiana in 1843-45, Negroes published an anthology of their poetry which represents a higher literary standard than anything contemporary in the United States. In the early twentieth cantury came Chestnutt and Dunbar, Braithwaite who revived appreciation for poetry in America; James Weldon Johnson and Benjamin Brawley. The record, by no means complete, is an astonishing proof of the capacity of the Negro race. "

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Since 1939, an American Negro has been given the Nobel Peace Prize, another has written three novels which have been nationwide "best sellers" and one Negro has become a general in the United States army.

There comes however today a question of the deeper meaning in all this and of future aims. The nations of the World are willing to admit that skin-color and race distinctions which played so fatal a role formerly in social policy and government are no scientific basis for discrimination; that present humanity represents persons of essentially equal gift and right to progress. What now does Negro History Week stand for? Shall American Negroes continue to learn to be "proud" of themselves, or is there a higher broader aim for their research and study?

In other words as it becomes more universally known what Negroes contributed to America in the past, more must logically be said and taught concerning

the future. What role ought Negroes to play in the development of the problems of our present crisis. For generations, Negroes have aimed to become the equals of white Americans. But there are different sorts of White Americans with different ideals and methods. It is of fatal importance to this land which persons and thoughts prevail in a future United States.

Quite naturally, certain American characteristics and culture patterns have attracted Negroes and immigrants from Europe and Asia, and these are often the most dangerous of our tendencies. Our great wealth among certain individuals and groups of our unscrupulous business callousness and gambling; our loud talk and flamboyant boasting; the premium we put on success at any price; our individual freedom to make other individuals slaves; our private initiative to make social anarchy. It was natural that Negroes strove to get wealth at any price and to exhibit themselves by conspicuous expenditure on clothes, homes and cadillacs. We not only find rich Negro gamblers, but many of our leading professional men are forming a well-do-do bourgeoisie, as self-seeking as any similar group of whites; while our physicians are largely against social medicine and our lawyers protect criminals and business sharks.

42-13-132

It is true that among American Negroes the exploiting groups and anti-social leaders are far fewer in proportion than among the whites; but this is not enough, for their social condition, with poverty, disease and ignorance still above median line of the nation should furnish greater drive toward social progress and service in medicine, law and entertaining, than the mass of Americans manifest.

It is common experience for progressive and liberal Americans to appeal to Negroes for cooperation, expecting that among them and especially among their educated and well-to-do, swift and eager response. They are astonished and bitter to find often reaction, lack of social conscience, and cold cynicism. ~~This is in part acquaintanceship with a different set of facts.~~

Negroes support property because Negro property is mostly ownership of homes and not the right to dividends from great corporations; Negroes used to oppose labor unions because unions excluded them; they changed when the Unions changed. Negroes are often indifferent to the rights of foreign immigrants, because such immigrants often join anti-Negro movements, or take anti-Negro attitudes.

For many years educated American Negroes fiercly resisted any attempt to link our problem with the problems of Africa or Asia. My grandfather, a gentleman of eighteenth century manners, bitterly resented being linked with Africa. He was American, he insisted. Logically he was right; but factually socially he was wrong. But when his spiritual descendents in the NAACP listened to my plea to take up my Pan-African Congress as their project, they answered: the race problem in the United States is all we are interested in. It took a long fight and one not yet ended to bring American Negroes to realize that the battle for a free Africa was one with our battle against race hate here. Later Negroes here had small sympathy for India, because Indians visiting here so often shrunk from any contact with black folk. It took Gandhi's crusade in South Africa to awaken the Negro to a vast unity of interest among the darker peoples of the world over. But American Negroes are not yet aware of the economic basis of race prejudice and of the methods by which American wealth today is erecting an Investment Imperialism in Africa and Asia, in the West Indies and Central and South America. Indeed further than that, the lack of fundamental economic teaching in America is emphasized in Negro colleges and leaves the working class bemused and puzzled as to the role which Big Business today plays in human relationships. Here is a field for Negro History Week.

In the great battle which today divides the world between socialism and individualism--or as it is usually phrased--communism and democracy, most Negroes, like most whites stand bewildered; but Negroes perhaps more so because they know what democracy has not done for them and because they

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are told of the lack of the color bar behind the Iron Curtain.

From all this it follows that in future, Negro History Week, if it remains true to the ideals of Carter Woodson, and if it follows the logical development of the Negro Race in America, will not confine its study to the past; it will not lose itself in boasting and vainglory over what we have accomplished; it will not mistake wealth as the measure of America, nor bigness and noise as World Domination. It will concentrate on study of the present, listening as earnestly to Paul Robeson and Howard Fast as to ~~John~~ Dean Acheson ~~Rockefeller~~ and ~~Isaac~~ Dwight D Eishenhauer; it will not be afraid of radical literature nor dazzled by "Life," "Time" and "Fortune". Above all, from the horrible experience of two world wars and the present policies of our military masters, it will become a series of centers set on eternal opposition against war between the white and colored peoples of the earth. It will teach Negro youth that no matter who wins, such a war will mean the ~~conquest~~ degradation of the American Negro.

42-18-134

Let the Negro History Week of the future start with the slogan: Peace, no more War!

2/8/51 Compass M. Cooke

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
By
W.E.B. Du BOIS

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36-8-35

Myrdal's study called this Series attitude

Not long since, a Negro pupil in a Brooklin Public School was reprimanded for asserting that Negro soldiers fought in the Civil War. May Quinn still has permission from the New York Board of education to keep her position in the schools. She and advise her Negro pupils not to go "where they are not wanted". But for the most part, the Negro child today learns at home and in school ~~that American Negroes have fought for the liberty of the United States; contributed immeasurably to its labor of development; led in medical and biological research;~~ that the statement which I published in 1939, was a fair statement of the truth:

( copy Black Folk, pp. 217-8 )

Since 1939, an American Ne gro has been given the Nobel Peace Prize, another has written three novels which have been nationwide "best-sellers and one Negro has become a general in the United States army.

There comes however today a question of the deeper meaning of all this and of future aims. The nations of the World are willing to admit that skin-color and race distinctions which played so fatal a role formerly in social policy and government are no scientific basis for discrimination; that present humanity represents essentially persons of equal gift and right to progress. What now does Negro History Week stand for now? Shall American Negroes continue a ~~mark~~ learn to be "proud" of themselves, or is there a higher broader aim for their research and study? ~~There is today a distinct tendency for~~

In other words as it becomes more universally known what Negroes contributed to America in the past, more must logically be siad and taught concerning the future. What role ought Negroes to play in the development of the problems of our present crisis. For generations Negroes have aimed to become the equals of w white Americans. But there are different sorts of white Americans with different ideals and methods. It is of fatal importance to this land which persons and thoughts prevail in a future United States.

Quite naturally, certain American characteristics and culure patterns have attracted Negroes and immigrants from Europe and Asia, and these are often the most dangerous of our tendencies. Our great wealth among certain individuals and groups; our business callousness and gambling; our loud talk and flamboyant unscrupulous boasting ; the premium we put on sucess at any price; our individual freedom to make other individuals slaves; our private initiative to make social anarchy. It was natural that Negroes strove to get wealth at any price and exhibit by conspicuous expenditure on clothes, homes and cadillacs. We not only find rich Negro gamblers, but many of our leading professional men are forming a well-to-do bourgeoisie, as self-seeking as any similar group of whites; while our physicians are largely against social medicine and our lawyers protect criminals and business sharks.

36-8-36

It is true that among American Negroes the exploiting groups and anti-social leaders are far fewer than among the whites; but this is not enough, for their social condition, with poverty, disease and ignorance still above median line of the nation should furnish greater drive toward social progress and service in medicine, law and entertaining than the mass of Americans manifest

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In the great battle which today divides the world between socialism and individualism -- or as it is usually phrased -- communism and democracy, most Negroes, like most whites stand bewildered; but Negroes perhaps more so because they know what democracy has not done for them,

to boast and "show-off". We have our new and growing petty bourgeois; our well-to-do spenders our expensive homes , cars and conspicuous expenditure. Our gamblers and

A

For many years educated American Negroes fiercely resisted any attempt to link our problem with the problems of Africa or Asia. My grandfather, a gentleman of eighteenth century manners, bitterly resented being linked with Africa. He was American, he insisted. Logically he was right; but socially he was wrong; but when his spiritual descendents in the NAACP listened to my plea to take up my Pan-African Congress as their project, answered: the race problem in the United States is all we a e interested in. It took a long fight and one not yet ended to bring American Negroes to realize that the battle for a free Africa was one with our battle against race hate here. Later Negroes here had small sympathy for India, because Indians visiting here so often shrunk from any contact with black folk. It took Ganghi's crusade in South Africa to awaken the Negro to a vast unity of interest among the darker peoples the world over. But American Negroes are not yet aware of the economic basis of race prejudice and of the methods by which American wealth today is erecting an Investment Imperialism in Africa and Asia, in the West Indies and Central and South America. Indeed further than that, the lack of funda mental economic teaching in America is emphasized in Negro colleges and leaves the working clas bemused and puzzled as to the role which Big Business today plays in human reationships. Here is afield for Negro History Week.

36-8-37

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Let the Negro History Wdek of the future start with the slogan

Peace, no more War!

26-8-38

For Monthly Review Jan. 1953 To be omitted as suggested by author. Omitted from M.R.

# THE PLACE OF NEGROES IN THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

by W.E.B. Du Bois

The development of capitalism in the United States has not followed that of Europe completely; nor has it been the same in all parts of this vast nation. While the merchant who was shipper and banker developed in New England, the South lingered in a feudalism, with black slaves and white serfs. This feudalism found economic connections with industrial capitalism both in England and New England.

American industrial capitalism arose after the Napoleonic wars and lasted until the Cotton Kingdom began to expand with world ambitions by 1840. Then Finance Capital, under the banking interests, began to combine industrial enterprises and to demand federal protection for a home market which would exclude competition from Europe. The South, moving toward closer alliance with the European freedom of industrial capitalism, opposed tariff legislation but ran into labor trouble. The long series of slave revolts which the South had minimized but which left bloody marks on Southern legislation and police organization, now were continued by Free Negroes of the North and white Abolitionists, who organized the flight of fugitive slaves. This infuriated the Southerns and became a main cause of secession; while the labor movement, recoiling from Abolition, was readily drawn into a strong movement to prevent the spread of slavery north or west.

Here was the muddle which led to Civil War; and the winning of that war was not ~~xx~~ simply a matter of military preparedness or ownership of property but much more of available soldiers. The North excelled the South in population but a large proportion of this population did not want to fight; nor did the Southern masses show too much eagerness to fight for slavery. But there was one mass of possible fighters, able and eager to furnish more than a million soldiers if given arms, provided in turn they were freed from slavery. Of these, 200,000 were actually in arms when the South wisely surrendered, after an

36-11-26

abortive attempt led by Robert E. Lee to arm the slaves on the side of the South at a price something less than freedom.

In 1863, therefore, a new development of capital faced the nation. Finance Capitalism, free from State control and yet working in a state-protected market and under the dictation of a banking oligarchy, lurched into tremendous activity. When the South sulked after the Civil War, the industrial North enfranchised the freedmen to furnish the votes necessary to insure payment of the federal war debt and raising of the tariff. This brought into a new democracy a group of 2 million or more black voters with socialistic ideas of land division, free public schools, votes for all men, and state aid for the poor, ignorant workers, white and black.

36-11-27

Finance Capitalism in the North began to expand toward State Capitalism, which was arising in Europe But American Finance Capital was determined to curb democracy in America by control of the labor vote, which in the North was organizing and pressing forward to use its power to curb capital. The impasse in the South pointed the way: the North bargained with the white landowners and capitalists in the South to disfranchise the black Freedmen by revolutionary disregard of law, and then to set up this black labor group as rivals of the rapidly unionizing white Northern proletariat. The Negroes, led by the small group of Negro Reconstruction leaders who now found their political weapons useless in their hands, struggled desperately. Much lawlessness and lynching ensued until the disorder threatened race war and industrial collapse. Led by men like William H. Baldwin, president of the Long Island Railroad and president-designate of the Pennsylvania Railroad system, a number of northern capitalists united to impose on the Negroes a new leadership and a new philosophy; and at the same time counter the growth of Northern union labor. They fixed on a young Hampton graduate, Booker T. Washington, who had

a small school in Alabama, to spread the doctrine by advising Negroes to drop the effort to regain the vote and to center on training in industry in order to secure Negroes jobs. White Southern labor was to be satisfied by promise of preferred and better paid employment and a legal color-line in civil life; Northern white labor was appeased by restriction of northern migration of Negroes. Negro common-school education under Southern white control and with emphasis especially on industrial skills and domestic services was subsidized by the General Education Board. Washington and his followers were accorded flattering and hitherto unusual social recognition and political influence all over the country.

36-11-22

The Negro group proved less docile than was expected. There were in the United States in 1895 when Washington made his widely applauded Atlanta compromise speech, 7½ million Negroes. Instead of dying out as the false census of 1870 promised, the 1880 census seemed to threaten eventual Africanization of the nation. Negro common schools remained poor, but Negroes were crowding them. Negro missionary colleges grew, and a few Negroes forced their way into Northern colleges. Negro newspapers multiplied; the Negro church became a social more than a religious institution and grew rapidly. Even a distinct Negro literature developed when Dunbar and Chesnutt began to write.

Early in the new century as American Finance Capitalism was building its vast monopolies and turning toward State Capitalism, some brash young Negro intellectuals began to revolt and organized the Niagara Movement to demand for Negroes "every right that belonged to American citizens". They were roundly abused by the respectable capitalistic press; limited in employment and discouraged in ambition. Something like the present hysteria against "Communists" and "Communist Fronts" faced any colored man who dared oppose the doctrines of Booker T. Washington, dared to enter politics or to demand "social

equality". Some young leaders like Munroe Trotter were jailed for opposing Washington.

But there appeared a new element not so easily disposed of. That was the socialist intellectuals of the white labor movement. Two things aroused men like Walling and Russell and women like Ovington[2] lynching and violence in the North which marked race hate as Negro labor threatened union labor standards, and disfranchisement of Negroes in the South, as a threat to Democracy.

The rotten borough political system of the South nullified much of our national effort for Democracy and put white Southern Democrats, appointed rather than really elected, in control of Congress. The labor vote was thus largely neutralized, and Finance Capitalism, by uniting Northern banking interests with Southern Bourbon politicians, bade fair to introduce State Capitalism without democratic control.

36-11-29

In Europe this emergence of State Capitalism showed itself in the rise of Socialist governments which gradually yielded political power to labor. It was freely admitted by all students of political affairs that the era of Socialism was at hand and that this was natural and logical; that opposition to it was as unwise as impossible. In this country we paid little attention to this theory. Big Business was in the saddle and set to rule with fabulously increasing profits and organized control of the State. The revolt of Populism had been smashed. "Free Silver" was bought off and the political parties were systematically bribed so that corporations contributed to both parties, since each would perform the same function for them. Negroes in the North were taken into the political machines and pacified by small jobs. The South stood firm on Negro disfranchisement and segregation, which resulted in increased attempts of Negroes to migrate North. This did not disturb Industry; on the contrary it meant

scab labor to which union labor must bow.

American philanthropy which had done so much to emancipate the slaves was still under the influence of ideas of mercantile capitalism and was financed by Big Business so as to build up a black labor group to offset labor unionism, under the leadership of Booker Washington.

There was uncertainty among American Negro thinkers. The stronger tendency was to identify Negro interests as closely as possible with the interests of the dominant whites. This was frustrated by color caste; by the determination, centered in the former slave South, to make black folk forever inferior to all whites, and to accomplish this by disfranchisement, denial of civil rights, segregation in every area of social life, together with mob violence, injustice in the courts, and lynching. This practically imprisoned all Negroes in their own culture group.

8-11-93

This "State within a State" was both an encouragement and a menace, and was so regarded within and without the Race; white folk praised Negro "race pride" and feared it when it united blacks against whites. Black folk encouraged "race loyalty" and yet railed against self-segregation. Yet the blacks were driven together in self-defense.

Together with a few white sympathizers, there arose about 1910 three organizations with Negro and white members: the NAACP and the Urban League in the North; and the race relations movement in the South. The NAACP fought mainly through the courts to obtain equality under existent law; the Urban League tried by appeal to self-interest to secure employment for Negroes. The race relations efforts tried to bring Negro and white leaders into better personal understanding.

The first World War put terrific strain on these and other efforts. The nation feared to enter a war divided by race, even if the disparity of the groups in number, wealth and power was great. Possible disloyalty was

feared and by some discovered. Both Government and Business tried remedial measures. Negroes, despite white extremists, were recognized in the draft and the Supreme Court for the first time recognized the validity of the Civil War Amendments and curbed segregation in housing. After hesitation, Negro army officers were trained, although nearly all troops sent abroad were segregated by color, and in France Negroes declared that the American army took up more time keeping the Negroes "in their places", than in fighting the Germans.

After the war, however, Industry took the center of the field of action. It found itself compelled to rely increasingly on the political power of the State for support: for keeping the tariff high; for use of armed forces in imperial expansion; for regulation of foreign exchange, foreign prices and markets; for recognition of cartels in foreign trade.

36-11-81

The increased demand for labor in Northern industry, due to stoppage of immigration and the draft, led for the first time since emancipation to mass migration of Negro workers into the North. At least half a million black workers moved North in the '20's.

The South tried to prevent them coming by law and police methods; while in the North there were riots and violence which consolidated the Negro group and greatly disturbed industry. Union labor had to consider the admission of Negroes, which was furthered by the organization of the CIO. Between the wars at least a million Negro workers entered the unions.

Then came the Depression. Then Finance Capitalism smashed in its attempt to carry on State Capitalism by private corporate oligarchy and had to turn to democratic political methods in order to rescue Industry itself from bankruptcy. Its efforts were made more difficult by the presence of Negroes: in the South where Negroes were hardest hit by the industrial collapse

and received least relief; in the North where they formed a recently arrived class of workers and survived only by wide distribution of relief in cities. Much effort had to be attempted to break the lines of color caste in industry.

The black group had meantime in a generation accomplished one thing. It had trained a group of leaders. They were not extraordinary men or unusually self-sacrificing. But they knew what this world meant. They began securing for themselves good homes, adequate income, some luxuries and wider human contacts. But they were building thus a social class structure within their culture group and increasing social tensions which they could not ignore.

36-11-82

Since Finance Capital in this nation followed Europe into Colonial Imperialism, American capital began to play an increasing role in Africa, homeland of a tenth of our citizens. But American Negroes are several generations removed from Africa. Earlier attempts to interest them in migration failed because they were simply attempts to deport the troublesome with no real effort to establish self-sustaining Negro nations. Even after the First World War, an attempt by Negroes to unite the black intelligentsia in a Pan-African movement for mutual understanding, failed because it was not clear to Negroes what chance any Negro movement would have in a world increasingly dominated by whites.

After the Second World War, with its continued segregation in the army and anti-communist hysteria in the nation, the Negro group was alarmed and divided. Membership in organizations working for Negro equality was often interpreted as "subversive". Many colored civic employees lost their jobs and some Negro organizations, in order to prove loyalty, had to join the "witch-hunt" against others and to disown accused individuals. It became standard procedure in the FBI and Congressional inquiries to try to smoke out white

March 31, 1954

TESTIFYING FOR BEN GOLD

I have not only long heard of Ben Gold and the Fur Workers but while I was under attack for speaking for Peace his unions and thirteen other national unions whose cooperation he secured gave a dinner and contributed to my defense. I was therefore only too glad to help when he came under fire in the Federal courts because it was alleged that he had not really resigned from the Communist Party under the specifications of the Taft-Hartley law. I therefore promised that I should be glad to testify as to his character and reputation during the trial, but would be absent from New York three weeks for a vacation in the Caribbean.

I returned from the Caribbean on Saturday, March 27, and was asked by Leon Strauss on the 28th to appear at the trial of Ben Gold in Washington on Tuesday, March 30th. I flew down on the 29th and met Marcantonio and his fellow attorneys and members of the Furriers Union.

35-9-30

On the morning of the 30th about 10 o'clock I went to the court room, and as soon as the judge appeared Marcantonio asked that I be heard as a witness for Ben Gold first, in spite of the fact that there was another witness who had not finished his testimony.

I was called to the witness chair about 10:15 a.m. and for the first time in my life took oath as a witness. The jury was present, half of them being colored, with one colored woman. The attorneys did not think that they were very favorable to Mr. Gold's case.

Marcantonio opened the testimony by asking me my name, age and education, where I had taught and the books which I had published. Then he asked how long I had known Ben Gold. Immediately the attorney for the prosecution objected, saying that sufficient ground for this testimony had not been laid. The judge allowed the objection. Marcantonio changed the form of the question

several times. At last, after consultation, the question, somewhat differently worded, was allowed.

I testified that I had known of Ben Gold and the Furriers Union for about twenty-five years, that I had talked about him and heard about him from various persons. I especially named the late Mayor La Guardia, and Dr. Lindeman of the School of Social Work, Lillian Wald and Mary Ovington, social workers, and later, Dr. John Kingsbury.

I added that my chief informants were persons whom I do not remember and perhaps whose names I never knew, who were workers and union members and especially colored men who were gratified that the Furriers Union had dropped all discrimination and was admitting them as members.

35-9-31

I testified that from all these sources I was told that Ben Gold was a man of honesty and integrity, representing the best type of union leader.

The prosecution then took over. A tall man arose with folded arms and looking at the wall said, "Dr. Du Bois, did you know that in (naming a certain date) Ben Gold attended the Lenin Academy in Moscow?" I answered, "No." He then asked me, "Do you know that in (naming another date) Ben Gold was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party?" I answered, "No." He repeated this question, naming two or three other dates, and I continued to answer, "No," to each one. Then he started to ask apparantly about another date, but stopped and said no, to strike that out. Meantime he had consulted with the colleague who went out and then came back in ten or fifteen minutes and whispered to him. I imagine that they were seeking further information about me, but apparently did not get it.

The attorney for the prosecution then said that he had no more questions. Nearly all other witnesses had been asked the question as to their present or former membership in the Communist Party. He did not ask any

question about this but simply indicated that he was through. Marcantonio then arose and asked, "Did you know that Ben Gold was a member of the Communist Party?" I answered, "Yes." The judge then dismissed me as witness.

Leon Strauss and I then went over and saw the Japanese cherry blossoms which were just bursting in bloom and we also went into the Jefferson Memorial and read what Jefferson had said about freedom of thought and speech.

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, N.Y.

100-9-32

June 11, 1964

# THE PASSING OF ALAIN LOCKE

W.E.B. Du Bois

Alain Locke was a man who deliberately chose the intellectual life, not as relief from reality but as a vocation compared with which all else was of little account. In a land like America and among a group as inexperienced as American Negroes this was simply not understandable. That a man in the midst of money-making or gambling should at intervals devote some time to thought itself or to the bases of human reason is, to our day, possible if not profitable. But to give a life to thinking and its meaning; that is to most Americans quite inexplicable. So that to many this lonely figure, who spoke quietly and smiled with restraint, became often an object of pity if not evil gossip and ridicule.

Yet in truth Alain Locke stood singular in a stupid land as a rare soul who pursued for nearly half a century, steadily and unemotionally, the only end of man which justifies his living and differentiates him from the beast and bird; and that is the inquiry as to what the universe is and why; and how it exists and how it may change. The paths pointed out by Socrates and Aristotle, Bacon and Descartes, Kant and Hegel, Marx and Darwin, were the ones Locke followed and which inevitably made him unknown and unknowable to a time steeped in the lore of Micky Spillane.

And yet in Locke's life lay a certain fine triumph. He knew Life's greater things: pictures and poetry; music and drama; conversation which was not filth; laughter not clownish, and appetites which never fell to cheap lust. His severe logic, his penetrating analysis, his wide reading, gave him a world within, sparcely peopled to be sure, but finely furnished and unforgettable in breadth and depth. It built a man not fit for war but nobly courageous and simply consistent, who could bear pain and disappointment and yet live and work.

His quest for Truth and Logic was no easy task. It was often contra-

dictory and disappointing. It either appealed in vain to understanding or found no understanding to which it could appeal. It was a thankless task to those who see Life as Money, Notoriety or Dirt. And yet its faithful pursuit is more than living. It transcends Death.

We may mourn that his latter days of hard-earned leisure could not have lasted longer; but perhaps he would say if he spoke now, that Life is not length of days nor plethora of pleasure but satisfaction of work attempted, and this surely he had.

38-6-27

From too much love of living
From Hope and Fear set free
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be
That no life lives forever
That dead men rise up never
That even the weariest river
Winds somewhere safe to sea.

## PAN-AFRICANISM by W.E.B. Du Bois

Naturally there has always been among American Negroes a great interest in Africa. In the 18th century this took the form of a desire to return to Africa, and from this arose the present state of Liberia. This movement died down when American Negroes realised that they were not Africans and not regarded as Africans by the current African tribes. Moreover, the continued American propaganda against Africa and the black race resulted in widespread distaste among American Negroes for being regarded as Africans. They even objected widely to the use of the word "Negro."

42.88.2

However, as the educated element increased there came a new interest in Africa, exhibited by various Negro church organizations, and finally at the time of the first world war there came suggestions that American participation in this war should lead to a recognition of the rights of African peoples as against the imperial powers.

President Wilson was approached on the subject and a memorandum was directed to the Peace Congress of Versailles. To implement this the NAACP in sending me to Paris after the Armistice to inquire into the treatment of Negro troops, also permitted me to attempt to call a Pan-African Congress. This was an effort to bring together leaders of the various groups of Negroes in Africa and in America for consolidation and planning for the future.

I had difficulty in calling such a Congress because martial law was still in force in Paris and the white Americans representing the United States there had little sympathy with my ideas. I was in consultation with Col. House, who was President Wilson's spokesman, and with others, but could accomplish nothing. Finally, however, I secured the sympathy and cooperation of Blaise Diagne, who was Colonial Under-Secretary in the cabinet of Clemenceau and who had been instrumental in bringing to France the 100,000 Africans who

as shock troops saved the nation.

Diagne secured the consent of Clemenceau to our holding a Pan-African Congress, but we then encountered the opposition of most countries in the world to allowing delegates to attend. Few could come from Africa, passports were refused American Negroes, and English whites. The Congress therefore, which met in 1919, was confined to those representatives of African groups who happened to be stationed in Paris for various reasons. This Congress represented Africa partially. Of the fifty-seven delegates from fifteen countries, nine were African countries with twelve delegates. Of the remaining delegates, sixteen were from the United States and twenty-one from the West Indies.

The Congress specifically asked that the German colonies be turned over to an international organization instead of being handled by the various colonial powers. Out of this idea came the Mandates Commission. The New York Herald of February 24, 1919 said: "There is nothing unreasonable in the program drafted at the Pan-African Congress which was held in Paris last week. It calls upon the Allied and Associated Powers to draw up an international code of law for the protection of the natives of Africa and to create, as a section of the League of Nations, a permanent bureau to insure observance of such laws and thus further the racial, political and economic interests of the natives."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People did not adopt the "Pan-African" movement on its official program, but it allowed me on my own initiative to promote the effort. With a number of colleagues we went to work in 1921 to assemble a more authentic Pan-African Congress and movement. We corresponded with Negroes in all parts of Africa and in other parts of the world and finally arranged for a congress to meet in London, Brussels, and Paris in August and September. Of the one hundred and thirteen delegates to this Congress, forty-one

were from Africa, thirty-five from the United States, twenty-four represented Negroes living in Europe, and seven were from the West Indies.

The London meetings of the Congress of 1921 were preceded by a conference with the International Department of the English Labor party, where the question of the relation of white and colored labor was discussed. Beatrice Webb, Leonard Woolf, Mr. Gillies, Norman Leyes, and others were present. Otlet and LaFontaine, the Belgian leaders of Internationalism, welcomed the Congress warmly to Belgium.

Resolutions passed without dissent at the meeting in London contained a statement concerning Belgium, criticizing her colonial regime, although giving her credit for plans of reform for the future. This aroused bitter opposition in Brussels, and an attempt was made to substitute an innocuous statement concerning good will and investigation, which Diagne of France, as the presiding officer, supported. At the Paris meeting the original London resolutions, with some minor corrections, were adopted. They said in part:

> "To the World: The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior."

The Second Pan-African Congress sent me with a committee to interview the officials of the League of Nations in Geneva. I talked with Rappard who headed the Mandates Commission; I saw the first meeting of the Assembly, and I had an interesting interview with Albert Thomas, head of the International Labor Office. Working with Bellegarde of Haiti, a member of the Assembly, we brought the status of Africa to the attention of the League. The League published our petition as an official document saying in part:

> "The Second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the world moves toward self-government as the ultimate

> aim of all men and nations and that consequently the mandated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission so soon as a vacancy occurs."

We sought to have these meetings result in a permanent organization. A secretariat was set up in Paris and functioned for a couple of years, but was not successful. The Third Pan-African Congress was called for 1923, but postponed. We persevered and finally without proper preparation met in London and Lisbon late in the year. The London session was small. It was addressed by Harold Laski and Lord Olivier and attended by H.G. Wells; Ramsay MacDonald was kept from attending only by the pending election, but wrote: "Anything I can do to advance the cause of your people on your recommendation, I shall always do gladly."

The meeting of an adjourned session of this Congress in Lisbon the same year was more successful. Eleven countries were represented there, including Portuguese Africa. The resolutions declared:

> "The great association of Portuguese Negroes with headquarters at Lisbon, which is called the Liga Africana, is an actual federation of all the indigenous associations scattered throughout the five provinces of Portuguese Africa and represents several million individuals... This Liga Africana which functions at Lisbon, in the very heart of Portugal so to speak, has a commission from all the other native organisations and knows how to express to the government in no ambiguous terms but in dignified manner all that should be said to avoid injustice or to bring about the repeal of harsh laws. That is why the Liga Africana of Lisbon is the director of the Portuguese African movement; but only in the good sense of the word, without making any appeal to violence and without leaving constitutional limits."

I planned a Fourth Pan-African Congress in the West Indies in 1925. My idea was to charter a ship and sail down the Caribbean, stopping for meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba and the French islands. But here I reckoned without my steamship lines. At first the French Line replied that they could

"easily manage the trip"; but eventually no accommodations could be found on any line except at the prohibitive price of fifty thousand dollars. I suspect that colonial powers spiked this plan.

Two years later, in 1927, American Negro women revived the Congress idea, and a Fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York. Thirteen countries were represented, but direct African participation lagged. There were two hundred and eight delegates from twenty-two American states and ten foreign countries. Africa was sparsely represented by representatives from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria. Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, and anthropologists like Herskovits, then of Columbia, Mensching of Germany, and John Vandercook were on the program.

In 1929 we made a desperate effort to hold a Fifth Pan-African Congress on the continent of Africa itself; we selected Tunis because of its accessibility. Elaborate preparations were begun. It looked as though at last the movement was going to be geographically African. But two insuperable difficulties intervened: first, the French government very politely but firmly informed us that the Congress could take place in any French city, but not in French Africa; and second, there came the Great Depression.

The Pan-African idea died apparently until twenty years afterward, in the midst of World War II, when it leaped to life again in an unexpected manner. At the Trade Union Conference in London in 1944 to plan for world organization of labor, representatives from black labor appeared from the Gold Coast, Libya, British Guiana, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone. Among these, aided by colored persons resident in London, Lancashire, Liverpool, and Manchester, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945 when the World Federation of Trade Unions would hold their meeting in Paris.

This proved not feasible, and the meeting place was changed to London. Here again we met difficulty in securing meeting places and hotel accommodations. However a group of Negroes in Manchester invited us and made all accommodations.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, met October 15 to 21, 1945 in Manchester, England, with some two hundred delegates representing East and South Africa and the West Indies. Its significance lay in the fact that it took a step toward a broader movement and a real effort of the peoples of Africa and the descendants of Africa the world over to start a great march toward democracy for black folk.

42-8-87

At this meeting Africa was for the first time adequately represented. From the Gold Coast came Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the first African British Dominion. With him was Ashie-Nikoi of the cocoa farmers cooperative. From Kenya was Jomo Kenyatta; from Sierra Leone the trade union leader, Wallace Johnson; from Nigeria, Chief Coker; from the West Indies came a number of trade union leaders; from South Africa the writer, Peter Abrahams, acted as publicity director, while George Padmore was general director.

It was interesting to learn that from the original Pan-African Congress the idea had spread so that nearly every African province now had its national congress, beginning historically with the great Congress of West Africa held in 1920 just after the First Pan-African Congress in Paris. There are now national congresses in South Africa, Rhodesia, Nyassaland, Tanganyika and Angola.

The following reports from the Fifth Pan-African Congress are of interest. I thus painted the general scene:

> In a great square Hall in Manchester in the midst of that England of the Economic Revolution where the slave trade first brought Capitalism to Europe, there met yesterday and today the Fifth Pan-African Congress.
>
> As I entered the Hall there were about 100 Black men present. They represented many parts of Africa: the Gambia, that oldest and

smallest of English West African colonies that numbers 200,000 Negroes; Sierra Leone with 2 million, the Gold Coast with ½ million and so to Nigeria with more than 20 million. They were mostly young men and full of enthusiasm and a certain exuberant determination. Around the walls were slogans 'Africa arise, the long, long night is over'; 'Africa for the Africans'; 'Down with the Colour Bar'; and then the slogans reached out - 'Freedom for all subject people'; 'Oppressed Peoples of the Earth Unite'; 'Down with Anti-Semitism'; and some specific demands like 'Ethiopia wants out to the Sea'; 'Arabs and Jews Unite against British Imperialism'.

There were at the morning session, Tuesday, 7 speakers. One from the Gold Coast, educated in America, NKRUMAH. He demanded absolute independence and a Federation of West African Republics. NIKOI followed, Chairman of the West African Delegation to the Colonial Office. He spoke with force and rhythmic eloquence, charging Great Britain with the beginnings of slavery and speaking as a representative of that Aborigineees' Protection Society which obtained from Queen Victoria the dictum, 'I had rather have your loyalty than your land'. He was fierce in his demand: 'Down with Imperialism! No Dominion Status -- I want to be Free.' He represents 300,000 farmers of the Gold Coast, the upper class farmers who raise the greatest crop of Cocoa in the world. He complained of the new Colonial Secretary of the Labor Government who refused to remove economic controls. He said that the West African Produce Control monopolises the natural products and fixes prices for a mass of people whose average income is 20 dollars a year.

Then came ANNAN, a worker delegate from the Gold Coast Railway Employees Union. He told how in 1944 they had celebrated on the Gold Coast the Centenery of the Bond; that original effort at Black Democracy in West Africa, and a century after that Bond the issue on the Gold Coast is poverty - grinding poverty. He reminded his hearers that the workers must be able to live in order to vote, that the Gold Coast needed industrial development and that sacrifices were necessary if their demands were to be granted. They must be willing to live with the dockers and miners. There is Imperialism among us Negroes, ourselves, and we must remember that we can expect no more from a British Labor Government than from a Tory Government.

COKER, Delegate of the Nigeria Trade Union Congress, was more measured in his demands. He, too, represents the Cocoa Farmers, but he stressed certain remedies like cooperation and planning, and believed that India's Gandhi had the remedy in non-violence.

Then came perhaps the best known man in West Africa, WALLACE JOHNSON, Delegate of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress and of the Moslem League. He represents 10,000 organised workers and 25,000 unorganised workers, and in order to establish these Unions he has spent 5 years in British West African prisons. Trade unionism in Africa, he said, was developed against and in spite of the Law, and they had a much harder time than unionism in Britain. He drew violent

applause from the audience. 'I have brought', he said, 'a monster document to the Labour Government. In 150 years Britain, in my country, has made but 5% of the population literate and today instead of sending prepared students to England they cater to reaction and complacency.' He instanced the fact that in Sierra Leone, ginger, bringing 25 pounds a ton in the open market before the War, had to be sold to the merchants for 11 pounds a ton, and after the fall of Singapore when the price rose to 100 pounds a ton, the Black merchants got only 30 pounds.

DOMS-THOMAS of Gambia spoke for the oldest West African colony and demanded the abolition of Crown Colony Government. 'How,' he said, 'can 40 different colonies in all stages of development be ruled by the Colonial Office?'

Perhaps the best and most philosophical speech was made by OKOLOWO of the Nigerian Youth Movement. He said that the long range program was Independence for Nigeria, but the short range program had to meet internal hindrances like poverty, ignorance and disease and [redacted] the fact that the Negroes were unarmed; that the external hindrance was the British Government itself which would never willingly give up the colonies. The leaders must go down to the masses, and he agreed with [redacted] the West African States Union that it is idiotic to think of the colonies as liabilities. If they were they never would be kept by the Imperial Government. Atrocities are not confined to Germany and Japanese prisons. They were all too common in the English prisons before the War and British democracy apparently was not for export."

Later speakers were:

Mr. Kenyatta, covering the six territories Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyassaland and the Rhodesias. He gave an outline of the conditions under which the native peoples lived before the advent of the Europeans. A picture of a happy and contented peoples enjoying the common use of the land with an agricultural, pastoral and hunting economy. He contrasted that picture with present day conditions with a landless native people of 14 millions, and a small minority of white Europeans forcing the natives to work at slave rates under appalling conditions. Mr. Kenyatta detailed the conditions obtaining in the territories upon which he was reporting, varying only in detail, and all displaying the characteristic pattern of Imperialistic capitalism that Mr. Kenyatta condemned. He called for political independence for East Africa, and an end to racial discrimination.

Mr. George Padmore, [redacted]AKE on Southern Rhodesia, where there was a population of 50,000 Europeans and two million Africans, [redacted] before Bills concerning the Black people could be made law, they must have the sanction of the Colonial Office. The land had

been taken from the Africans and given to Europeans, the natives were then forced to work upon the farms and tobacco plantations at low wages. The Europeans wanted the three states to come together so that the laws now prevailing in Southern Rhodesia would be extended. Of Northern Rhodesia Mr. Padmore told of London and American controlled copper mines where the wages paid to coloured workers amounted to 1/6d a day. White miners got 1 pound per day. Profits of the mining companies over the last sixty years averaged 10,000,000 pounds and out of this there had been paid only about 1,500,000 pounds in wages. Profits and income tax are paid to the Exchequer in London, the mining companies being registered in London, and taxes are paid to the country in which they are registered. Mr. Padmore spoke of the increasingly progressive element among the younger coloured people and called on the Congress to give all support for the aspirations and demands of the peoples of East African territories.

Mr. Ken Hill, representative of Jamaica B.W.I. Trade Union Council brought greetings and messages of solidarity to the people of Africa. He paid tribute to the work of Marcus Garvey. Mr. Hill said his people were tired of special promises and declarations and were now demanding self-government and an end to Crown Colony rule. He complained of absentee investors of Insurance Companies and so-called Government Savings Banks whose profits were exported abroad while poverty and unemployment remained in the islands. He warned that trouble would arise unless fair treatment was given to members of armed forces. "If our people are good enough to fight for the empire," he said, "then they are good enough to expect to be thought of as civilised human beings when they are demobilised and enjoy the fruits of a lasting peace."

A final report of the Congress said:

- The Fifth Pan-African Congress meeting in Manchester with 200 delegates representing 60 nations and groups of African descent finished their work today and will adjourn with a Mass Meeting tomorrow at Chorlton Town Hall. On Thursday and Friday, complaints and appeals were heard from Ethiopia and the West Indies. Ethiopia demands the return of Eritrea and Somaliland and ports of the sea. She charges that England is occupying and proposing to keep some of the best grain lands of Ethiopia. The delegates from the West Indies, that former Empire of sugar by sugar for sugar, complained of poverty and neglect with land monopoly and low wages in the face of 100% in the cost of living. The situation brought revolutionary strikes and riots in 1937, led by Butler, Bustamente and Payne, who were promptly thrown in jail. Reforms followed. Something approaching Home Rule had been granted in Jamaica and others, but insufficient reforms in various islands. Later a black professor from Londonderry reported on French Africa and its rising Nationalism.

This was the final resolution:

The 200 Delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress [redacted]

[redacted], believe in Peace. How could they do otherwise when for centuries they have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans as a last resort may have to appeal to force in order to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free; we want education, the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions and to adopt and create forms of beauty. Without all this, we die even if we live.

We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence so far and no further than it is possible in this "One World" for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable World Unity and Federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people; we are willing even now, to sacrifice and strive to correct our all too human faults; but we are unwilling longer to starve while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discredited Imperialism. We condemn monopoly of capital and rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy; wherefore, we are going to complain, appeal and arraign; we are going to make the World listen to the facts of our conditions. For their betterment we are going to fight in all and every way we can.

42-88-11

Since this Manchester meeting this world has moved far and fast; to War and Hate in an Atomic Age; with the world split into two and armament reaching fantastic heights. In Asia and Africa, however, the trend is forward and upward: the great Chinese people have become independent of Western colonial domination; the United States of Indonesia have thrown off the domination of the Dutch; Indo-China is in part free. Africa has come to the place where action has succeeded talk. The West Coast already sees freedom in the offing; South Africa is writhing; the Sudan is approaching autonomy; Kenya is struggling in blood. Belgium is appeasing the intelligentsia with a start in higher education in the Congo. The Rhodesias are striking and Tanganyika is calling out. If a Sixth Pan-African Congress meets in Africa in 1956, what may we not be able to report there?

# THE ELECTION OF 1956

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Since I was 21 in 1889, I have in theory followed the voting plan strongly advocated by Sidney Lens in the Nation of August 4, i.e., voting for a third party even when its chances were hopeless, or, in absence of a third choice, voting for the lesser of two evils. My action, however, had to be limited by the candidates' attitude toward Negroes. Of my adult life, I have spent 23 years living and teaching in the South, where my voting choice was not asked. I was disfranchised by law or administration. In the North I have lived in all 32 years, covering eight Presidential elections. In 1912 I wanted to support Theodore Roosevelt, but his Bull Moose convention dodged the Negro problem and I tried to help elect Wilson as a liberal Southerner. Under Wilson came the worst attempt at "Jim Crow" legislation and discrimination in civil service which we had experienced since the Civil War. In 1916 I took Hughes as the lesser of two evils. He promised Negroes nothing and kept his word. In 1920, I supported Harding because of his promise to liberate Haiti. In 1924, I voted for La Follette, although I knew he could not be elected. In 1928, Negroes faced absolute dilemma. Neither Hoover nor Smith wanted the Negro vote and both publicly insulted us. I voted for Norman Thomas and the Socialists, although the Socialists had attempted to "Jim Crow" Negro members in the South. In 1932 I voted for Franklin Roosevelt, since Hoover was unthinkable and Roosevelt's attitude toward workers most realistic. I was again in the South from 1934 until 1944. Here again I did not vote. Technically I could vote but the election in which I could vote was a farce. The real election was the White Primary. Just as in 1956, Eisenhower will be nominated and elected by the unanimous vote of General Motors and its compeers; my vote and yours will be superfluous. ~~They do not need Congress but Congress needs them for legislation~~

~~Incarcerated~~

Then retired "for age" in 1944, I returned to the North and found a party to my liking. In 1948, I voted the Progressive ticket for Henry Wallace and in 1952 for Vincent Hallinan.

In 1956, I shall not go to the polls. I have not registered. I believe that democracy has so far disappeared in the United States that no "two evils" exist. There is but one evil party with two names, and that will be elected despite all I can do or say. There is no third party. On the Presidential ballot in a few states (17 in 1952), a "Socialist" Party will appear. Few will hear its appeal because it will have almost no opportunity to take part in the campaign and explain its platform. If a voter organizes or advocates a real third party movement, he may be accused of seeking to overthrow this government by "force and violence." Anything he advocates by way of real reform will be called "Communist" and will of necessity be Communist in the sense that it must advocate such things as the government in business; the limitation of private profit; social medicine, government housing, and federal aid to education; the total abolition of race bias; and the welfare state. These things are on every Communist program; these things are the aim of socialism. Any American who advocates them today, no matter how sincerely, stands in danger of losing his job, surrendering his social status, and perhaps landing in jail. The witnesses against him may be liars or insane or criminals. These witnesses need give no proof for their charges and may not even be known or appear in person. They may be in the pay of the United States government. ADA's and "Liberals" are not third parties; they seek to act as tails to kites. But since the kites are self-propelled and radar controlled, tails are quite superfluous and rather silly.

The present administration is carrying on the greatest preparation for war in the history of mankind. Stevenson promises to maintain or increase this effort.

The weight of our taxation is unbearable and rests mainly and deliberately on the poor. This administration is dominated and directed by wealth and for the accumulation of wealth. It runs smoothly like a well-organized industry and should do so because industry runs it for the benefit of industry. Corporate wealth profits as never before in history. We turn over the national resources ~~in~~ to private profit and have few funds left for education, health, or housing. Our crime, especially juvenile crime, is increasing. Its increase is perfectly logical; for a generation we have been teaching our youth to kill, destroy, steal, and rape in war; what can we expect in peace? We let men take wealth which is not theirs; if the seizure is "legal" we call it high profits and the profiteers help decide what is legal. If the theft is "illegal" the thief can fight it out in court, with excellent chances to win if he receives the accolade of the right newspapers. Gambling in home, church, and on the stock market is increasing and all prices are rising. It costs three times his salary to elect a Senator and many millions to elect a President. This money comes from the very corporations which today are the government. This in a real democracy would be enough to turn the party responsible out of power. Yet this we cannot do.

The "other" party has surrendered all party differences in foreign affairs, and foreign affairs are our most important affairs today and take most of our taxes. Even in domestic affairs how does Stevenson differ from Eisenhower? He uses better English than Dulles, thank God! He has a sly humor, where Eisenhower has none. Beyond this Stevenson stands on the race question in the South not far from where his grandfather Adlai stood 63 years ago, which reconciles him to the South. He has no clear policy on war or preparation for war; on water and flood control; on reduction of taxation; on the welfare state. He wavers on civil rights and his party blocked civil rights in the Senate until Douglas of Illinois admitted that the Democratic Senate would and could stop even the right of Senators

to vote. Douglas had a right to complain. Three million voters sent him to the Senate to speak for them. His voice was drowned and his vote nullified by the chairman of the Senate Civil Rights Committee, Eastland, who was elected by 151,000 voters. This is the democracy in the United States which we peddle abroad.

Negroes hope to muster 400,000 votes in 1956. Where will they cast them? What have the Republicans done to enforce the education decision of the Supreme Court? What they advertised as fair employment was exactly nothing, and Nixon was just the man to explain it. What has the administration done to rescue Negro workers, the most impoverished group in the nation, half of whom receive less than half the median wage of the nation, while the nation sends billions abroad to protect oil investment and help employ slave labor in the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias? Very well, and what will the party of Talmadge, Eastland, and Ellender do better than the Republicans if the Negroes return them to office?

I have no advice for others in this election. Are you voting Democratic? Well and good; all I ask is why. Are you voting for Eisenhower and his smooth ~~bright~~ team of bright ghost writers? Again, why? Will your helpless vote either way support or restore democracy to America? We have been slapping democracy down in every case we can: in China, in Guatemala, in Viet-nam, in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. What then is left to do?

Is the refusal to vote in this phony election a counsel of despair? No, it is dogged hope. It is hope that if 25 million voters refrain from voting in 1956 of their own accord and not because of a sly wink from Khrushchev, this might make the American people ask how much longer this dumb farce can proceed without even a whimper of protest. Yet if we protest, off the nation goes to Russia and China. Fifty-five American ministers and philanthropists are asking the Soviet Union "to face manfully the doubts and promptings of their conscience." Can not these

do-gooders face their own consciences? Can they not see that American culture is rotting away: our honesty; our human sympathy; our literature save what we import from abroad? Our only "review" of literature has wisely dropped "literature" from its name. Our manners are gone and the one thing we want is to be rich -- to show off. Success is measured by income. University education is for income, not culture, and is partially supported by private industry. We are not ~~xxxx~~ poets or musicians, but atomic engineers. training Business is built on successful lying called advertising. We are the richest nation on earth. We want money in vast amount, no matter how we get it. So we have it, and what then?

Is the answer the election of 1956? We can make a sick man president and set him to a job which would strain a man in robust health. So he dies, and what do we get to lead us? With Stevenson and Nixon, with Eisenhower and Eastland, we remain in the same mess. I will be no party to it and that will make little difference. You will take large part and bravely march to the polls, and that also will make no difference. Stop running Russia and giving Chinese advice when we cannot rule ourselves decently. Stop yelling about a democracy we do not have. Democracy is dead in the United States. Yet there is still nothing to replace real democracy. Drop the chains, then, that bind our brains. Drive the money-changers from the seats of the Cabinet and the halls of Congress. Call back some faint spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln, and when again we can hold a fair election on real issues, let's vote, and not till then. Is this impossible? Then democracy in America is impossible.

# GANDHI AND AMERICAN NEGROES

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

Mohandas Gandhi was born 19 months after my birth. As a schoolboy in a small town in the Northeastern part of the United States, I knew little of Asia and the schools taught less. The one tenuous link which bound me to India was skin color. That was important in America and even in my town, although little was said about it. But I was conscious of being the only brown face in my school and although my dark family had lved in this valley for two hundred years or more, I was early ~~conscious~~ Cognized of a status different from that of my school mates with.

As I grew up there seemed to be no future for me in the place of my birth and at seventeen, I went South where formerly colored people had been slaves, so that I could be trained to work among them. There at Fisk University i first became aware of a world of colored folk and I learned not only of the condition of American Negroes but began to read of China and India. and to make Africa the especial object of my study. I published my first book in 1896 while Gandhi was in South Africa and my subject was the African slave trade. We did not at the time have much direct news from Africa in the American newspapers but I didhave several black students from South Africa and began to sense the tragedy of that awful land . It was not until after the First World War that I came to ~~know of~~ realize Gandhi 's work for Africa and the World.

I was tornby the problem of peace. As a youth I was certain that freedom for the colored peoples of the earth would come only by war. By doing to white Europe and America what they had done to black Africa and colored Asia. This seemed the natural conclusion fro the the fairy tales called history on which I had been nourished. Then in the last decades of the 19th century as I came to manhood, I caught the vision of world peace and signed the pledge never to take part in war.

With the First World War came my first knowledge of Gandhi. I came to know Lajpat Rai and Madame Naidu. John Haynes Holmes was one of my co-workers in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and he was a friend and admirer of Gandhi. Indeed the "Colored People" referred to in our name was not originally confined to America. I remember the discussion we had on inviting Gandhi to visit America and how we were forced to conclude that this land was not civilized enough to receive ~~him~~ a Colored man as an honored guest.

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In 1929, as the Depression loomed I asked Gandhi for a message to American Negroes, which I published in the Crisis. He said: "Let not the 12 million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is dishonor in being slave-owners. But let us not think of honor or dishonor in connection with the past. Let us realize that the future is with those who would be pure, truthful and loving. For as the old wise men have said: Truth ever is, untruth never was. Love alone binds and Truth and Love accrue only to the truly humble."

This was written on May day, 1929. Through what phantasmagoria of hurt and Evil the world has passed since then! We American Negroes have reeled and staggered from side to side and forward and back. In the First World War, we joined with American capital to keep Germany and Italy from sharing the spoils of colonial imperialism. In the Depression we sank beneath the burden of Poverty, Ignorance and Disease due to discrimnation, unemployment and crime. In the Second World War, we again joined Western capital against Fascism and failed to realize how the Soviet Union had sacrificed her blood and savings to save the world.

But we did realize how out of war began to arise a new colored world free from the control of Europe and America. We began too to realize the role of Gandhi and to evaluate his work as a guide for the black people of the United States. As an integral part of this country as workers, consumers and creators of its culture we could not look forward to physical separation except as a change of masters. But what of Gandhi's program of Peace and Non-violence? Only in the last year have American Negroes began to see the possibility of this program being applied to the Negro problems in the United States. Personally I was puzzled. After the world Depression, I sensed recurring contradiction. I saw Gandhi's Non-Violence gain freedom for India, only to be followed by Violence in all the world. I realized that the vaunted "Hundred years of Peace" from Waterloo to the Battle of the Marne, was not Peace at all but war of Europe and North America on Africa and Asia with only troubled bits of peace between the colonial conquerers. I saw Britain, France, Belgium and North America trying to continue to force the world to serve them by monopoly of land, technique and machines backed by physical force which has now culminated by the use of atomic power. Only the possession of this power by the Soviet Union

prevents the restoration of colonial imperialism of the West over Asia and Africa under the leadership of Dulles and Eden. Perhaps in this extraordinary impasse the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi may have a chance to prevail in the world. Recent events in the former slave territory of the United States throws a curious light on this possibility.

In Montgomery, Alabama, the former capitol of the Confederate States which fought four years to make America a slave nation, the black workers last year refused longer to use the public busses on which their seats had long been segregated from those of the white passengers paying the same fare. In addition to separation, there was abuse and insult by the white conductors This custom had continued for 75 years. Then last year a tired colored seamstress got tired of insult and refused to give her seat to a white man. The black workers led by young, educated ministers began a strike which stopped the discrimination, aroused the state and nation and presented an unbending front of non-violence to the murderous mob which hitherto has ruled the South. The occurrence was extraordinary. It was not based on any first-hand knowledge of Gandhi and his work. Their leaders like Martin Luther King knew of non-resistence in India. Many of the educated teachers and professional men had heard of Gandhia. But the rise and spread of this movement was due to the truth of its underlying principles and not to direct teaching or propaganda. In this aspect it is a most interesting proof of the truth of the Gandhi philosophy.

The American Negro is not yet free. He is still discriminated against, oppressed and exploited. The recent court decisions in his favor are excellent but are as yet only partially enforced. It may well be that enforcement of thses laws and real human equality and britherhood in the United States will comeonly under the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi

# INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By W. E. B. Du BOIS

There is, of course, nothing that can better bring two nations into sympathy and understanding than personal contact and intercourse between their citizens. In the case of Britain and the United States of America, there has been identity of language, wide cultural similarity, and a large stretch of common past history. For a period of at least three hundred years, Englishmen and Americans could meet and know each other and despite war and dispute come to common understanding and keep the peace. France and Britain have disagreed for five centuries and yet they have continually met and visited and known each other and despite difference in language have achieved a unity of culture and understanding of points of view that bind them strongly together.

Between the United States and the Slavic peoples the ties of understanding have never been strong and the differences have been notable. Thes differences lie in language and literature, in economic methods and aims, and in cultural ideals.

It is doubtful if outside of immgrants, there are a thousand Americans who speak, write, or understand Russian. The Russian language is taught in less than a dozen universities and a certain suspicion is attached to the person who wishes to learn Russian, unless he is training as a spy or diplomat. Knowledge of Russian literature in America is narrow. Pushkin was long ignored because of his Negro descent , which Russians emphasized rather than ignored as was the American custom. Until recently there was no English translation of Pushkin available in America. Dostoevski and Chekhov came to be read slightly and Tolstoi more widely because of his

religion; Gorky was read a little and there was some general sympathy with the intellectual revolt. But American attitude toward Russia was influenced by two things: our snobbish worship of the Imperial Russian Court with its Grand Dukes and Duchesses; and in contrast the degradation of the Slavic workers who after the Civil War began to migrate to our shores from Poland, Hungary, and the Ukraine. As a boy I was stirred by the stories of Siberia as told by the older Kennan, but the most envied ambassadorial appointment for rich Americans was St. Petersburg after Paris and London.

32-8-9

Knowing then little of Russia up to the FirstWorld War, we were at first moved by sympathy for the revolutionists of 1917, and then for forty years subjected to the most determined, costly, and well-organized propaganda to which a modern nation has ever been subjected by organized industry, not even excepting Germany.

The Russian people must face these facts as they prepare to welcome to their boundaries increasing numbers of American citizens and as Russians visit the United States. The Russians are going to meet people who have learned to receive as fundamental truth two propositions:

1. Communism is a conspiracy.

2. Communists are criminals who seek to destroy the United States.

Wave this aside if you will; but in the end you will find it is true. This fact does not mitigate against your welcome of contacts with Americans. Quite the contrary. It forms the great reason why you should implement the recent understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States government for increased cultural exchange of artists, students,

and visitors. Without such exchange the future of the civilised world is war, hate, and destruction. With increasing contact of Soviet and American citizens, the way to peace and understanding may not immediately be clear, but certainly clearer and easier than if facts are ignored.

Let us first realise that the phenomenal material progress of the United States has been based upon the free access of American citizens to land and its rich resources. It became then an early American philosophy that if men were free to work as they chose, and not hedged about by laws made in the interest of privileged persons, the worker could support himself and his family in decency and even accumulate enough for his old age. This was true largely in the United States until well into the eighteenth century. Then came two separate changes: monopoly of the land and its resources on the part of a few smart, lucky people, and on the other hand exploitation of slaves -- first white slaves and then increasingly imported Negroes. The general social philosophy governing work and wage did not develop in America because of the controversy over Negro slavery. When this was settled by war and revolution, the resulting American philosophy was vastly changed. Land and its resources had become increasingly monopolised and labor, white and black, was controlled by vast accumulations of private capital.

While Soviet youth have now for a generation been trained to look upon work and income as a social effort carried on by individuals for the well-being of the nation, and particularly of its working classes, American youth, on the contrary, have been imbued with the idea that freedom of individual effort must be applied to wealth even if that wealth be privately

owned; or applied to services even if the services are not free, and will lead to the best interest of the largest number of people; and that human nature is too selfish for any nation to depend on anything else but this free selfishness.

Of course the ultimate outcome of these two sets of philosophies can only be established by the fact and what is today happening in the Soviet Union and its associated states and in China is proving to the world the truth of socialism. But -- and this must not be forgotten -- the facts of the situation, the truth about Soviet development, the accomplishment of recent Chinese progress, have been systematically kept from the knowledge of the mass of American people. Americans, like all normal modern people, want peace, a good life, and friendship with their neighbors. More than most modern peoples, Americans have experienced comfortable homes with modern conveniences, good food in sufficient quantity, and free popular education. But through the control of organised industry over the government and over work and wage; by monopoly of communications and even restriction of travel, and through industrial and religious control of education, the American people have been led to believe extraordinary falsehoods about socialism and communism. For a time it was universally declared in the United States that all the women of Russia were prostitutes, that all the workers were slaves, that all Communist nations were on the edge of revolt, and needed only the promise of outside aid; and that socialism, wherever tried, was a proven and inevitable failure. Even today any note of progress in the Soviet Union is played down, distorted, or omitted, and any failure hailed in headlines. This has been not only prac-

tically the universal dictum of book, newspaper, church, and school, varying of course from time to time in emphasis, but also it became unpopular and even dangerous for anyone to dispute these conclusions or to act as though they did not believe them.

Today there is evidence of change in America, but not quick or complete change. Americans have, however, gone through experiences which have somewhat shaken current beliefs. That meeting of Soviet and American farmers in the West was a tremendous eye-opener. The television appearance of Khrushchev startled the nation so far as it was seen and heard, and particularly the launching of Sputnik finally gave indisputable proof that Soviet education was better than American.

There comes therefore the natural proposal, backed by the mass of American people, that Russians and Americans should know each other, that they increase cultural exchanges; that they send their scientists, artists, students, and everyday citizens to view each other's lands and look each other in the face. But here again there are handicaps. First of all the cultural lag in the United States has been far greater than either Americans or Russians realise. Of the 170,000,000 Americans, I doubt if ten million have ever seen a play of Shakespeare. There is practically no drama carried on for the great mass of the people in the United States. The New York theater, which is our only theater, is admittedly a matter of profit-making, and is definitely for high-priced diversion and not for cultural expression. There is nothing in America like the Bolshoi nor its dozens of smaller efforts throughout Russia. Our musicians have difficulty in making a living or having their talent recognised. We have no school of dancing. Our folk song is dead. Especially American Negroes are having

their art, music, and literature starved and sold for offers of income and show. "Porgy," an excellent play, is sent abroad with Negro actors of high ability, but "Porgy" portrays Negro degradation as forced on ex-slaves and pictured by their masters. It is not Negro art. We are not proud to have seen abroad as a picture of us. American Big Business sends it abroad as a bribe, and warns Negroes at home to stop complaint about Little Rock.

Our universities no longer teach philosophy of life or any broad view the social sciences. They concentrate on "business," the techniques of industry, and the methods of trade. The graduates of these institutions w visit Russia or China will have difficulty in understanding how a man can for the successful increase of farming and not for the increase of his per al income. In general, we Americans study science not for knowledge but f power. We give technical help to undeveloped people, not to help them upl themselves, but to increase our chances of control over them. We think of income not for the opportunity which it gives us for self-expression and freedom from worry, but for the show and power which it permits us to exe cise over others.

To all this, of course, there are exceptions. There is continuous a subtle change, and yet the average American is going to be astonished eve to disbelief when he sees a nation which is actively trying to abolish po erty, produce goods and services for the general welfare, and distribute i come according to reason and not according to chance and power.

If two great nations differing thus in their philosophy and actions meet regularly, listen to each other, and understand each other, the whole

world is going to learn. It is of course possible that the world will learn that socialism is an impractical dream, but you and I are firmly convinced that increasing contact between these two nations must prove the inevitable progress of socialism and the increasing possibility of complete communism.

89-7-3

# AFRICA AWAKENED

Early this year the distinguished scholar Dr. W.E.B. du Bois, author of numerous studies of the history of Africa, paid a visit to the Soviet Union. In an interview with our correspondent to Moscow he discussed the present political situation on the African continent. We give the text of the interview below.

What would you say are the main problems facing the peoples of Africa today?

Africa is an enormous continent containing upwards of three dozen colonies, protectorates, trust territories and politically independent states. Each of them is faced with numerous political, economic, social, cultural and other problems. These problems vary with each country. But there are a few vital problems common to all of them upon the solution of which hinges the future not merely of any one nation or territory but of the whole continent.

What are those problems? Uppermost in my mind are two—independence and the unity of the African peoples. And these two are closely inter-related. Neither can be solved without the other. Only by uniting their efforts can the Africans throw off colonial rule and attain genuine political and economic independence. And only independence can make genuine fruitful unity possible.

The slogan of unity is now very popular among the peoples of the African continent. That is only natural, for

unity is of the most vital importance to Africa, probably more so than to any other part of the globe. The reason for that is that the black continent is inhabited by hundreds of different tribes from tiny ones of only a few dozen members (as the Batongs in West Africa) to numerous ones counting up to two million members (as the Fanti in Ghana). The tribe may be said to be the atom of African society. At present these atoms exist in a free state. The job is to synthetize them. Can you imagine the quantity of creative energy this synthesis will release!?

How do you suppose this unification will take place?

I think that each tribe will have to give up some portion of its heritage and independence for the common good. Let me give you an example in explanation. When a child is born into a tribe it gives up a part of its freedom to the tribe as the price of its growing up. When the tribe joins in a union of tribes, it surrenders some part of its independence in the interest of that union. When a nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must yield power and some freedom to that nation, otherwise it will die before it is born.

The local tribal languages will have to yield to a few languages that serve the largest number of tribes and promote understanding among them.

Of course, unification of all the African peoples is not an easy matter. There are forces strongly opposing it within each tribe. But the main obstacle is the colonial policy of preserving the political and tribal disunity of

the African continent and inciting tribal discord. The colonialists know very well that they can keep their hold on Africa only through their "divide and rule" policy.

In many cases this policy served their purpose very well in the past. By exploiting the differences between some of the regions they were able to postpone granting independence to Nigeria, the largest remaining colony. The British were able to pit the Massais against the independence fighters from the Kikuiu tribe and with their help crush the liberation movement in Kenya in 1953. The French made use of Senegalese riflemen to fight the national liberation movement in their other colonies. But all these are examples of the past. Today the chances of the colonialist tactic of setting Africans against each other are steadily diminishing.

I should like in this connection to stress the important part played by the All-African Peoples' conference in Accra last December. That conference gave a powerful impetus to African unity against colonialism and imperialism.

What progress has African unity made to date?

The idea of African unity is sweeping the black continent. It is being taken up by increasing numbers of African political parties and organizations.

At the conference held in London in the summer of 1958 to discuss the future of Nigeria, the leaders of the various parts of Nigeria presented a united front. They had settled the differences between them beforehand. This brought them victory: the British government was obliged to agree to grant this colony independence by the end of the next year.

The proclamation in November 1958 of the union of two young incependent West African states—Ghana and Guinea—was another triumph for pan-Africanism. That union, as was stated in the official declarations is to be "the ~~kernel of the future United States of Africa.~~ nucleus of a union of West African States" The news of its formation was met with deep gratification in the other countries of West Africa. It was applauded by many prominent leaders of the national movement.

Speaking of African unity, I should like to stop on one very important aspect of it, and that is the problem of education. To this day Africa lags far behind the rest of the world in this matter. In some countries as much as 90 per cent of the population is illiterate. And that illiteracy is a serious obstacle to African liberation and unity need hardly be said.

The problem of education in Africa is beset with quite a few difficulties. It is not that the Africans are not eager for knowledge of lack ability. On the contrary. Their thirst for knowledge is t remendous. I know for a fact, for instance, that many African communities in Kenya literally impoverished themselves in order to send their children to school. As for their ability to scale the heights of human knowledge, even the colonialists do not doubt it. But there are few schools, and the educational system is designed to serve the interests of the colonialists. To this day it is under the influence and control of foreign organizations shich exploit it as an instrument of preserving European rule in Africa.

Providing opportunities for higher education to

young Africans is of major importance to the future of Africa. College-educated African specialists are at present extremely few. In Guinea, for example, there are not more than forty. Some number of young men are now being trained in colleges and universities in the United States, Britain and France, but very often they fall under the influence of the ideas and systems of those countries and then the value of their education is slight.

I know one boy from Ghana, for instance, who is studying the private insurance system in the United States. But in his country insurance is in the hands of the state. I ask you, of what benefit will this student be to his country when he returns?

In my opinion, the most important thing now is to gear the educational system to the interests of the African people themselves, to free it from foreign influence.

What road do you think Africa should follow--capitalism or socialism?

My belief is that Africa has no choice between private capitalism and socialism. The whole world, the capitalist countries included, is inevitably moving towards socialism. You can choose between military blocs, you can choose between political line-ups, but you can't choose between socialism and private capitalism, because private capitalism is doomed.

Through 400 years Europe and North America built up their civilization and their comfort by robbing the coloured population, by exploiting the resources of the colonial

countries. The dominant exploiting countries may today be willing to yield more to the demands of the peoples than they were in the past, but their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot, not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of offering a few "smart," unscrupulous local leaders the opportunity of becoming fellow capitalists with the white exploiters.

These concessions are part of the struggle against the influence of socialist ideas. Their only result can be to sell Africa into new slavery to the old masters. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa.

Compromise with the Western powers and with capitalism will only prolong the life of colonialism, which brought Africa slavery, forced labour and poverty.

The imperialist powers continue to look upon Africa as a source of super-profits, of cheap labour power and strategic raw materials. To preserve that source they are doing their utmost to obstruct the union of the African people, to prevent them from attaining political and economic independence.

Did you notice what a large number of representatives of the Western countries congregated in Accra at the time of the All-Africa Peoples' Conferende? Many of them were there with the one hope of imposing dear goods on the African countries, of making them accept loans on terms that spelled bondage, of finding profitable new markets for their investment capital.

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What result would that have? Only that a large portion of the national income of the African countries would be ~~lavish~~ wasted and the development of national industry, which is best calculated to serve the interests of the masses, to make Africa strong in ability, self-support and self-defence — that development would be retarded.

In these circumstances the success of the independence movement depends not on receiving so-called assistance but on doing without it.

Of course, Africa does have need of foreign capital investments. But it all depends on the terms on which the capital is supplied. Compare, for instance, the bonds enjoined by the Western offers of credit, with the terms of the loans offered by the socialist countries. Those terms certainly do not involve commitments harmful to the national interests of the receiving countries. They do not involve foreign control and a new colonial slavery, which is the price the West has demanded. True, offers from the socialist countries are as yet fewer than from the capitalist monopolies, but this correlation is rapidly changing in favour of the socialist camp.

Far be it from me to urge Africa to break with the "white world." But the future of Africa lies not with the white exploitwrs of the Middle East and South America but with those who support People's China and give their assistance to India.

H/NE/13

From 1948 to 1958, the people of the United States have striven for World Peace but in vain. First came the electuino of 1948. The Progressive Party was formed of Liberals, Socialists and Communists. Henry Wallace, former Vice-President under Roosevelt was its leader on a platform which made a strong demand for a policy of peace. It also demanded civil rights the cessation of racial discrimination and wider economic justice. It attacked the grat corporations which were bent on ruling the nation. There was open opposition from race mobs; there was subtle opposition from those using the accusation for attack on anything progressive; but the fatal failure in this crucial election was the failure of democracy. The progressive party had a good chance to win the election if those who favored its its policies had been permitted to vote. But disfranchisement of blacks in the South kept Negroes from the polls; while in the North the political gangs refused in many states to allow the Progressive candidates to appear on the ballot. Other irregularities occured and to the surprise of everybody, both Dewey the candidate of Big Business and Wallace the Progressive were defeated by Truman, who had himself given up the election and gone into hiding.

41-17-35

Truman immediately began to move from the socialism of Roosevelt to the "Cold War" against the Soviet Union. Private capitalism in the United States was frightened at the showing which Wallace had made. They saw in his socialist and communist suppoert indications that the nation was ready for change. Truman's advisors changed. Bankers and business executives increased in his cabinet and along his advisers; he had as his first head of foreign affairs, a Southern "nigger" hater from South Carolina used to ordering inferiors about; it was this man who tried to "get touch with the Soviets at Potsdam

Truman's use of the atombomb, and his first ill-advised use of it distorted his whole concept of the power of the United states. He of the atom bomb as the property and invention of Americans. It made them forevr invincible. It ~~xissxxxy~~ ownership by Russia could be to Truman nothing but clear proof of treason on the part of Americans He made tremendous effort to rush the nation into war. He called a special session of Congress; he sent them a secret and frightening message. He tried to force universal draft on the nation. When he met unexpected resistance, he turned to secret and underground ways of bringing on war.

The young father and mothers of two little sons were executed for selling "secret" of the Atomic bomb to Russia. It was a fantastic charge. There was no "secret" of the atomic bomb and these honest young had no opportunity or training for such knowledge. Yet the administration and its aids kept open telephone lines the night of execution in expectation of a "confession" implicating other Americans in this "plot." The Rosenbergs died like silent triumphant martyrs.

There was tremendous reaction in world public opinion. The election of 1952 could only register its disapproval by ousting Truman and electing a general of the Second World War, Dwight Eisenhower. He put Big Business and the military junta in power. The people tried to organize for Peace; but the great endowed peace organizarions were persuaded to reduce their action to vauge words. The had of one of them, Alger Hiss who had worked sucessfully at the ~~MX~~ UNO in San Francisco was driven to resign under false persecution arranged by the new Vice-President. But popular peace movements arose: in the Middle west came the Farmers for Peace with wide following and some political success; on the Pacific coast the women and others organized in many groups. But the most promising movement was the ~~Crusade~~ Peace Crusade organized mainly by Coomunists and Socialists, all over the country, North and South and among whites and Negroes. It called a national meeting in Chicago which tens of thousands attended. There I emphasized the importance of Communist support and the socialist aims of the World Peace movement. National organization followed, but soon this organization became the target of raction It never could get decent publicity; its officials were intimidated and spied upon and its members threatened. It was slowy driven out of existence helped by its own lack of trained leadership

The Peace Crusade had a large following among young Negroes. but the American Negro population now began to feel the pressure of change For now 85years, these Negroes had been fighting for equal citizenship Since 1911 they had organized for aggressive opposition to mob violence and new assertion of the right to vote. The Age of World Wars brought them face to facewith the question of civil rights: were they citizens of the United States or not? If they were they had not only the right but duty to defend this nation in war. This they did in two wars. Now

41-12-36

in face of a Third World war, what was their duty? Any suppoert given Peace movements by Negroes was now subtly represented as disloyalty.

Meantime in the southern United States where two-thirds of the Negroes lived, a new and far-reaching economic program was being initiated by Big Business. Here was an equitable climate requiring a minimum of clothing and shelter. Here was cheap land, roads built largely by the Federal government, a large supply of cheap labor both black and white and a system of political control which disfranchised most of the poor and concentrated powr in the hands of property. This laboring class was organized only to a limited extent and the legislatures dominated by employers furnished a mass of anti-labor laws. This laboring class was deeply , historically and passionately divided by race and color, making mob violenceposible at almost any time and for any purpose which the directors of public opinion decided.

41-12-37

Also in the North, labor unions were strong and lately their ranks had been increased by opening their doors to Negro immigrant workers from the South. Thus the South was losing cheap unorganized black labor and the North was gaining a strongly organized labor class. Northern employers fought back on two fronts; first theysecured the cooperation of the chief labor leaders, li e Meany and Reuther , to slander the Communists and all advocates of Peace; moreover on another front, the employers began to remove certain industries like the textiles from the North with its organized labor to the South with its loosely organized labor and its bitter competiion between white and black workers. This also kept control of Congress in the hands of the South gnrough disfranchisement of black workers in the South. Capital poured into the South; not only private capital but Federal funds appropriated for war industries, for military trzining camps and because capital in the South was lightly taxd and labor pzid large consumer taxation.

The type of industry in the South changed. Cotton was no longer King but moved west and south and then went to the Nile valley, to Usbeckistan in Russia and so out of American control. In its place came the raising of fruit and vegetables; stock-raising and dairy products, and especially the manufacture of the new textiles like
Captial was also invested in mining like sulphur in Texas and large numbers

of new and profitable manufactures. With favorable legislation and the lack of democratic political control the South bid fair soon to become the richest and most completely monopolized part of the nation.

There was one fly in this opulent pie and that was the race problem. This involve extra and unnecessary expenditure for a double system of ~~parks~~ schools; for double recerati n facilities, for repetition in health services, in travel and in all public occomodations. Moreovr competition between white and colored labor was no longer necssary because mass production and automati n was red cing all labor to one mass level. Many of those investing in Southner industry now were willing to loosen the color line in some public relations in order to save expense; and also for reason that increasing and very profitable investment in foreign lands with colored inhabitznts would be facilitated if the charge of color discrimination in America could be answered; and if the Communist absence of color prejudice could be met in America by some concessions.

41-17-28

These facts and these considerations were back of the sudden and surprising decision of the Supreme Court that separation of children in school systems was unconstitutional. Of course this was true and known to be be true for seventy-five years; but it had been permitted and even winked at by the courts . Now suddenly the law was declared in force. An important part of the South was in rebellion, repeating the very slogans of 1860 The states which had bordered the former slave labor territory, and had a small Negro population, integration, mostly integrated the schools without much difficulty. But the former center of the slave South, with a negr Negro population of large numbers; led by polititions like Faubus of Arkakansas, Talmadge of Georg a and Byrd of Virginia, refused any steps toward racial integration now or in the foreseeable future.

This made neccessary special efforts on the part of white capital to secure the cooperation of Negro leaders in opposition to peace movements, against the Soviet Union and Communism and in favor of preparation for war. This was sought by making indivual concessions for promotion in industry; by scholarships for study provied the study is carried on in capitalist countries; by permission to travel so long as the United

States was not criticized. The Negro organizations were cautious. The NAACP would not oppose peace movements or advocate war preparations. but it dispensed with my services, welcomed prominent capitalists to it board of directors and concentrated its efforts on anxxxxxxfxx attempt attempt to secure civil rights for Negroes through the courts. On the other hand it gave up or held in abeyance most of its program for political activitity and for social and economic reform. The Urban League did not join in red-baiting, but was able to obtain new and well-pa. jobs for Negroes. The xxrxexx Negro pullman porters union got tardy recognition and a seat on the governing board of theAmerican Federation of Labor only at the cost of continuous attack on socialism and communis Randolph, a former socialist, began to preface all his speeches with vicious red-baiting. The great automobile union with its large Negro mem membership was rendered silent by Reuther's alliance with Meany.

41-12-39

The powerful Negro church organizations did not give up theri basic stand for peace but did not dare opnly advocated peace movements or attend rallies for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. Bishop Walls, a leading advocate of social reform was finally frightened into silence.. Several groups of advocates of "non-violence", like the capitalistsupported Moral Rearmamentmovement, the followers of Gandhi and the Montgomery streetcar boycotters, kept apart from all peace mov movements or advocates of industrial reform . They led a march on Washington, but Eisenhower ignored them completely.

Nevertheless change, even though slow and gradual was inevitable and by 1850 they were evident

AFRICA IN 1958

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

It was a French historian who said in the 19th century that Africa alone of all the continents had no history. Only a man of the last century could have made such a statement. In the time of the Greeks, the Land of the Blacks was the most talked about and visited and the gods of Greek legend dined there (once a year). It was most natural for Herodotus to make it the goal of his pilgrimage. The Romans regarded Africa as rival and goal of empire and [illegible]s fought for it. Throughout the Middle Age, history centered in Africa from the growth of the Catholic Church to the westward spread of learning, the rise of the Moors and their conquest of Europe and the spread of the Arabs south into the Sudan. In 1492, Columbus discovered America and in 1492, Sonni Ali consolidated a great empire south of the Sahara.

Reread & Check Hammurabi

In the new world, trade and industry took a new turn. Sugar built an empire and cotton a kingdom. Labor was needed to raise these crops and the cheapest labor available was the result of the wars between Mohammedanism and the primitive cultures of West Africa. West European traders seeking gold, spice and salt, also incidentally bought (that cheap) black labor first for Portugal and Spain, then for the West Indies. This Slave Trade on a small scale began in the fifteenth century, grew under France and Holland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, but in the 18th under British monopoly became a large and profitable trade which made fortunes for white traders and planters. [illegible] Religious reform in the 16th century at first opposed the trade then excused it as conversion of the heathen. When this conversion interfered with income, various sorts of double dealing which permitted slavery and religious teaching and finally resulted in reconciling them on the theory of the natural inferiority of the blacks with slavery as the best way of bringing the greatest good of all. This conciliation in the 17th and 18th centuries secured the leadership of the merchants and industrialists who by the Industrial Revolution put civilization under control of private capital. By the 19th century, the new Darwinism put science under all this and evolved the doctrine of inferior races which made slavery the natural status of [illegible] Africans and most other colord folk.

Meantime Science had begun to study Africa. It worked out the mar-

ous developme t of the peoples in the Nile alley; it studid Ethi ia and the lands south of the Sahara. It followed the tawny Moors and Blackamoors into Europe. It disco ered the art and industry of t e West Coast and the political organization of the Congo Valley. It found the remains of the extraordinary civilization of Zymbabwe and heard of the vast kingdom of the Monopatapa Continually it traced the lon and endless marching of the Bantu from the Sahara to South Africa and their clash at hand's and with the Europeans.

But all this was interpreted in singular ways: the peoples were all regaded as different and not related: Egyptians had no kinship with central Africa; the Sudanese we e Asiatic in culture and not African; indeed whenevr culture of a high order appeared in Africa, its origin was traced to Europe or Asia. Benin artisanship was Portuguese; Zymbabwe stemed from Asia; as did also Ethiopia. Since no modern remains of Monopotapa could b identified the never was such a country. Moreover there was no common name for Africans until American Negroes called themselves "Africans ; the word "Negro" was not known in Africa but was simply the West Indian name for Black, signifying slave. Africans denied that they were "Negroes" so that we s on had a continent with no name for its inhabitants and no civilization but that of Europe and Asia.

This in the 20th century began to change. Egyptians and Sudanese discovered common interes s. West Africans mingled with Bantus; Congolese were one with with the peoples of Zanzibar and t e East Coast. Africa was finding unity because it was suffering the same attacks from the slave traders and their successors the colonial imperialists and in obtin the same great land stretching from the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope and fromthe highlands of Ethiopia to the Gulf Gulf of Guinea. Moreover thepush toward unity came from Afro-America. The slaves lost their original tribal identity but called themselves "Africans" They began in the 20th century to call their race Negro and in the 19th century they began to make efforts to return to Africa.

In the 20th century came from America the movement called Pan-African; it was a series of conferences in Europe among Africans from all over the world to seek knowledge of each other and common action against colonial i

33-3-24

erialism. Four such conferences were held 1919 to 1927 and a fifth in 1945 meantime in Africa local conferences were called. One in West Africa in 1920 was especially important and secured important concessions from Britain in her colonies. Other such meetings came together in almost every part of Africa. In the west Indies came a cry of "Africa for the Africans" a demand for African nationality. The fifth Pan-African conference in 1945 afeter the Second World War was called by the African trade unionists and marked an African movement. When Ghana became independent in a sixth Pan-African Congress was planned to meet on African soil.

This was called to meet in 1958 in Accra. It showed a feeling to have this a purely African movement and call it the first All African conference instead of the sixth Pan-African congress stemming from America. It brought together Africans from every part of Africa: Algerians and Tunisians, hitherto not considered Africans by European exploiters; Moroccans usually counted as Arabs or ; Egyptians and their Asiatic allies; Ethiopians, Sudanese, east coast and west coast Africans; central Africans and South Africans; Negroes from Angola and Southwest Africa: an astonishing union of all Africa.

What now does all this mean? Continental unity like any cultural unity depends not on race which at best is a vague and indefinite term; it is a matter of condition; similar circumstances and surroundings; similar sufferings and the same enemies. The same colonial imperialism; the same exploitation of land and labor is working in North Africa as in South; in East Africa as in West and unified effort against it is called for over all the continent, and across all lines of color, tongue, religion and tribal unity. This is what the conference at Accra means. Can it be carried out?

Ghana is the unique creation of one man, Kwame Nkrumah. His method was to turn from the dictatorship of the intelligensia and new bourgeoisie to the mass of the people of his country. It was a risky venture and seemed bound to fail fcing as it did not only the might of the British Empire but a lare number of leaders educated in Europe; a growing number of private capitalists; and above all a strong tribal opposition from some of the greatest tribes of West Af

like the Ashanti. To the astonishment of Ghana, Britain and the world, Nkruman built up a mass political party which put him into power and kept him there British machinations and local and tribal animosity. This was not enough: Ghana must have a program and especially an economic program. Already from his study and association with the socialists in England, and despite his American education, Nkruman had become a Marxian socialist. He realized how the institution of the chieftainship in West Africa had developed a tribal communism, which he must work hard to transform into a modern socialism. Securing the advice and assistance of George Padmore once a member of the Comintern but now a newspaper man in London with socialist tendences bu knowledge of colonial imperial power Nkruman began his career. He first took the bold step of transforming the British handling of his great financial foundation, the cocoa crop, so as to curb disease of the cocoa and yet make the handling of cocoa a socialist venture from inspection of trees to setting of prices and selling of crop. The mining concesions, held by British private capital under outrageous terms, he could not directly disturb, but he could regulate wags and labor until he was strong enough to take over the mines. But he needed new industries to balance the gambling on the cocoa market which was centered in New York, Britain and Holland. Nkruman plans to dam the Volta river in order to have power to develope Ghana's huge deposits of bauxite into aluminum. But this called for a large amount of capital. Britain would furnish it but on terms which would keep Ghana in economic slavery for a century. Nkruman went to the United States and accepted wide hospitality at the hands of cocoa merchants and representatives of Big Business who came to Ghana and surveyed the possibilities of the Volta project. The United States government feared especially that Nkruman's socialism might turn him toward the Soviet Union and it put every pressure on him. It sent to Ghana a score of paid propagandists, including the Liberians who count country is now virtually an American colony to warn Nkruman against socialism and if possible get an anti-communist resolution through the All-African Conference. This maneuvre failed, but the defection of Guinea from France was a move to the left and the deep sympathy of the Conference with Algeria also alarmed the West. But Nkruman's hands if not tied were far from loose. He di

33-8-26

renew the invitation of his government to me to be an honored guest of the Confrence, since I had recently in no uncertain terms made known my hope and belief in socialism and the communism of the USSR and China. Nevertheless Nkrumah saw that the organizing committee itself could invite me and I was ready to go when cicumstances found me in one of the great Soviet sanitarium and the physicians advised against the journey. I therefor wrote a message and my wife, Shirley Graham took it to Accra and read it. Who was there to listen? The serfdom and land theft of South Africa, the greatest threat to the black race, had a few escapees present; the British protectorates squeezed between white South African brutality and suave British colonial imperial; the land hunger and labor oppression of East Africa, successively oppressed by Arab, Englishman, German and British mandate; the missionary civil war in central Africa; the remains of German Africa; the serf labor and land theft of North Africa; independent Africa as represented in the east and west bulges of the continent; central Africa as stolen by Rhodes and Leopold; French West Africa; and the labor reservoir for gold mining gold and diamond ~~sexx~~ labor at hand's and.

~~These folk represented at Accra and their unrepresented~~

Or from another point of view, the minerals and oils of Africa were there; the spice, coffee, and cotton; the rubber, ivory and cocoa; the ~~exxfxm~~ vast labor force which is used and misused over the continent. These peoples, complaints and causes were represented in every wrong proportion as the delegates were were able to escape from their oppressors and get to Accra. Many great peoples and causes were absent: most of the Bantu millions of the Union of South Africa; the captives of Southwest Africa; and to those of the Sudan who struggle between the British and Egyptians

To these folk represented and unrepresented I sent a message of greeting. And the kernal of this message lay in two parts: Africa must boycott the western capitalist nations and refuse to buy their capital goods except on reasonable terms. Africa must even be willing to sacrifice and starve rather than pay the price which the west -- Europe and America -- demands for their capital goods. The west must yield or go bankrupt. Second in it own economy Africa must choose socialism and not private capitalism as the immediate way out. This is logical because the African economy is historically communistic and not based on private capital; and because the Soviet Union and China are becoming in

reasingly able to furnis h backward nations the capital goods w ic. they need at prices far below those demanded by the west.

ow dep this messa e went only time will tell. It was rece ved with applause but the enemies of soc alism and the friends of private capitalism were present in force-- American, ritish and French. ot only that but within Ghana and Nigeria, and in many other afri n nations, ducation, the founding stone of future frica. he niversity of hana is under contr l of London University and forms a reactionary body of bourgeoisie; the missionary schools are teachers of capitalist ideology; and the hana students educated abroad go to Britain and the United States and be ome disciples of the petty bourgeois

In addition to this the inte se tribalism of Africa ca easily become a center o political particularism and of private capitalism. he language diversity eads in the same direc tion with no vernacular w ich teaches modern communism and no Russian nor Chinese to furnish a literat re to offset English French and erman. It will therefor ca l for lead rship o a rare order to guide this co tinent aright. ere however, the onfere ce at ccra was encouraging. Its chairman, Tom .'boya was a n unusual ma , young and well-bala ced, trained in fighting the w te man in one of his worst centers of theft, murder and oppre sion: Kenya. .'Kruma held himself aloof with rare self-control, but never a single fundamen l point. e never denied his Marxist belief; he never surrendered to Britain or the United States and openly opposed France. e openly entertained the Russian dele ation and af er the onference visited India. e promised to visit the USSR and it is inconceivable that eve tually he would not visit China. At any rate the flag of hang-ka i hek was removed fr m the Confer ence hall. he only e tirely false note sounded at the onfere ce was the voice of iberia, seeking to start a w tchhunt a inst the communist world and signally fai failing. t the Voice of , iberia was the Voice of the Firestone Rubber Comba y and of the merica navy , helped by the American egro capitalists and hired government stooges

Since Ghana is the backboe of the new African remaissance particular attention to the tribal opposition there must be directed. Historically it is based on the 18th century fight between the Ashanti and Fanti tribes. Britain with its subtle "Divide and Conquer" policy encouraged this feud. The Fanti stood by the British while the Ashanti fought them in six body wars before they were humiliated and subdued. All the world knows the story of the Golden Stool of this proud but conquered nation which dissappeared when they were brought to their knees. But then the British were astounded when their friends the Fanti, thought the British meant what they said and were willing to entr into democrat alliance with them. They proposed the Fanti Confederation which was a modern document erecting an African nation in alliance with Britain and with the Fanti in joint rule. The British were so affronted that they threw the delegates mak the proposal in jail. This silly act was the founding of Ghana but long years of dispute and struggle ensued before N'Kruman brought the final result.

But this triumph of N'Kruman's Ghana was a bitter affront to the Ashanti. They tried to get rid of him but he triumphed not only over Britain but over Ashanti. The young educated Ashanti leaders and others became the opposio which N'Kruman had to fight bitterly and finally gained political victory but left a deep hatred. Other difficulties connected with the division of tribes between French and British also arose to plague the new state; and among all were British and Americans to encourage division and inner strife. So in Nigeri eria, similar difficulties are holding back unity and indepe dence. It was noticeable and regettable that Azikiwe, the great leader of Nigeria indepe dence was not personally in attendance at Accra. . Azikiwe made independence for Africa t inevitable. He was attacked in every way and finally driven back by the tribal organization of the Northern territories where the British made the great Moslem chiefs into petty kings and gave them money and power. Other leaders like Awolowa yielded to British social blandishments and became represe sentative of private capital and long held back the union of Nigeria. But union and indepe dence is on the way but slowly and with far greater difficulty than once was possible under Azikiwe.

So in the east, Britain has encouraged enmity between Ethiopia

and the Somalia, with Italy as the catspaw to grab the leavings; it is difficult to say how this will end. In the Sudan there is the fight between laboring peasants and the great black landlords in regions regarded as socialistic while in fact a remnant of feudalism; and the strife between this feudalism and the socialism of the more primitive tribes of the far interior where once an ancient civilization flourished.

Thus we sense what further strife awaits the freedom which Africa at Accra voiced. But notwithstanding; triumph is possible and that too despite the desperate opposition of the United States, Great Britain, France and West Germany. These selfish western lands see Africa as the last source of their ability to live in comfort on the land and labor of subject people. These people depend on the USSR and China to come to their defense. In this last great battle of civilization their is no neutral ground. The world must be for Africa or against it. Accra called clearly for help.

38-8-30

LENIN AND AFRICA

by W.E.B.Du BOIS

Africa is organized in tribes. Wherever Africans are detribalized this process is recent and the memberies of the tribe and its customs is still stron strong and most Africans today are first Fanti or Yoruba; Ibo or Haussa before they think of themselves as Africans. There are many Negroes who regard the overthrow of the tribal system as a first step toward African progress. But there are others and I hope their number is growing who want to improve the tribal organization, but would preserve the main meaning of the tribe.

39-44-3

The African tribe was always and still is mainly a Commune; a socialistic organization where all capital goods belonged to the tribe; where work and trade was directed by the tribe; and where at times and places, the chief was a dictator, yet for the most part, power was in the hands of a tribal council, to which all adults belonged. Studies of the history and function of the African tribe have been made , but more and more careful studies are needed and here the Soviet Union may help a continent and the world.

This country may point out that its great leader, Lenin had Africa as well as Europe in mind when he established this great Communist nation. I do not know of any passage in the writings of Lenin which refer specifically to Africa, but I do know that his doctrines must be a guide to this continent if it hopes to stand before the present conspiracy against it on the part of the United States, Britain , Germany , France and Belgium. When the British land-grabbers of Kenya were seizing land and labor on the great central African plateau forty years ago, they said that Asia could not long be held in colonial slavery, and that the British Empire should concentrate on the ownership and monopoly of Africa. After the First World War, the United States, anticipating the decline of Britain, determined not only to hold most of China, with wide influence in India, but to become the virtual owner of Africa. She invested heavily in the gold and diamonds of South Africa, in the mines of North Africa and in the palm oil of west Africa.

The rise of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin was feared in America as a threat to her exploitation in African. She especially warned her citizens of African descent to avoid Communism. But Paul Robeson expressed his faith in the Soviet Union and his belief that Negroes would never fight in a war against her. For this he was nearly lynched at Peekskill and for ten years refusd the right to sing or travel abroad.

After the Second World War, when the Soviet Union had freed civilizati from the menace of Hitler, the people of America drew near to the great Commu nist state and studied more seriously the teaching of Lenin. Negroes renewe the Pan-African Congresss ,long suspended and at the bidding of young Africa cans like Nkrumah turned toward socialism. This was one of the causes that the great business interests of America began a huge propaganda against Communism and the doctrines of Lenin. They poured millions of money into thi campaign and accompanied some effort to lighten discrimination with dismiss al of Negroes from jobs if they showed any sympathy for socialism or for the Soviet Union; or if they attended any meetins of liberals or subscribed to a libersl or Communist puplicati n.

As a result the Negro population of the United States had no way to learn of the progress of the Soviet Union and how far Lenin was responsible for the world revolution which which is today transforming civilization not only in Europe but in Africa. Most of the leaders of Africa are more fortu- nate than American Negroes in their knowledge of Lenin and his work. Nkrumah in his biography reveals that he is a Marxist socialist , and during his jojo sojourn in England was associatd with the Communist party. His closest advis ser is George Padmore who knows of Lenin and his work and was once a member of the Comintern. Later he left the Communist Party, but his knowledge of its work is deep. Other Communists are citizens of Ghana . Azikiwe the most intelligent leader of Nigeria has spent some time in the Soviet Union and kno knows something of the work of Lenin.

On the other hand, from the missionaries and most of the teachers; from church leaders and foreign business men, propaganda against Lenin and the nation which he built is being poured into Ghana andother parts of Africa.The Catholic Church in the Congo, all the churches of South Africa join this chorus. To counteract this teaching, there is need of real knowl- edge of Lenin reaching Africa. More students ~~xxxxx~~ of Africa should study in the Soviet Union and other ~~xxxxx~~ Communist nations and when we remember how many African youth are today vainly seeking education, it is clear what an opportunity lies here for the teachings of Lenin

39-414-5

Since the signs of eforts at independence and federation in Africa in Africa; and after Nkruman's visit to America; and after French Guinea has declared its independence of France and its union with Ghana, increased effort is making to induce Africa to ~~xxxxxx~~ borrow from America or Europe and thus to mortgage its future to the Capitalist world. The recent conference at Accra was flooded with capitalist agent. At least four American Negroes, paid by the State Department were spreading capitalist propaganda West Britain, the United States and probably France or Germany stand prepared to furnish capital for the Volta river dam; just as Britain is harnessing the Zambesi river and tying South Africa in serfdom for a generation.

This is the time that the Soviet Union should spread Lenin on colonial imperialism to every African colony in every African language It should let this struggling continen know jsut what sort of future is preparing for it, if they ignore these words of Lenin which so clearly explained the wisdom of Marx, in the days that followed his death. This would build a monument to a great and wise man in an area of the earth which today badly needs such advice.

THE CRUCIFIXION OF JOHN BROWN

by W.E.B.Du BOIS

On the second of December, 1859, one hundred years ago, John Brown was hanged by the neck until he was dead. The scene of his execution is thus de scribed by one who saw it:

"The highly cultivated farms, the village, the broad landscape, browned by the frosts of November, framed in the ranges of the Blue Ridge - blue indeed, a daintily defined wall, of a blue shade more delicate than the sky. Though it was "the day of Austerlitz" as the days of the season are marked, the clover in the stubble was green, and the ground wso warm and dry the reporters reclined upon it with comfort and exchanged observations of the press relieve, when witnesses of true tragedies, the strains upon their vitality.

"The procession from the jail to the scaffold was brilliant. The General commanding had a staff more resplendent than that of Field Marshal Moltke and King William, when they rode together over their battlefields in France. Old John Brown was seated on his coffin in the bed of a wagon, of the fashion farmers call a wood wagon, an open body and no cover. He wore a battered black slouch hat, the rim turned squarely up in front, giving it the aspect of a cocked hat. This was that his vision might not be impeded, and he looked with evident enjoyment upon the country, saying it was the first time he had the pleasure of seeing it. His words were repeated at the time. The man I saw as he was in the wagon and as he was helped upon the scaffold - he had about a dozen steps to ascend - his arms pinioned by ropes at the elbows, tied firmly, so that his hands were free while the upper arms were bound at his waist. He wore a baggy brown coat and trousers, and red carpet-slippers over blue yarn socks, ans stood firmly but in an easy attitude on the trap-door, that was sustained by a rope. Then a stout white cord of cotton, provided bh some cotton planters who thought there was propriety in it - something symbolical in it - was placed over the iron-gray, sturdy head, the noose dropped easily around his neck and tightened so that it would not slip, but so as not to give physical discomfort. The face of the old man was toward the east, the morning light on it, and the figure perfectly in dress and pose, and all appointments, that of a typical Western farmer - a serious person upheld by an idea of duty -

"There was deep stillness as the form of the victim plunged six feet and the rope twanged as its burden lengthened a little and shivered. Then the body began to whirl as the cord slackened and twisted, and the rapid movement caused the short skirts of the coat to flutter as in a wind. About a quarter of an hour was spent by the surgeons climbing the stairs and holding the suspended body to their ears, listening to see if the heart continued to act." *

42-3-288

Who was this martyr who died a victim to greed? He was an ordinary American farmer whose ancestors had migrated from England in the seventeenth century and landed at Plymouth Rock in search of freedom in religion and democracy in government John Brown was born in 1800 and as he grew to manhood found himself in a nation which professed liberty as its foundation but held a million Negroes, a quarter of the total population as chatel slaves to be bought and sold like cattle. This to John Brown was an anomaly and a horror. But what could he do about it? He was a tanner of leather, a raiser of sheep and a trader in wool. But above all he had been raised with a stern sense of religion: he believed in a God who ruled the world in justice and would not long countenance evil. But God needed help and John Brown thought that was his sworn helper especially in ridding his nation of slavery. But how, how? He married early and fathered twenty children, many of whom died in infancy. His struggle to earn a living kept him from helping God abolish slavery. He was nearly fifty years of age when Britain abolished slavery in the West Indies, and Brown was aroused to start his life work in earnest. He tried to help ~~settle some~~ settled free Negroes in northern New York and work with them as a farming neighbor. But little was accomplished. Then to his horror the slave barons began to move forward. They tried to open new western lands to slavery, and particularly they secured legislation aimed to stop slaves from running away from the South where slavery flourished and finding refuge in the North and in Canada. Despite the insistence of slaveholders that slaves liked their slavery and never rebelled, the slaves not only repeatedly fought for their freedom, but —— and this was far more effective

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*Connelley: John Brown ~~Topeka, 1900~~ Topeka, 1900

escaped from slavery in droves. They secured black guides like Harriet Tubman and white and black helpers in the so-called "Underground Railroad", who altogether exacted five or more million dollars ayear from capital invested in human labor. The result was the Fugitive Slave law which permitted any Negro be siezed by agents of the slave power and sold south without jury trial. This led to many cases of resistance and John Brown formed a League of Gideonites to offer armed resistence to unjust arrest of black folk. But this was but small attack on slavery and Brown did not move into real action until the slave power tried to seize Kansas by armed force. The neighboring Nebraska was was also threatened. Thus a rich stretch of land nearly the size of Poland was to opened to slavery and denied to free settlers. Immediately John Brown went to work. His son, John Brown, jr., tells the story:

"During the years 1853 and 1854 most of the leading Northern newspapers were not only full of glowing accounts of the extraordinary fertility, healthfulness, and beauty of the Territory of Kansas, then newly opened for settlement, but of urgent appeals to all lovers of freedom who desired homes in a new region to go there as settlers, and by their votes save Kansas from the curse of slavery. Influenced by these considerations, in the month of October, 1854, five of the sons of John Brown, -- John, Jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon, -- then residents of the State of Ohio, made their arrangements to emigrate to Kansas."

Their combined property consisted chiefly of eleven head of cattle, mostly young, and three horses. Ten of this number were valuable on account of the breed. Thinking these especially desirable in a new country, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon took them by way of the lakes to Chicago, thence to Meridosia, Ill., where they were wintered; and in the following spring drove them into Kansas to a place selected by these brothers for settlement, about eight miles west of the town of Osawatomie. My brother Jason and his family, and I with my family followed at the opening of navigation in the spring of 1855, going by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to St. Louis. There we purchased two small tents, a plough, and some smaller farming-tools, and a hand-mill for grinding corn." *

* Sanborn, John Brown, Boston, 1891

42-3-283

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4) John Brown followed in 1855 and the Browns fought the slave power for a free territory. The promoters of slavery, allied with the treacherous government had its way with murder and arson until John Brown took the law into his own hands and killed a gang of marauders in cold blood. This turned the tide and Kansas was admitted as a state with slavery prohibited. Brown was threatened with arrest in Kansas, but the government dare not do this and he returned east determined to carry out his last fight against slavery. He talked with abolitionists, but most of them thought his plans crazy. He talked with Negroes, but they balked at his audacity. He sat with black leaders like Harriot Tubman and Frederick Douglass. They gave him sympathy but saw no chance for his plan succeeding.

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42-3-284

It had a clear simplicity. From Harper's Ferry to Georgia stretch the great range of the Appalachian mountaisn. They pass through a region where the majority of inhabitants were black slaves or near such regions. Slaves had long been used to running away to these mountains and thus making their way to freedom. Brown studying guerilla warfare especially under Garabaldi in Italy, planned to furnish camps in these heights, stocked with food and arms and to incite the slaves living near to take refuge there and move nurth, until a flood of four million black refugees reach the free North. The plan involved the mininum of force, it did not encourage attack on the white masters, but it planned a defensive warfare on the part of slaves seeking freedom. To carry out this plan Brown needed money for travel and support; he needed a supply of firearms and he needed a small but trustworthy group of followers.

After many appeals he collected about $25,000 from abolitionists and friends, white and black. He planned to secure arms from the federal armory at Harper's Ferry (~~Copy Du Bois p. 274, 279, 280~~)

4 1/2

John Brown by W.E.B. Du Bois

pgs 314 & 315

Up to this point everything in John Brown's plan had worked like clockwork, and there had been but one death. The armory was captured, from twenty-five to fifty slaves had been armed, several masters were in custody and the next move was to get the arms and ammunition from the farm. Cook says that when the party returned from the country at dawn, "I stayed a short while in the engine-house to get warm, as I was chilled through. After I got warm, Captain Brown ordered me to go with C.P. Tidd, who was to take William H. Leeman, and, I think, four slaves (Anderson says fourteen slaves) with him, in Colonel Washington's large wagon, across the river, and to take Terrence Burns and his brother and their slaves prisoners. My orders were to hold Burns and brother as prisoners at their own house, while Tidd and the slaves who accompanied him were to go to Captain Brown's house and to load in arms and bring them down to the schoolhouse, stopping for the Burnses and their guard. William H. Leeman remained with me to guard the prisoners. On return of the wagon, in compliance with orders, we all started for the schoolhouse. When we got there, I was to remain, by Captain Brown's orders, with one of the slaves to guard the arms, while C.P. Tidd, with the other Negroes, was to go back for the rest of the arms, and Burns was to be sent with William H. Leeman to Captain Brown at the armory. It was at this time that William Thompson came up from the Ferry and reported that everything was all right, and then hurried on to overtake William H. Leeman. A short time after the departure of Tidd, I heard a good deal of firing and became anxious to know the cause, but my orders were strict to remain in the schoolhouse and guard the arms, and I obeyed the orders to the letter. About four o'clock in the evening C.P. Tidd came with the second load."[1]

42-3-285

Here, in all probability, was the fatal hitch. The farm was not over three miles from the schoolhouse, and there was a heavy farm-wagon with four large strong horses and a dozen men or more to help. The fact that it took these men eleven hours to move two wagon-loads of material less than three miles is the secret of the extraordinary failure of Brown's foray at a time when victory was in his grasp. ~~That Cook was~~

~~[1]Statement by John Edwin Cook in Hinton, pp. 700-718~~

Two were free Negroes from the North; three others were free Negroes from the South. One was an escaped slave from South Carolina, and one a Canadian. Of the white men there was first of all John Brown and his family including three sons and two brothers of ~~the~~ a daughter's husband. Added to these was a social reformer, a soldier who had deserted from the army, and a poet. Finally there was Tidd, a nervous and quarrelsome man from Maine whose recalcitrance possibly ruined the raid. The remainder of the band were young men who had followed John Brown in Kansas, lovers of adventure who hated slavery. One was a rich New England aristocrat turned crusader. These were the men - idealists, dreamers, soldiers and avengers, varying from the silent and thoughtful to the quick and impulsive; from the cold and bitter to the ignorant and faithful. They believed in God, in spirits, in fate, in liberty. To them the world was a wild, young unregulated thing, and they were born to set it right. It was a veritable band of crusaders, and while it had much of weakness and extravagance, it had nothing nasty or unclean. On the whold, they were an unusual set of men.

42-3-286

Brown planned to start the raid in the early summer of 1858 but his plan was betrayed and he had to put it off. Meantime Brown tried to get the help of Frederic Douglas. Douglas writes: "In parting he put his arms around me in a manner more than friendly, and said:'Come with me, Douglass; I will defend you with my life. I want you for a special purpose. When I strike, the bees will begin to swarm, and I shall want you to help hive them.'

Finally Brown collected his band at Harpers Ferry. It was a cold dark night when the band started. Ahead, was John Brown in his one-horse farm-wagon, with pikes, a sledge-hammer and a crowbar. Behind him marched the men silently and at intervals, ~~Cook and Tidd leading~~. They had five miles to go, over rolling hills and through woods and then down to a narrow road between the cliffs and the Cincinnati and Ohio canal. As they approached the railroad, ~~Cook and Tidd~~ they cut the telegraph wires which led to Baltimore and Washington. At the bridge they halted and made ready their arms. At ten o'clock William Williams, one of the watchmen there, was surprised to find himself a prisoner in the hands of ~~Kagi and Stevens~~ the raiders who took him through the covered structure to the town, leaving

Watson Brown and Steward Taylor to guard the bridge. The rest of the company entered Harper's Ferry.

The plan proceeded successfully. The watchman of the arsenal was captured the village was occupied, ~~the~~ prisoners were secured without the snap of a gun or any violence whatever. Up to this point everything in John Brown's plan had worked like clockwork, and there had been but one death. The armory was captured, from twenty-five to fifty slaves had been armed, several masters were in custody and the next move was to get the arms and ammunition from the farm. Here, ~~in all probability,~~ was the fatal hitch. The farm was not over three miles from the schoolhouse, and there was a heavy farm-wagon with four large strong horses and a dozen men or more to help. The fact that it took these men eleven hours to two wagon-loads of material less than three miles is the secret of the extraordinary failure of Brown's foray at a time when victory was in his grasp.

42-3-287

Meantime the citizens began to gather and the neighborhood was in wild excitement. ~~If the arms had arrived at the bridge before noon, but they did not come, and~~ The militia and soldiers began to march. It was now one o'clock in the day and while things were going aginst Brown, his cause was not desperate. His Maryland men might yet attack the disorganized Jefferson Guards in the rear and the arsenal was full of hostages. But militia and citizens kept pouring into the town and by three o'clock "could be seen coming from every direction."

Brown instead of retreating would not desert his tardy followers. He was at Last besieged in the armory, ~~and this was the end~~. Thus John Brown's raid ended. Seven of the men, including Brown himself were captured and hanged. Ten were killed, and six escaped.

~~John Brown by DuBois, pp 355-56~~ 7

The raid aroused ~~and directed~~ the conscience of the nation. Strange it was to watch its work. Some, impulsive, eager to justify themselves, rushed into print. To Garrison, the non-resistant, the sword of Gideon was abhorrent; Beecher thundered against John Brown and Seward bitterly traduced him. Then came an ominous silence in the land while his voice, in his own defense, was heard over the whole country. A great surging throb of sympathy arose and swept the world. That John Brown was legally a law-breaker and a murderer all men knew. But wider and wider circles were beginning dimly and more clearly to recognize that his lawlessness was in obedience to the highest call of self-sacrifice for the welfare of his fellow men. They began to ask themselves, What is this cause that can inspire such devotion? The reiteration of the simple statement of "the brother in bonds" could not help but attract attention. The beauty of the conception despite its possible ~~unearthliness and~~ impracticability attracted poet and philosopher and common man.

42-3-288

Brown said at his trial:

~~Ibid, pp 361-62~~

"... -- had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, -- either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, -- and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I

John Brown. He was simple, exasperatingly simple; unlettered, plain, and homely. No casuistry of culture or of learning, of well-being or tradition moved him in the slightest degree: "Slavery is wrong," he said, -- "kill it." Destroy it -- uproot it, stem, blossom, and branch; give it no quarter, exterminate it and do it now." Was he wrong? No. The forcible staying of human uplift by barriers of law, and might, and tradition is the most wicked thing on earth. It is wrong, eternally wrong. It is wrong, by whatever name it is called, or in whatever guise it lurks, and whenever it appears. But it is especially heinous, [redacted] and cruel when it masquerades in the robes of law and justice and patriotism. So was American slavery clothed in 1859, and it had to die by revolution, not by milder means. And this men knew. They had known it a hundred years. Yet they shrank and trembled. From round about the white and blinding path of this soul flew equivocations, lies, thievings and red murders. And yet all men instinctively felt that these things were not of the light but of the surrounding darkness.

Threre years after John Brown died, Civil War over slavery began in the United States. Five hundred thousand Negroes fought as armed soldiers or worked as stevedores or helped as servants, guides and spies. In 1863 Abraham Lincoln declared them "henceforward and forever free!"

8 4

~~John Brown by DuBois, pp 362 (cont)~~

~~Ibid~~ ..., I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done -- as I have always freely admitted I have done -- in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, -- I submit; so let it be done.' .....

42-3-2896

~~Ibid pp 366~~

"I do not feel conscious of guilt in taking up arms; and had it been in behalf of the rich and powerful, the intelligent, the great (as men count greatness), or those who form enactments to suit themselves and corrupt others, or some of their friends, that I interfered, suffered, sacrificed, and fell, it would have been doing very well. But enough of this. These light afflictions, which endure for a moment, shall but work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

~~Ibid. pp 378~~

~~Against slavery his face is set like flint;~~ "There are no ministers of Christ here. These ministers who profess to be Christian, and hold slaves or advocate slavery, I cannot abide them. My knees will not bend in prayer with them, while their hands are stained with the blood of souls." He said to one Southern clergyman: "I will thank you to leave me alone; your prayers would be an abomination to God." To another he said, "I would not insult God by bowing down in prayer ~~with any~~ one who had the blood of the slave on his skirts."

# THE CRUCIFIXION OF JOHN BROWN

by W.E.B. DU BOIS

On the second of December, 1859, one hundred years ago, John Brown was hanged by the neck until he was dead. The scene of his execution is thus described by one who saw it:

"The highly cultivated farms, the village, the broad landscape, browned by the frosts of November, framed in the ranges of the Blue Ridge - blue indeed, a daintily defined wall, of a blue shade more delicate than the sky. Though it was "the day of Austerlitz" as the days of the season are marked, the clover in the stubble was green, and the ground so warm and dry the reporters reclined upon it with comfort and exchanged observations of the press relieve, when witnesses of true tragedies, the strains upon their vitality.

"The procession from the jail to the scaffold was brilliant. The General commanding had a staff more resplendent than that of Field Marshall Moltke and King William, when they rode together over their battlefields in France. Old John Brown was seated on his coffin in the bed of a wagon, of the fashion farmers call a wood wagon, an open body and no cover. He wore a battered black slouch hat, the rim turned squarely up in front, giving it the aspect of a cocked hat. This was that his vision might not be impeded, and he looked with evident enjoyment upon the country, saying it was the first time he had the pleasure of seeing it. His words were repeated at the time. The man I saw as he was in the wagon and as he was helped upon the scaffold - he had about a dozen steps to ascend - his arms pinioned by ropes at the elbows, tied firmly, so that his hands were free while the upper arms were bound at his waist. He wore a baggy brown coat and trousers, and red carpet slippers over blue yarn socks, and stood firmly but in an easy attitude on the trap-door, that was sustained by a rope. Then a stout white cord of cotton, provided by some cotton planters who thought there was propriety in it - something symbolical in it - was placed over the iron-gray, sturdy head, the noose dropped easily around his neck and tightened so that it would not slip, but so as not to give physical discomfort. The face of the old man was toward the east, the morning light on it,

and the figure perfectly in dress and pose, and all appointments, that of a typical Western farmer - a serious person upheld by and idea of duty.

"There was deep stillness as the form of the victim plunged six feet and the rope twanged as its burden lengthened a little and shivered. Then the body began to whirl as the cord slackened and twisted, and the rapid movement caused the short skirts of the coat to flutter as in a wind. About a quarter of an hour was spent by the surgeons climbing the stairs and holding the suspended body to their ears, listening to see if the heart continued to act." *

Who was this martyr who died a victim to greed? He was an ordinary American farmer whose ancestors had migrated from England in the seventeenth century and landed at Plymouth Rock in search of freedom in religion and democracy in government. John Brown was born in 1800 and as he grew to manhood found himself in a nation which professed liberty as its foundation but held a million Negroes, a quarter of the total population, as chattel slaves to be bought and sold like cattle. This to John Brown was an anomaly and a horror. But what could he do about it? He was a tanner of leather, a raiser of sheep and a trader in wool. But above all he had been raised with a stern sense of religion: he believed in a God who ruled the world in justice and would not long countenance evil. But he gradually learned that God needed help and thought that John Brown was his sworn helper especially in ridding his nation of slavery. But how, how?

He married early and fathered twenty children, many of whom died in infancy. His struggle to earn a living long kept him from helping God abolish slavery. He was nearly fifty years of age when Britain abolished slavery in the West Indies, and Brown was aroused to start his life work in earnest. He tried to help free Negroes settled in northern New York and work with them as a farming neighbor. But little was accomplished. Then to his horror the slave barons began to move forward. They tried to open new western lands to slavery, and particularly they secured legislation aimed to stop slaves from running away from the South where slavery flourished and finding refuge in the North and in Canada. Despite the insistence of slaveholders that slaves liked their slavery and never rebelled, the slaves not only repeatedly

*Connelley: John Brown Topeka, 1900

fought for their freedom, but -- and this was far more effective -- escaped from slavery in droves. They secured black guides like Harriet Tubman and white and black helpers in the so-called "Underground Railroad", who altogether exacted in these fugitives five or more million dollars a year from capital invested in human labor.

The result was the Fugitive Slave law which permitted any Negro to be seized by agents of the slave power and sold south without jury trial. This led to many cases of resistance and John Brown formed a League of Gideonites to offer armed resistance to such unjust arrest of black folk. But this was but small attack on the slavery system, and Brown did not move into real action until the slave power tried to seize the territory of Kansas by armed force. The neighboring Nebraska was also threatened. Thus a rich stretch of land nearly the size of Poland was to be opened to slavery and denied to free settlers. Immediately John Brown went to work. His son, John Brown, Jr., tells the story:

"During the years 1853 and 1854 most of the leading Northern newspapers were not only full of glowing accounts of the extraordinary fertility, healthfulness, and beauty of the Territory of Kansas, then newly opened for settlement, but of urgent appeals to all lovers of freedom who desired homes in a new region to go there as settlers, and by their votes save Kansas from the curse of slavery. Influenced by these considerations, in the month of October, 1854, five of the sons of John Brown, then residents of the State of Ohio, made their arrangements to emigrate to Kansas."

John Brown followed in 1855 and the Browns fought the slave power for a free territory. The promoters of slavery, allied with the treacherous government had its way with murder and arson until John Brown took the law into his own hands and killed a gang of marauders in cold blood. This turned the tide and Kansas was finally admitted as a state with slavery prohibited.

Brown was threatened with arrest in Kansas, but the government dare not do this and he returned east now determined to carry out his last fight against slavery. He talked with abolitionists, but most of them thought his plans crazy.

He talked with Negroes, but they balked at his audacity. He sat with black leaders like Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. They gave him sympathy but saw no chance for his plan to succeed.

What was that plan? It had a clear simplicity. From Harper's Ferry to Georgia stretch the great range of the Appalachian mountains They pass through a region where the majority of inhabitants were black slaves or near such regions. Slaves had long been used to running away to these mountains and thus making there way to freedom. Brown studying guerilla warfare especially under Garabaldi in Italy, planned to furnish camps in these heights, stocked with food and arms and to incite the slaves living near to take refuge there and move north, until a flood of four million black refugees reach the free North. The plan involved the minimum of force, it did not encourage attack on the white masters, but it planned a defensive warfare on the part of the slaves seeking freedom. To carry out this plan Brown needed money for travel and support; he needed a supply of firearms and he needed a small but trustworthy group of followers.

After many appeals he collected about $25,000 from abolitionists and friends, white and black. He planned to secure arms from federal armory at Harper's Ferry.

He chose Harper's Ferry because a United States arsenal was there and the capture of this would give that dramatic climax to the inception of his plan which was so necessary to its success. But both these were minor reasons. The foremost and decisive reason was that Harper's Ferry was the safest natural entrance to the Great Black Way. Two paths led southward toward it in the East:- the way by Washington, physically broad and easy, but legally and socially barred to bondsmen; the other way, known to Harriet Tubman and all fugitives, which led to the left toward the crests of the Alleghanies and the gateway of Harper's Ferry. One has but to glance at the mountains and swamps of the South to see the Great Black Way. Here, amid the mighty protection of overwhelming numbers, lay a path from slavery to freedom, and along that path were fastnesses and hiding-places easily capable of becoming permanent fortified refuges for organized bands of determined armed men.

The number of those who took part in the Harper's Ferry raid is not known.

Perhaps, including active slave helpers, there were about fifty. Seventeen Negroes, reported as probably killed, are wholly unknown, and those slaves who helped and escaped are also unknown. This leaves the twenty-two men usually regarded as making the raid. They fall, of course into two main groups, the Negroes and the whites. Six or seven of the twenty-two were Negroes.

The armory was captured, from twenty-five to fifty slaves had been armed, several masters were in custody and the next move was to get the arms and ammunition from the farm. Here, in all probability,was the fatal hitch. The farm was not over three miles from the schoolhouse, and there was a heavy farm-wagon with four large strong horses and a dozen men or more to help. The fact that it took these men eleven hours to move two wagon-loads of material less than three miles is the secret of the extraordinary failure of Brown's foray at a time when victory was in his grasp.

Two were free Negroes from the North: three others were free Negroes from the South. One was an escaped slave from South Carolina, and one a Canadian. Of the white men there was first of all John Brown and his family including three sons and two brothers of a daughter's husband. Added to these was a social reformer, a soldier who had deserted from the army, and a poet. Finally there was Tidd, a nervous and quarrelsome man from Maine whose recalcitrance possibly ruined the raid. The remainder of the band were young men who had followed John Brown in Kansas, lovers of adventure who hated slavery. One was a rich New England aristocrat turned crusader.

These were the men - idealists, dreamers, soldiers and avengers, varying from the silent and thoughtful to the quick and impulsive; from the cold and bitter to the ignorant and faithful. They believed in God, in spirits, in fate, in liberty. To them the world was a wild, young unregulated thing, and they were born to set it right. It was a veritable band of crusaders, and while it had much of weakness and extravagance, it had nothing nasty or unclean. On the whole, they were an unusual set of men.

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Frederic Douglas. Douglas writes: "In parting he put his arms around me in a manner more than friendly, and said: 'Come with me, Douglass; I will defend you with my life. I want you for a special purpose. When I strike, the bees will begin to swarm, and I shall want you to help hive them.'

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Brown instead of retreating would not desert his tardy followers. He was at last besieged in the armory. Thus John Brown's raid ended. Seven of the men, including Brown himself were captured and hanged. Ten were killed, and six escaped.

The raid aroused the conscience of the nation. Strange it was to watch its work. Some, impulsive, eager to justify themselves, rushed into print. Then came an ominous silence in the land while his voice, in his own defense, was heard over the whole country. A great surging throb of sympathy arose and swept the world. That John Brown was legally a law-breaker and a murderer all men knew. But wider and wider circles were beginning dimly and more clearly to recognize that his lawlessness was in obedience to the highest call of self-sacrifice for the welfare of his fellow men. They began to ask themselves,What is this cause that can inspire such devotion? The reiteration of the simple statement of "the brother in bonds" could not help but attract attention. The beauty of the conception despite its possible impracticability attracted poet and philosopher and common man.

Brown said at his trial:

"... -- had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, -- either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, -- and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done -- as I have always freely admitted I have done -- in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, -- I submit; so let it be done.'....

John Brown was simple, exasperatingly simple, unlettered, plain, and homely. No casuistry of culture or of learning, of well-being or tradition moved him in

the slightest degree: "Slavery is wrong," he said, -- "kill it." Destroy it -- uproot it, stem, blossom, and branch; give it no quarter, exterminate it and do it now." Was he wrong? No. The forcible staying of human uplift by barriers of law, and might, and tradition is the most wicked thing on earth. It is wrong, eternally wrong. It is wrong, by whatever name it is called, or in whatever guise it lurks, and whenever it appears. But it is especially heinous, and cruel when it masquerades in the robes of law and justice and patriotism. So was American slavery clothed in 1859, and it had to die by revolution, not by milder means. And this men knew. They had known it a hundred years. Yet they shrank and trembled. From round about the white and blinding path of this soul flew equivocations, lies, thievings and red murders. And yet all men instinctively felt that these things were not of the light but of the surrounding darkness.

Three years after John Brown died, Civil War over slavery began in the United States. Five hundred thousand Negroes fought as armed soldiers or worked as stevedores or helped as servants, guides and spies. ~~In 1863~~ Abraham Lincoln ~~declared them~~ "henceforward and forever free!"

Dark Hand could Have
done the Work could
not Have won the
War. For 1863 he
declared Negro slave

interview with Albert Thomas, head of the International Labor Office. Working with Bellegarde of Haiti, a member of the Assembly, we brought the status of Africa to the attention of the League. The League published our petition as an official document saying in part:

The Second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations and that consequently the madated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission as soon as a vacany occurs.

The Second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and unconsciously there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are colored and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and many consequent laws, customs, and conventions, is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult and despair, is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.

We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little, if any, direct power to adjust these matters, but it has the vast moral power of public world opinion and

of a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races and that it suggest to the Colonial Powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro problem, and for the evolution and protection of the Negro race.

We sought to have these meetings result in a permanent organisation. A secretariat was set up in Paris and functioned for a couple of years, but was not successful. The Third Pan-African Congress was called for 1923, but the Paris Secretary postponed it. We persevered and finally without proper notice or preparation met in London and Lisbon late in the year. The London session was small. It was addressed by Harold Laski and Lord Olivier and attended by H. G. Wells; Ramsay MacDonald was kept from attending only by the pending election, but wrote: "Anything I can do to advance the cause of your people on your recommendation, I shall always do gladly."

38-11-162

The meeting of an adjourned session of this Congress in Lisbon the same year was more successfu. Eleven countries were represented there, including Portuguese Africa. The Liga Africana was in charge. "The great association of Portuguese Negroes with headquarters at Lisbon, which is called the Liga Africana, is an actual federation of all the indigenous associations scattered throughout the five provinces of Portuguese Africa and represents several million individuals....This Liga Africana which functions at Lisbon, in the very heart of Portugal so to speak, has a commission from all the other native organizations and knows how to express to the government in no ambiguous terms but in dignified manner all that should be said to avoid injustice or to bring about the repeal of harsh laws. That is why the Liga Africana of Lisbon is the director of the Portuguese African movement; but only in the good sense of the word, without making any appeal to violence and without leaving constitutional limits."

Two former colonial ministers spoke, and the following demands were made for Africans:

1. A voice in their own government.

2. The right of access to the land and its resources.

3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law;

4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial techniques; and higher training of selected talent.

5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.

6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.

7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.

8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few. . . .

In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans.

32-11-169

So far, the Pan-African idea was still American rather than African, but it was growing and it expressed a real demand for examination of the African situation and a plan of treatment, from the native African point of view. With the object of moving the center of this agitation nearer African centers of population, I planned a Fourth Pan-African Congress in the West Indies in 1925. My idea was to charter a ship and sail down the Caribbean, stopping for meetings in Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, and the French islands. But here I reckoned without my steamship lines. At first the French Line replied that they could "easily manage the trip"; but eventually no accommodations could be found on any line except at the prohibitive price of fifty thousand dollars. I suspect that colonial powers spiked this plan.

Two years later, in 1927, American Negro women revived the Congress idea, and a Fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York. Thirteen countires were represented, but direct African participation lagged. There were two hundred and eight

delegates from twenty-two American states and ten foreign countires. Africa was sparsely represented by representatives from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, and anthropologists like Herskovits, then of Columbia, Mensching of Germany, and John Vandercook were on the program. The resolutions stressed six points:

Negroes everywhere need:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. Native rights to the land and its natural resources.
3. Modern education for all children.
4. The development of Africa for the Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5. The reorganization of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.
6. The treatment of civilized men as civilized despite difference of birth, race, or color.

28-11-104

The Pan-African Movement had lost ground since 1921. In 1929 to remedy this we made a desperate effort to hold a Fifth Pan-African Congress on the continent of Africa itself; we selected Tunis because of its accessibility. Elaborate preparations were begun. It looked as though at last the movement was going to be geographically African. But two insuperable difficulties intervened: first, the French government very politely but firmly informed us that the Congress could take place at Marseilles or any French city, but not in Africa; and second, there came the Great Depression.

The Pan-African idea died apparently until twenty years afterward, in the midst of World War II, when it leaped to life again in an astonishing manner. At the Trade Union Conference in London in 1944 to plan for world organization of labor, representativesfrom black labor appeared from the Gold Coast, Libya, British Guiana, Ethiopia, and Sierra Leone. Among these, aided by colored persons resident in London,

Lanchashire, Liverpool, and Manchester, there came a spontaneous call for the assembling of another Pan-African Congress in 1945 when the World Federation of Trade Unions would hold their meeting in Paris.

After consultation and correspondence with trade union, cooperative, and other progressive organizations in the West Indies, West Africa, South and East Africa, a formal invitation for the conference was issued. Most of these bodies not only approved and endorsed the agenda, but pledged themselves to send delegates. In cases where either the time was too short or the difficulties of transport too great to be overcome at such short notice, the organizations gave madates to the natives of the territories concerned who were traveling to Paris to attend the World Trade Union Conference.

38-11-165

The Fifth Pan-African Congress met October 15 to 21 in Manchester, England, with some two hundred delegates representing East and South Africa and the West Indies. Its significane lay in the fact that it took a step toward a broader movement and a real effort of the peoples of Africa and the descendants of Africa the world over to start a great march toward democracy for black folk.

Singularly enough, there is another "Pan-African" movement. I thought of it as I sat at the San Francisco Conference and heard Jan Smuts plead for an article on "human rights" in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. It was an astonishing parradox. The "Pan-African" movement which he represents is a union of the white minority in Kenya, Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa, to rule the African continent in the interest of investors and exploiters. This plan has been incubating since 1921, but has been discouraged by the British Colonial Office. Smuts is now pushing it again, and the white legislatures in Africa have asked for it. The San Francisco trusteeship left a door open for this sort of thing. Against this upsurges the movement of black union delegates working in co-operation with the Labor delegates

of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States in order to build a new world which includes black Africa. We may yet live to see Pan-Africa as a real movement.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress placed great hope on the British Labour movemment and its sudden induction as the government of the British Empire. But the Congress had put before it a curious example of how organised labor may handles colonial problems. There came before us literally a Man of Sorrows: black, with a deeply-lined face. Gershon Ashie-Nikoi was in desperate earnest. He shouted repeatedly: "we must be free! We will be free' He said that he represented three hundred thousand cocoa farmers on the Gold Coast and Nigeria; the new Labor Secretary of State and Colonies. He had been refused audience because Mr. Hall declared that the committee was not "official"; which meant that it was not appointed in accordance with the procedure of the colonial governments, and was not composed of the representatives which these governments had officially chosen.

38-11-166

The committee secured a hearing before the Colonial Section of the Fabian Society, which acts as a sort of Brain Trust to advise the Labour government on colonial affairs. Among them were many people of importance: Mr. Creech-Jones, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Miss Rita Hinden, Lord Farringdon, the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, and others. They listened indifferently. The representatives of the farmers therefore brought their case to the Pan-African Congress and laid it before us. The Committee had been sent to London at the expense of the farmers, and had established a permanent office in Arundel Street. They were prepared for a long, hard fight, and the Pan-African Congress pledged help.

It will repay us to glance briefly at this tale of the cocoa crip as illustrating the methods of modern colonial exploitation and its results even under a liberal administration. The world consumption of cocoa has increased from 77,000 tons in 1895 to 700,000 tons at present. Formerly three-fourths of the cocoa was raised in South America. Now two-thirds is raised in West Africa.

This development of a new industry has an interesting history. A black laborer, Tetteh Quarsie, in 1879 brought cocoa beans from Spanish Africa and distributed them among his friends on the Gold Coast, British West Africa. In 1891, eighty pounds of cocoa were raised by West African farmers. By 1936 this crop on the Gold Coast alone had been increased to 250,000 tons. It was purely an indigenous enterprise of black peasant farmers. The deeply laid plan to transfer the raising of cocoa from Spanish Africa to plantations in British West Africa, developed by the Cadbury-instituted "boycott," went astray, and the black peasnats took over the job. On their own little farms, averaging about two and one-half acres, they increased crops and made cocoa and chocolate in wide demand throughout the civilized world. Their fathers in Ashanti and Benin had fought Britain for centuries to retain ownership of this land.

38-11-107

For cocoa and chocolate today consumers pay annually at least $500,000,000. Out of each dollar, of this less than three cents goes to the cocoa farmer; and this is another instnace of the squeezing of agriculture by trade and manufacture.

Since the cocoa in West Africa is not raised on plantations as it is in the West Indies and South America, the problem of the traders and manufacturers is to make profit by beating down the sale price and by manipulation of the world market. For this reason the price to cocoa farmers has varied from $44 per ton during the depression, to $188 per ton during the time of scarcity in 1927, and about $60 a ton today.

Ostensibly for correcting this price fluctuation, but really for controlling the price, the British buyers on the Gold Coast have for many years tried to come into agreement so as to make one price and one bid for all the cocoa offered. There are thirteen main buyers: the British Unilevers, Cadbury and Fry, buying for themselves and the Lyons' Teahouses; and others.

Finally in 1937 these firms came to a buying agreement. The cocoa farmers desperately resisted. They staged a boycott for eight months, reducing the sale of cocoa from 250,000 tons to 50,000 tons. The buyers resisted. They applied pressure on the Colonial Office in London, and without showing it the text of the "buying agreement," induced it to advise the natives that the proposal was for their benefit

and to accept it. The colonial governor, also without sight of the agreement, immediately followed this directive from London and strongly "advised" acquiescence by the natives. The natives still refused. Mr. Cadbury then went to the Gold Coast and talked to the chiefs and farmers. They demanded to see a copy of the agreement. He "regretted" that he had not brought a copy with him. Finally the British government capitulated and sent a Royal Commission to the Coast, under Mr. Nowell. This Commission secured a copy of the agreement, but made public only a part. After careful investigation, they recommended that the buying agreement be terminated and that cooperative enterprise be instituted with representation of the African farmers.

38-11-168

Before this plan could be implemented however, the war broke out and the Government proposed to take charge of the cocoa crop, set prices, and sell it for the farmers. They promised to bear any losses and to distribute any profit among the farmers. This was satisfactory to the farmers, although they protested at the low price per ton which the government set in order to guard itself against loss.

The African colonial governments are virtually ruled by investors in England. Investors not only dictate the choice of governors, but these governors have the sole right of legislation under the Colonial Office in London. They are "advised" by councils on which business interests are directly represented. Recently local natives have been elected to such councils; but even so the real power still restsin in the hands of the governor.

Government conduct of industry in West Africa, is therefore conducted by London investors. The whole economy of the colony is rigged by outside business interests. Instead of a tax on imports to encourage local effort, the Gold Coast, for instance, claps an <u>export</u> duty on cocoa of $3.75 a ton; and during the war it added a surtax of $4.58, making a total tax of $8.43 on a ton of cocoa, for which the cocoa farmer has at times during this war received as little as $37 a ton; and on the average not more than $52 from 1939 to 1943. At the same time, English exporters of goods to Africa need pay no import tax. As a result the cost of imported

goods skyrocketed during the war, so that cotton print which sold before the war for $2.50 rose to $18. Khaki from $.60 to $3.20, and sheet iron from $1.00 to $20. "The result of this situation is that today many of the farmers have been completely impoverished and paralysed economically." (Speech of Ashie-Nikoi.)

However, the whole picture changed in the minds of the Negro farmers when the Labor party came to power and took over the Colonial Office. Perhaps they were over-optimistic, but they were certainly justified in some degree by the results of government operation during World War II. Instead of the anticipated losses, the government in five years of operation, netted the neat profit of $25,000,000. Indeed, if they had previously built proper storage facilities on the Gold Coast, instead of compelling farmers to sell and rush the crop immediately to Europe, regardless of prices or conditions of the market; and if they had every encouraged simple processing operations, which would have saved freight and increased local employment; if such policies had been followed, much cocoa could have been saved from spoiling, and some 150,000 tons need not have been burned. The net profit might have been doubled.

28-11-69

The Labor party came to power, and, to the indignation of the black cocoa farmers, proposed to put <u>all</u> West African produce under control of a board sitting in England with representation of the manufacturers of cocoa and other materials and with no representation of the farmers! In addition, instead of returning the profits of the cocoa pool to the farmers as promised, the government now proposed to use it "for their benefit," including the hiring of a number of English "experts" at high salaries to protect the cocoa trees from disease. The farmers protested bitterly and demanded:

1. That since the war is over, the recommendations of the Nowell Commission be implemented, and that the Imperial Government now make good the promises made to the African farmers.
2. That the price of $160 per ton should be paid farmers, and should be set for the 1945-1946 season.

3. That the profits from cocoa control since 1939, amounting as it probably will to $25,000,000, be turned over to the farmers' own existing organizations as capital for the establishment of co-operative agricultural banks in British West Africa.

4. That the operations of the West African Produce Control Board be installed, and effective co-operation, under the control of the farmers' own organizations, be established.

5. That the present quota allocation of the crop to special buyers be abolished, and that the farmers be free to market their crop collectively to their own accredited agencies.

6. That the present restrictions of exports and imports be removed in order to allow the West African farmers to trade with the United Kingdom and other countries through their own agencies.

38-11-170

7. That an International Council on cocoa should be planned, in order to adopt a comprehensive approach to all problems of cocoa as an important world commodity.

8. That the Ordinances of British West Africa with regard to co-operation be changed so as to correspond to practices in the United Kingdom.

And the farmers concluded:

This delegation of Gold Coast and Nigerian farmers are of the opinion that there are enough men and women of good will in the Imperial Government of Britain who might bring economic justice to bear on these pressing problems, and thus might prevent the occurrence of a tragic economic upheaval, the consequences of which, unfortunately, might affect the peaceful life of innocent people in all parts of the world and not only in West Africa and Britain.

If this is not statesmanship, which eventually must be listened to, I am greatly mistaken. It seems to me to point a path toard the emancipation of the world's colonial populations and the beginning of democracy among the majority of the people of the world, for which we have fought two devastating world wars, without yet seeing the light.

The cocoa situation in West Africa is only one example of what colonial imperialism means to the people involved. Turning from this to our own country, we may ask what is America, and what duty and opportunity has it toward Africa and the peoples of African descent who live within her borders? It is a great working nation, vast, marvelously organized, and rich. We grow and mine materials; we process and manufacture things; we trade them, we transport them, we buy and sell them. Bound up with this, there is not only the planning for this work, but also the hard digging, lifting, and cleaning, and the services of parents, and friends, professional men and servants. With all this we produce goods and homes, buildings and roads, light and heat, tools and machines, and all manner of transport from railways and automobiles to airplanes.

38-11-171

Of course, the basic question here is: for whom is all this work done? How are the goods and services divided among consumers? Here we realize that all the facts are not known in America, just as they are partially unknown in other parts of the world. The distribution of wealth and of human services is a more or less closely guarded secret. We have some general ideas and they are disconcerting: we know that the lowest and hardest work and the work least honored is, despite its necessity, the lowest paid. We know that men do not get rich according to ability or according to the degree in which they serve the public. There is something, of course, of recognition of talent, but it is confined to certain sorts of talent and it is not sufficient to keep down dissatisfaction. The demand of the twentieth century in America, just as the demand of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, is that the distribution of wealth be more logical and ethical.

Men have tried to avoid action to achieve this by arguing that the distribution of goods and services is a matter of "natural" law. We know better than that today; we know, especially in America, that planning of work does go on on wide scale and that it involves personal decisions and is based today on autocratic will and not on democratic methods. Managers and groups have power to plan industry and divide its results: groups carrying on organized industry, like General Motors and General Electric and the British Unilevers -- these groups own machines, materials, and in-

ventions which enable them to reap large profits by marvelous and striking organisation. Imports and exports depend upon the decisions of captains of industry. Monopoly of natural resources and the ownership of land play a tremendous part. Economic rent that comes with time and with growth of population, city sites, the shores of the ocean, the places suited for business and pleasure, all is controlled and distributed by individual or group decision. We know that the control of credit, the foreseeing of need for materials and machines, and supplying capital to those who can use it most profitably, is in itself a field of tremendous planning and prophesy. We know that the government must come in and help this planning where individual initiative lacks power, and that the field of government in industry is growing and must grow.

38-11-172

What now are the results of this planning and why do these results make Americans dissatisfied? We still have poverty, not nearly as much as many other parts of the world, but most Americans do not receive an income large enough to allow them to live in health and decency. This leads not only to envy but to cheating and stealing, to the kind of competitive struggles which begin as strikes and end as riots. It leads to widespread loss of belief in hard work and increased reliance on chance, so that gambling on horse races is today one of our greatest businesses. All this encourages or compels the postponing of marriage and limiting of children.

Poverty makes for ignorance; not simply illiteracy which is still serious among us, but for inexperience, the neglect of the lessons of history, reliance on selfish prejudices and conventions. Poverty leads to disease; it lets us spend more for war than for the perfectly possible extirpation of tuberculosis, the lessening of cancer, and the physical welfare of children. Poverty, ignorance, and disease are back of most of our crime, and to this is added a curious lack of ethical guidance. Churches tend to teach dogma rather than what is right and wrong; and the funny strips exalt craftiness and laugh at suffering.

In contrast to all this comes the reign of luxury, conspicuous expenditure, the flaunting of diamonds and furs; the demand for great estates and servants, while round about is sickness, starvation, and insanity. We grow used to luxury and display that we know is built upon wealth and work stolen from suffering mankind. We demand

profit for investment even at the expense of public welfare. Thus the great business organisations of the United States struck and drove a hard bargain in blood and pain to increase profits during World War II; America invests in colonies -- British, Dutch, and French; and colonies are slums used to make a profit from materials and cheap labor. We continually set before us the successful rich man as more typical of what America means than the student or the philanthropist or the unselfish man of small income and simple tastes.

38-11-173

It is this kind of thing which makes for our continued spiritual slavery. We demand Freedom; but thousands upon thousands are toiling discontentedly at work which they hate, when more careful and thoughtful planning could make work much more agreeable by a more efficient distribution according to ability and taste. We curb thought and discussion because we are afraid that those who are powerful and comfortable under present conditions may be disturbed in their present control of the world. Our news is distorted and our newspapers prostituted by those who own and use them for profit and propaganda. Our "free press" is a series of tight little principalities which channel public opinion with prejudiced headlines and screened news.

Our training for careers and opening of opportunity for the working masses has been hailed as the greatest in history. There can be no doubt but that more individuals have had opportunity to rise from repression and obscurity in American than in Europe. But even here we have not done anywhere near what we might, and today in many respects are regressing toward race and class discrimination and special privileges for the rich. Only the Jews among us, as a class, carefully select and support talent and genius among the young; the Negroes are following this example as far as their resources and knowledge allow. It is for this reason that jealousy of the gifted Jew and ambitious Negro is closing doors of opportunity in their faces. This led to the massacre of Jews in Germany.

In America the only path to preferment and promotion left open and beckoning, is that which industry thinks will make profit. The opening of other paths is left

to the rare chance that genius in literature or art be coupled with "push," which means the boldness and crudity for self-advertising from which delicate souls shrink.

When by chance or benevolence a boy "makes good," we grant him a profession. If he studies law he can gain a large salary when he becomes a tool by which great corporations evade those laws which try to curb monopoly and distribute wealth more equitably. Large numbers of such lawyers become lawmakers, and they enact laws which can be circumvented. Others are raised to the bench, where they are above law and highly honored. They in many cases protect welath and monopoly and "make examples" of the poor. The greatest work of Franklin Roosevelt was to start cleansing the Supreme Court of the accumulated refuse of reaction to economic democracy. Living men may yet see a Supreme Court with the guts and common decency to throw out the window the whole body of legal color-caste in the South and elsewhere as both unconstitutional and uncivilized. At the other end of the scale our labor unions are so monopolising skills by limited apprenticeship and secret ritual that much "industrial" training is a farce.

38-11-174

Science is becoming increasingly not the work of free universities but the property of organisations for private profit and directed to their objects. Education both in school and out is encouraging that economic illiteracy which keeps the mass of American people from knowing and inquiring just how work is done. To the support of all this comes the theater and the movies and other forms of arts, serving the idea that private profit rather than social welfare is the end and aim of man.

Is there any wonder that the result is widespread Fear? We are afraid of unemployment and loss of work; we are suspicious of other men, other races, and other nations; not because we are the poorest and most wretched, but just because here in America we have tasted the possibility of comfort and happiness. Perhaps all this is best shown by certain paradoxes in our daily life, thought, and action. We Americans boast and strut when we have every cause to be meek and humble. We seek happiness ~~thrmg~~ and escape through drunkenness and night clubs. We couple our religion

with hate, saying, "God so loved the world," [redacted] boasting how much we hate our enemies; we turn the other cheek to make bombs. We want peace and make war. We want truth and curb research. We produce our own wealth and steal it from others.

We Americans have invented an apt phrase to enrich the English language -- "So what!" It expresses a singular complex: a great statesman comes from Britain and tells us that he wants a world of free states and democracy -- and admits in the same breath that his Britain admits nine-tenths of the subjects to neither freedom nor democracy. So what? We see standing before the United Nations at San Francisco a prime minister elected by two million whites asking for recognition of "humanity" -- and in the same voice tells the world that anyone who regards the eight million natives of South Africa as human in the same sense as white folk is "mad, quite made." We have a Secretary of State who arraigns Russia for lack of democracy while he represents South Carolina, where the majority of the people have never had a chance to vote. So what?

But perhaps our subtlest and most complete contradiction and paradox comes in our attitude toward servants. We know that personal services between mother and child, friend and relative, is the highest form of human effort; but we treat that same personal service when it is done for pay as the lowest form of work, paid least and subject to special forms of personal insult.

What can we do about all this? It is not a matter of law, it is a matter of the human heart. We know what must be done; industry must be carried on not primarily for private profit but for public welfare. We must progressively approach the time when no person shall have cake while any person is deprived of bread. We must increase production and income by the use of the great natural powers which science has placed in our hands: electricity which is being kept from the masses by organized effort in the valley of the Missouri and in the valley of the St. Lawrence, just as once monopoly fought it in vain in the valley of the Tennessee and still fights it at Boulder Dam. We know that automobiles could be built to last ten years at little greater cost than those which last two years, if the object was transportation and not gain. We must have schools that teach truth, despite what some people

are afraid to learn. We must use new inventions like the radio for real information rather than for quack advertising, and the cinema for instruction as well as entertainment. We must have a press that is free and not monopolized by business and hate. We must have socialized medicine, following the great example being set today by Britain and going far beyond it as we ought to.

This increase of production for public welfare can only be brought about by careful intelligent planning and thorough democratic methods. The workers of the world must have voice not only on conditions of work but also as to what kinds of goods shall be produced and what methods of production used. Industry ruled by monarchs and oligarchies cannot continue in a democratic world.

28-11-176

Moreover, this increased production must be more equitably and justly distributed among the workers and among all citizens. Distribution of wealth and services by plan, emphasizing ability and deserts, and especially the public weal; and guarding mankind from ignorance and disease must be a primary object of civilization. "To each according to need, from each according to ability." Here again this can be accomplished only by widespread and intelligent democracy. It cannot continue to be a matter of personal wish and whim and of monopolized power; it must be the result of intelligent experience, public opinion working according to enacted law.

Democracy is not privilege -- it is opportunity. Just as far as any part of a nation or of the world is excluded from a share in democratic power and self-expression, just so far the world will always be in danger of war and collapse. If this nation could not exist half slave and half free, then the world in which this nation plays a larger and larger part also cannot be half slave and half free, but must recognize world democracy.

How can we accomplish this? We can do it by releasing black Andromeda, and by that act release ourselves. We can rise above the insult of the color line in denying work to able people and in helping hold colonies in thrall; and we can invoke in a real democracy a reservoir of all human ability and dream and with free vote of intelligent men.

The sin of capitalism is secrecy: the deliberate concealing of the character, methods, and result of efforts to satisfy human wants. When men choose and understand their work and see its results and can sell their toil in open market to those who want and use it, there is opportunity for ethical judgment, public justice, and commonweal. But when the nature of work, its methods and results are hidden behind legal barriers so that a man knows neither what he is doing nor what the results of his toil will be, or who will enjoy it, or why nor whence nor how his income is made, nor at shoe hurt or wela; then the opportunity for human degradation is limited ~~mx~~ only by the evil possibilities of the lowest of men; murder and theft may enuse with no chance to fix the guilt. Not mass production but mass concealment is the sin of the capitalistic system. This is the meaning of African slavery and this is the virus it poured into the veins of modern culture and fatally poisoned it. Once all the facts of the industrial process are known, then if a man eats, he should work; and if he does not work he should not eat, unless the free, intelligent judgment of his fellows declares that his existence at public expense is for the public weal. This and this alone is Democracy.

Who are we who call ourselves intelligent, and yet in dire dearth of air and light leave millions of acres of the roofs of New York and a thousand other cities to a black and dirty desert of chimneys and ugliness? The horror which today stops the hearts of men at the mere thought of atomic energy is knowledge of the secrecy which today conceals its use and bids fair to veil its inhuman force tomorrow in the hands of the most ruthless of mankind. The iron curtain was not invented by Russia; it hung between Europe and Africa half a thousand years. When the producer is so separated from the consumer in time and space that a mutual knowledge and understanding is impossible, then to regard the industrial process as "individual enterprise" or the result as "private initiative" is stupid. It is a social process, and if not socially controlled sinks to anarchy with every possible crime of irresponsible greed. Such was the African slave trade, and such is the capitalistic system it brought to full flower.

Men made cotton cloth and sold sugar; but between the two they stole, killed, and raped human beings, forced them to toil for a bare subsistence, made rum and synthetic gin, herded white labor into unsanitary factories, bought the results of their work under threat of hunger which forced down their wage, and sold the sguar at monopoly prices to consumers who must pay or go without. A process of incredible ingenuity for supplying human wants became in its realization a series of brutal crimes.

33-11-78

There are people, and wise people, who have said that this can never be accomplished under the present organization of the world for business, industry, and profit; that in order to accomplish this we must establish stern dictatorship of a few who hold to this idea of the commonweal. This is the theory of Communism. There are many who dislike the idea; there are some who fear and hate it for obvious reasons. But to these there is one clear answer: accomplish the end which every honest human being must desire by means other than Communism, and Communism need not be feared. On the other hand, if a world of ultimate democracy, reaching across the color line and abolishing race discrimination, can only be accomplished by the method laid down by Karl Marx, then that method deserves to be triumphant no matter what we think or do.

Here in America we must learn to be proud of the things of which we are ashamed, and ashamed of things of which we are proud. American should be proud of the fact that she is a nation with increasing democracy composed of the most unlikely peoples and groups on earth; that out of criminals, paupers, and slaves she has built this land of promise. We should be ashamed that despite this known historical fact, we are trying to build up class and race differences and refusing to carry out the democratic methods which we profess, because we deal with people too stupid, diseased, and criminal to make our onw democracy work.

America has need to remember that out of Asia and Africa, past and present, help can come for this land; Asia has produced a Gandhi who does not strut or wear Savile Row clothes; who will not kill -- and whom average Americans regard as a fool. But he is not. Africa has provided in the past group ownership of land, family cohesion, and a curious combination of beautiful art and useful industry. We have helped the world to despoil this land, enslave its people, decay its ability, and distort its history. For three centuries we have led in the the attempt to degrade Africa in the eyes of men. We owe it to Africa and ourselves to release Andromeda and place her free and beautiful among the stars of the sky.

If we refuse to do this; if we stubbornly cling to our race prejudices, what of the future of this civilization? The continuity of a social group, the continuity of a civilization is at best doubtful and precarious. Most of the civilizations of the world have lasted less than three centuries, save Egypt. Even Egypt is only an apparent exception since, being for centuries without effective rivals, it did not actually collapse; but it changed so radically from age to age as to become almost a new land and culture. So too India and China lasted longer in name than in real cultural continuity. The broader the basis of a culture, the wider and freer its conception, the better chance it has for the survival of its best elements. This is the basic hope of world democracy. No culture whose greatest effort must go to suppress some of the strongest contributions of mankind can have left in itself strength for survival. War which typifies suppression and death can never support a lasting culture. Peace and tolerance is the only path to eternal progress. Europe can never survive without Asia and Africa as free and interrelated civilizations in one world.

"I believe it is specifically the mission of African civilization to restore ethical principles to world civilization. Unless this attempt is made all civilization must come to an end. The African by virtue of his detachment, his direct vision, and his innate kindness, is qualified to bring humanitarianism to the technical and materialistic concepts of the Western World."

38-11-179

Few people realize what Africa and her children have done to win the World Wars. In the first, the Senegalese saved France at the first onslaught of the Germans; black soldiers of Africa conquered the German colonies; American Negroes rushed the critical supplies to Europe which turned the tide of victory.

In World War II thousands of Africans fought in Europe, Burma, India, and Africa; they formed a large part of Montgomery's Eighth Army in the decisive North African campaign; an American Negro physician contrived the banks of blood plasma which saved tens of thousands of lives; Negroes built thousands of miles of strategic road under direct enemy fire; Negroes handled three-fourths of the ammunition in the European Theatre of Operations and fired much of it. Negro fighting troops took part in the invasion of Normandy, in the invasion of Italy, and as flight squadrons and hospital corps. In American eight Negro scientists were engaged in the research on the atomic bomb.

38-11-180

to Mass. Review

HARVARD IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Harvard University in 1888 was a great institution of learning. It was 238 years old and on its governing board were Alexander Agassis, Phillips Brooks, Henry Cabot Lodge and Charles Francis Adams; and a John Quincy Adams, but not the ex-President. Charles William Eliot, a gentleman by training and a scholar by broad study and travel, was president. Among its teachers emeriti were Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell. Among the active teachers were Francis Child, Eliot Norton, Charles Dunbar, Justin Winsor and John Trowbridge; William Goodwin, Frank Taussig, Nathaniel Shaler, George Palmer, William James, Francis Peabody, Josiah Royce, Barrett Wendell, Edward Channing, and Albert Bushnell Hart. A young instructor who arrived in 1890 was George Santayana. Seldom, if ever, has any American University had such a galaxy of great men and fine teachers as Harvard in the decade between 1885 and 1895.

To make my own attitude toward the Harvard of that day clear, it must be remembered that I went to Harvard as a Negro, not simply by birth, but recognizing myself as a member of a segregated caste whose situation I accepted but was determined to work from within that caste to find my way out.

The Harvard of which most white students conceived I knew little. Of fraternities I had not even heard of Phi Beta Kappa, and of such important social organizations as the Hasty Pudding Club, I knew nothing, I was in Harvard for education and not for high marks, except as marks

would insure my staying. I did not pick out "snap" courses. I was there to enlarge my grasp of the meaning of the universe. We had for instance no chemical laboratory at Fisk. Our mathematical courses were limited; above all I wanted to study philosophy! I wanted to get hold of the basis of knowledge, and explore foundations and beginnings. I chose therefore, Palmer's course in ethics, but he being on Sabbatical for the year, William James replaced him, and I became a devoted follower of James at the time he was developing his pragmatic philosophy.

41-3-386

Fortunately I did not fall into the mistake of regarding Harvard as the beginning rather than the continuing of my college training. I did not find better teachers at Harvard, but teachers better known, who had had wider facilities for gaining knoweldge and had a broader atmosphere for approaching truth.

I hoped to pursue philosophy as my life career, with teaching for support. With this program I studied at Harvard from the Fall of 1888 to 1890, as undergraduate. I took a varied course in Chemistry, Geology, Social Science and Philosophy. My salvation here was the type of teacher I met rather than the content of the courses. William James guided me out of the sterilities of scholastic philosphy to realist pragmatism; from Peabody's social reform with a religious tinge, I turned to Albert Bushnell Hart to study history with documentary research; and from Taussig with his reactionary British economics of the Ricardo school, I approached what was later to become Sociology. Meantime Karl Marx was mentioned but only incidentally and as one whose doubtful theories had long since been refuted. Socialism as dream of philanthropy or as will-o-wisp of hotheads was dismissed as unimportant.

When I arrived at Harvard, the question of board and lodging was of first importance. Naturally, I could not afford a room in the college

yard in the old and venerable buildings which housed most of the well-to-do students under the magnificent elms. Neither did I think of looking for lodgings among white families, were numbers of the ordinary students lived. I tried to find a colored home, and finally at 20 Flagg Street, I came upon the neat home of a colored woman from Nova Scotia, a descendant of those black Jamaican Maroons whom Britain deported after solemnly promising them peace if they would surrender. For a very reasonable sum, I rented the second story front room and for four years this was my home. I wrote of this abode at the time: "My room is, for a college man's abode, very ordinary indeed. It is quite pleasantly situated -- second floor, front, with a bay window and one other window. The door is on the south west corner. As you enter you will perceive the bed in the opposite corner, small and decorated with floral designs calculated to puzzle a botanist. It is a good comfortable bed however, and my landlady keeps it neat. On the left hand is a bureau with a mirror of doubtful accuracy. In front of the bay window is a stand with three shelves of books, and on the left of the bureau is an improvised bookcase made of unpainted boards and uprights, containing most of my libray of which I was growing quite proud. Over the heat register, near the door, is a mantle with a plaster of Paris pug-dog and a calendar, and the usual array of odds and ends. A sofa, commode, trunk, table and chairs complete the floor furniture. On the wall are a few quite ordinary pictures. In this commonplace den I am quite content."

41-3-387

Later I became a boarder at Memorial Hall, which was the great dining hall of the university, and after that a member of the Foxcraft Club, where many students of moderate means boarded.

Following the attitudes which I had adopted in the South, I sought no friendships among my white fellow students, nor even acquaintanceships.

Of course I wanted friends but I could not seek them. My class was large; with some three hundred students. I doubt if I knew a dozen of them. I did not seek them, and naturally they did not seek me. I made no attempt to contribute to the college periodicals, since the editors were not interested in my major interests. Only one organization did I try to enter, and I ought to have known better than to make this attempt. But I did have a good singing voice and loved music, so I entered the competition for the Glee Club. I ought to have known that Harvard could not afford to have a Negro on its Glee Club travelling about the country. Quite naturally I was rejected.

41-3-388

I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these circumstances was my acceptance of racial segregation. Had I gone from Great Barrington high school directly to Harvard, I would have sought companionship with my white fellows and been disappointed and embittered by a discovery of social limitations to which I had not been used. But I came by way of Fisk and the South and there I had accepted color caste and embraced eagerly the companionship of those of my own color. This, was of course, no final solution. Eventually with them and in mass assault, led by culture, we Negroes were going to break down the boundaries of race; but at present we were banded together in a great crusade and happily so. Indeed, I suspect that the prospect of ultimate full human intercourse without reservations and annoying distinctions, made me all too willing to consort with my own and to disdain and forget as far as was possible that outer, whiter world.

In general, I asked nothing of Harvard but the tutelage of teachers and the freedom of the laboratory and library. I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life. I sought only such contacts with white teachers as lay directly in the line of my work. I joined certain

clubs like the Philosophical Club; I was a member of the Foxcroft dining club because it was cheap. James and one or two other teachers had me at their homes at meal and reception. I found friends and most interesting and inspiring friends among the colored folk of Boston and surrounding places. Naturally social intercourse with whites could not be entirely forgotten, so that now and then I joined its currents and rose or fell with them. I escorted colored girls to various gatherings, and as pretty ones as I could find to the vesper exercises, and later to the class day and commencement social functions. Naturally we attracted attention and the Crimson noted my girl friends; on the other part came sometimes the shadow of insult, as when at one reception a white woman seemed determined to mistake me for a waiter.

In general, I was encased in a completely colored world, self-sufficient and provincial, and ignoring just as far as possible the white world which conditioned it. This was self-protective coloration, with perhaps an inferiority complex, but with belief in the ability and future of black folk.

My friends and companions were taken mainly from the colored students of Harvard and neighboring institutions, and the colored folk of Boston and surrounding towns. With them I led a happy and inspiring life. There were among them many educated and well-to-do folk; many young people studying or planning to study; many charming young women. We met and ate, danced and argued and planned a new world.

Towards whites I was not arrogant; I was simply not obsequious, and to a white Harvard student of my day, a Negro student who did not seek recognition was trying to be more than a Negro. The same Harvard man had much the same attitude toward Jews and Irishmen.

I was however exceptional among Negroes in my ideas on voluntary race

race segregation; they for the most part saw salvation only in integration at the earliest moment and on almost any terms in white culture; I was firm in my criticism of white folk and in my dream of a Negro self-sufficient culture even in America.

This cutting of myself off from my white fellows, or being cut off did not mean unhappiness or resentment. I was in my early manhood, unusually full of high spirits and humor. I thoroughly enjoyed life. I was conscious of understanding and power, and conceited enough still to imagine, as in high school, that they who did not know me were the losers, not I. On the other hand, I do not think that my white classmates found me personally objectionable. I was clean, not well-dressed but decently clothed. Manners I regarded as more or less superfluous and deliberately cultivated a certain brusquerie. Personal adornment I regarded as pleasant but not important. I was in Harvard, but not of it, and realized all the irony of my singing "Fair Harvard." I sang it because I liked the music, and not from any pride in the pilgrims.

41-3-390

With my colored friends I carried on lively social intercourse, but necessarily one which involved little expenditure of money. I called at their homes and ate at their tables. We danced at private parties. We went on excursions down the Bay. Once, with a group of colored students gathered from surrounding institutions, we gave Aristophanes' "The Birds" in a Boston colored church. The rendition was good, but not outstanding; not quite appreciated by the colored audience; but well worth doing. Even though it worked me near to death, I was proud of it.

Thus the group of professional men, students, white collar workers and upper servants, whose common bond was color of skin in tehmselves or in their fathers; together with a common history and current experience of discrimination, formed a unit which like many tens of thousands of like units across the nation had or were getting to have a common culture

pattern which made them an interlocking mass; so that increasingly a colored person in Boston was more neighbor to a colored person in Chicago than to the white person across the street.

Mrs. Ruffin of Charles Street, Boston, and her daughter Birdie were often hostesses to this colored group. She was widow of the first colored judge appointed in Massachusetts, an aristocratic lady, with olive skin and high piled masses of white hair. Once a Boston white lady said to Mrs. Ruffin ingratiatingly: "I have always been interested in your race." Mrs. Ruffin flared: "Which race?" She began a national organziation of colored women and published the Courant, a type of small colored weekly paper which was spreading over the nation. In this I published many of my Harvard daily themes.

Naturally in this close group there grew up among the young people friendships ending in marriages. I myself outgrowing the youthful attractions of Fisk, began serious dreams of love and marriage. There however, were still my study plans to hold me back and there were curious other reasons. For instance it happened that two of the girls whom I particularly liked had what was to me then the insuperable handicap of looking like white; while they had enough black ancestry to make them "Negroes" in America. I could not let the world even imagine that I had married a white wife. Yet these girls were intelligent and companionable. One went to Vassar College which then refused entrance to Negroes. Years later when I went there to lecture I remember disagreeing violently with a teacher who thought the girl ought not to have "deceived" the college by graduating before it knew her Negro descent! Another favorite of mine was Deenie Pindell. She was a fine forthright woman, blonde, blue-eyed and fragile. In the end I had no chance to choose here, for she married Monroe Trotter.

classmates, I knew neither by sight nor name. Among them many made their mark in life: Norman Hapgood, Robert Herrick, Herbert Croly, George Dorsey, Homer Folks, Augustus Hand, James Brown Scott and others. I knew none of these intimately. For the most part I do not doubt that I was voted a somewhat selfish and self-centered "grind" with a chip on my shoulder and a sharp tongue.

Something of a certain inferiority complex was possibly a cause of this. I was desperately afraid of intruding where I was not wanted; appearing without invitation; of showing a desire for the company of those who had no desire for me. I should in fact have been pleased if most of my fellow students had wanted to associate with me; if I had been popular and envied. But the absence of this made me neither unhappy nor morose. I had my "island within" and it was a fair country.

Only once or twice did I come to the surface of college life. First I found by careful calculation that I needed the cash of one of the Boylston prizes in oratory to piece out my year's expenses. I got it through winning a second oratorical prize. The occasion was noteworthy by the fact that another black student, Clement Morgan, got first prize at the same contest.

With the new increase at Harvard of students who grew up outside of New England, there arose at this time a certain resentment at the way New England students were dominating and conducting college affairs. The class marshall on commencement day was always a Saltonstall, a Cabot, a Lowell, or some such New England family. The crew and most of the other heads of athletic teams were selected from similarly limited social groups. The class poet, class orator, and other commencement officials invariably were selected because of family and not for merit. It so happened that when the officials of the class of 1890 were being selected in early

Trotter was the son of a well-to-do colored father and entered Harvard in my first year in the Graduate School. He was thick-set, yellow with close cut dark hair. He was stubborn and straight-laced and an influential member of his class. He organized the first Total Abstinence club in the Yard. I came to know him and joined the company when he and other colored students took in a trip to Amherst to see Forbes and Lewis graduate in the class with Calvin Coolidge.

Lewis afterward entered the Harvard Law School and became the celebrated center rush of the Harvard football team. He married the beautiful Bessie Baker who had been with us on that Amherst trip. Forbes, a brilliant, cynical dark man, later joined with Trotter in publishing the Guardian, the first Negro paper to attack Booker T. Washington with open opposition. Washington's friends retorted by sending Trotter to jail when he dared to heckle Washington in a public Boston meeting on his political views. I was not present nor privy to this occurrence, but the unfairness of the jail sentence led me eventually to form the Niagara movement, which later became the NAACP.

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Thus I lived near to life, love and tragedy; and when I met Maud Cuney, I became doubly interested. She was a tall imperious brunette, with gold-bronze skin, brilliant eyes and coils of black hair; daughter of the Collector of Customs at Galveston, Texas. She came to study music and was a sk lled performer, when the New England Conservatory of Music tried to "jim-crow" her in the dormitory. We students rushed to her defense and we won. I fell deeply in love with her, and we were engaged.

Thus it is clear how in the general social intercourse on the campus I consciously missed nothing. Some white students made themselves known to me and a few, a very few, became life-long friends. Most of my

spring, a plot ripened. Personally, I knew nothing of it, and was not greatly interested. But in Boston and in the Harvard Yard the result of the elections was of tremendous significance: for this conspiratorial clique selected Clement Morgan as class orator, New England and indeed the whole country reverberated.

Morgan was a black man. He was working in a barber shop in St. Louis at the time when he ought to have been in school. With the encouragement and help of a colored teacher whom he later married, he came to Boston and entered the Latin School. This meant that when he finally entered Harvard, he entered as freshman in the orthodox way and was well acquainted with his classmates. He was fairly well received, considering his color. He was a pleasant unassuming person and one of the best speakers of clearly enunciated English on the campus. In his junior year, he had earned the first Boylston prize for oratory, in the same contest where I won second prize. It was then, logical for him to become class orator and yet this was against all the traditions of America. There were editorials in the leading newspapers, and the South especially raged and sneered at the audience of "black washerwomen" who would replace Boston society at the next Harvard commencement.

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At the same time, the action was contagious and that year and the next in several leading Northern colleges, colored students became the class orators. Ex-President Hayes, as I shall relate later, sneered at this fact. While, as I have said, I had nothing to do with this plot, and was not even present at the election which chose Morgan, I was greatly pleased at this breaking of the color line. Morgan and I became fast friends and spent a summer giving readings along the North Shore to help our college costs.

Harvard of this day w as a great opportunity for a young man and a

young American Negro and I realized it. I formed habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day parceled out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with thoroughness and with pre-vision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. From the beginning my relations with most of the teachers at Harvard were pleasant. They were on the whole glad to receive a serious student, to whom extra-curricular activities were not of paramount importance and one who in a general way knew what he wanted.

Harvard had in the social sciences no such leadership of thought and breadth of learning as in philosophy, literature and physical science. She was then groping and is still groping toward a scientific treatment of human action. She was facing at the end of the century a tremendous economic era. In the United States, finance was succeeding in monopolising transportation, and raw materials like sugar, coal and oil. The power of the trust and combine was so great that the Sherman Act was passed in 1890. On the other hand, the tariff at the demand of manufacturers continued to rise in height from the McKinley to the indefensible Wilson tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the Industrial North and the New South was being perfected and in 1890 the series of disfranchising laws began to be enacted by the Southern states destined in the next sixteen years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. A financial crisis shook the land in 1893 and popular discontent showed itself in the Populist movement and Coxey's Army. The whole question of the burden of taxation began to be discussed.

41-3-395

These things we discussed with some clearness and factual understanding at Harvard. The tendency was toward English free trade and against the American tariff policy. We reverenced Ricardo and wasted long hours

on the "Wages-fund." I remember Taussig's course supporting dying Ricardean economics. Wages came from what employers had left for labor after they had subtracted their own reward. Suppose that this profit was too small to attract the employer, what would the poor worker do but starve! The trusts and monopolies were viewed frankly as dangerous enemies of democracies, but at the same time as inevitable methods of industry. We were strong for the gold standard and fearful of silver. On the other hand, the attitude of Harvard toward labor was on the whole contemptuous and condemnatory. Strikes like that of the anarchists in Chicago, the railway strikes of 1886; the terrible Homestead strike of 1892 and Coxey's Army of 1894 were pictured as ignorant lawlessness, lurching against conditions largely inevitable.

VI-3-396

Karl Marx was mentioned, only to point out how thoroughly his theses had been disproven; of that theory itself almost nothing was said. Henry George was given but tolerant notice. The anarchists of Spain, the Nihilists of Russia, the British miners --all these were viewed not as part of the political development and the tremendous economic organization but as sporadic evil. This was natural. Harvard was the child of its era. The intellectual freedom and flowering of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was yielding to the deadening economic pressure which would make Harvard rich but reactionary. This defender of wealth and capital, already half ashamed of Sumner and Phillips, was willing finally to replace an Eliot with a manufacturer and a nervous warmonger. The social community that mobbed Garrison, easily electrocuted Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was not until I was long out of college and had finished the first economics and politics that I realized the fundamental influence that man's efforts to earn a living had upon all his other efforts. The politics which we studied in college were conventional, especially when it came to describing and elucidating the current scene in Europe. The Queen's Jubilee in June, 1887, while I was still at Fisk set the pattern of our thinking.

The little old woman at Windsor became a magnificent symbol of Empire. Here was England with her flag draped around the world, ruling more black folk than white and leading the colored peoples of the earth to Christian baptism, and as we assumed, to civilization and eventual self-rule.

In 1885, Stanley, the traveling American reporter, became a hero and symbol of white world leadership in Africa. The wild, fierce fight of the Mahdi and the driving of the English out of the Sudan for thirteen years did not reveal its inner truth to me. I heard only of the martyrdom of the drunken Bible-reader and freebooter, Chinese Gordon.

The Congo Free State was established and the Berlin Conference of 1885 was reported to be an act of civilization against the slave trade and liquor. French, English and Germans pushed on in Africa, but I did not question the interpretation which pictured this as the advance of civilization and the benevolent tutelage of barbarians. I read of the confirmation of the Triple Alliance in 1891. Later I saw the celebration of the renewed Triple Alliance on the Tempelhofer Feld, with the new young Emperor Wilhelm II, who, fresh from his dismissal of Bismarck, led the splendid pageantry; and finally the year I left Germany, Nicholas II became Czar of all the Russias. In all this I had not yet linked the political development of Europe with the race problem in America.

I was repeatedly a guest in the home of William James; he was my friend and guide to clear thinking; I was a member of the Philosophical Club and talked with Royce and Palmer; I remember vividly once standing beside Mrs. Royce at a small reception. We ceased conversation for a moment and both glanced across the room. Professor Royce was opposite talking excitedly. He was an extraordinary sight: a little body; indifferently clothed; a big red-thatched head and blazing blue eyes. Mrs. Royce put my thoughts into words: "Funny-looking man, isn't he?" I nearly fainted!

Yet I knew how she worshipped him.

I sat in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; Shaler invited a Southerner, who objected to sitting beside me, out of his class; he said he wasn't doing very well, anyway. I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany. Most of my courses of study went well. It was in English that I came nearest my Waterloo at Harvard. I had unwittingly arrived at Harvard in the midst of a violent controversy about poor English among students. A number of fastidious Englishmen like Barrett Wendell had come to Harvard about this time; moreover New England itself was getting sensitive over western slang and Southern drawls and general ignorance of grammar. Freshmen then at this time could elect nearly all their courses except English; that was compulsory, with theses, daily themes and tough examinations.

41-3-398

On the other hand I was at the point in my intellectual development when the content rather than the form of my writing was to me of prime importance. Words and ideas surged in my mind and spilled out with disregard of exact accuracy in grammar, taste in word or restraint in style. I knew the Negro problem and this was more important to me than literary form. I knew grammar fairly well, and I had a pretty wide vocabulary; but I was bitter, angry and intemperate in my first thesis. Naturally my English instructors had no ideas of nor interest of the way in which Southern attacks on the Negro were scratching me on the raw flesh. Tillman was raging in the Senate like a beast and literary clubs, especially rich and well-dressed women engaged his services eagerly and listened avidly. Senator Morgan of Alabama had just published a scathing attack on "niggers" in a leading magazine, when my first Harvard thesis was due. I let go at him with no holds barred. My long and blazing effort came back marked "E" -- not passed!

It was the first time in my scholastic career that I had encountered such a failure. I was aghast, but I was not a fool. I did not doubt but that my instructors were fair in judging my English technically even if they did not understand the Negro problem. I went to work at my English and by the end of that term had raised it to a "C". I realized that while style is subordinate to content, and that no real literature can be composed simply of meticulous and fastidious phrases, nevertheless that solid content with literary style carries a message further than poor grammar and muddled syntax. I elected the best course on the campus for English composition-- English 12.

I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890 for Barrett Wendell, then the great pundit of Harvard English. I wrote: "Spurred by my circumstances, I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in high school to go to college -- partly because other men did, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life... I believe, foolishly perhaps, but sincerely, that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell liked that last sentence. Out of fifty essays, he picked this out to read to the class.

Commencement was approaching, when, one day I found myself at midnight on one of the swaggering streetcars that used to roll out from Boston on its way to Cambridge. It was in the spring of 1890, and quite accidentally I was sitting by a classmate who would graduate with me in June. As I dimly remember, he was a nice-looking young man, almost dapper; well-dressed, charming in manner. Probably he was rich or at least well-to-do, and doubt-

less belonged to an exclusive fraternity, although that did not interest me. Indeed I have even forgotten his name. But one thing I shall never forget and that was his rather regretful admission (which slipped out as we gossiped) that he had no idea as to what his life work would be, because, as he added, "There's nothing in which I am particularly interested!"

I was more than astonished -- I was almost outraged to meet any human being of the mature age of twenty-one who did not have his life all planned before him; at least in general outline; and who was not supremely, if not desperately, interested in what he planned to do.

41-3-400

Since then, my wonder has left my classmate, and been turned in and backward upon myself: how long had I been so sure of my life-work and how had I come so confidently to survey and plan it? I now realize that most college seniors are by no means certain of what they want to do or can do with life; but stand rather upon a hesitating threshold, awaiting will, chance or opportunity. Because I had not mingled intimately or understandingly with my white Harvard classmates, I did not at the time realize this, but thought my unusual attitude was general.

In June 1890, I received my bachelor's degree from Harvard cum laude in Philosophy. I was one of the five graduating students selected to speak at commencement. My subject was "Jefferson Davis." I chose it with deliberate intent of facing Harvard and the nation with a discussion of slavery as illustrated in the person of the president of the Confederate States of America. Naturally, my effort made a sensation. I said, among other things: "I wish to consider not the man, but the type of civilization which his life represented: its foundation is the idea of the strong man -- Individualism coupled with the rule of might -- and it is this idea that has made the logic of even modern history, the cool logic of the Club. It made a naturally brave and generous man Jefferson Davis: now advancing civilization by murdering Indians,

now hero of a national disgrace, called by courtesy the Mexican War; and finally as the crowning absurdity, the peculiar champion of a people fighting to be free in order that another people should not be free. Whenever this idea has for a moment escaped from the individual realm, it has found an even more secure foot-hold in the policy and philosophy of the State. The strong man and his might Right Arm has become the Strong Nation with its armies. Under whatever guise, however a Jefferson Davis may appear as man, as race, or as a nation, his life can only logically mean this: the advance of a part of the world at the expense of the whole; the overwhelming sense of the I, and the consequent forgetting of the Thou. It has thus happened that advance in civilization has always been handicapped by shortsighted national selfishness. The vital principal of division of labor has been stifled not only in industry, but also in civilization; so as to render it well nigh impossible for a new race to introduce a new idea into the world except by means of the cudgel. To say that a nation is in the way of civilization is a contradiction in terms, and a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie. Yet this is the type of civilization which Jefferson Davis represented: it represents a field for stalwart manhood and heroic character, and at the same time for moral obtuseness and refined brutality. These striking contradictions of character always arise when a people seemingly become convinedd that the object of the world is not civilization , but Teutonic civilization. "

A Harvard professor wrote to Kate Field's Washington then a leading periodical: "Du Bois, the colored orator of the commencement stage, made a ten-strike. It is agreed upon by all the people I have seen that he was the star of the occasion. His paper was on 'Jefferson Davis', and you would have been surprised to hear a colored man deal with him so generously. Such phrases

as a'great man', a 'keen thinker', a 'strong leader', and others akin occurred in the address. One of the trustees of the University told me yesterday that the paper was considered masterly in every way. Du Bois is from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and doubtless has some white blood in his veins. He, too, has been in my classes the past year. If he did not head the class, he came pretty near the head, for he is an excellent scholar in every way, and altogether the best black man that has come to Cambridge."

Bishop Potter of New York wrote in the Boston Herald: "When at the last commencement of Harvard University, I saw a young colored man appear. . . . and heard his brilliant and eloquent address, I said to myself: 'Here is what an historic race can do if they have a clear field, a high purpose, and a resolute will.' "

41-3-402

The New York Nation commented editorially: "When the name of William Edward Du Bois was called and a slender, intellectual-looking mulatto ascended the platform and made his bow to the President of the University, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Bishop of New York, and a hundred other notables the applause burst out heartily as if in recognition of the strange significance of his appearance there. His theme . . . heightened this significance. Du Bois handled his difficult and hazardous subject with absolute good taste great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

Already I had now received more education than most young white men having been amost continuously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I felt that to cope with the new and extraordinary situations then developing in the United States and the world, I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun my training in knowledge of social conditions.

I revelled in the keen analysis of William James, Josiah Royce and young George Santayana. But it was James with his pragmatism and Albert

Bushnell Hart with his research method, that turned me back from the lovely but sterile land of philosophic speculation, to the social sciences as the field for gathering and interpreting that body of fact which would apply to my program for the Negro. As undergraduate, I had talked frankly with William James about teaching philosophy, my major subject. He discouraged me, not by any means because of my record in his classes. He used to give me A's and even A-plus, but as he said candidly, there is "not much chance of anyone earning a living as a philosopher." He was repeating just what Chase of Fisk had said a few years previously.

I knew by this time that practically my sole chance of earning a living combined with study was to teach, and after my work with Albert Bushnell Hart in United States history, I conceived the idea of applying philosophy to an historical interpretation of race relations. In other words, I was trying to take my first steps toward sociology as the science of human action. It goes without saying that no such field of study was then recognized at Harvard or came to be recognized for twenty years after. But I began with some research in Negro history and finally at the suggestion of Hart, I chose the suppression of the African slave trade to America as my doctor's thesis. Then came the question as to whether I could continue study in the graduate school. I had no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school of Harvard and was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed; so that from 1890 to 1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University, studying in history and political science and what would have been sociology if Harvard had yet recognized such a field.

My grandfather Du Bois died which I was at Harvard, and although the settlement of the estate was held up for lack of exact data concerning my father's death, eventually $400 was paid me during my senior year. I finished the first draft of my thesis and delivered an outline of it at the

seminaries of American history and political economy December 7, 1891. I received my master's degree in the spring. I was thereupon elected to the American Historical Society and asked to speak in Washington at their meeting in December, 1892. The New York Independent noted this among the "three best papers presented," and continued:

"The article upon the 'enforcement of the Slave Laws' was written and read by a black man. It was thrilling when one could, for a moment, turn his thoughts from listening to think that scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the war that freed his race, and here was an audience of white men listening to a black man -- listening moreover, to a careful, cool, philosophical history of the laws which had not prevented the enslavement of his race. The voice, the diction, the manner of the speaker were faultless. As one looked at him, one could not help saying, 'Let us not worry about the future of our country in the matter of race distinctions.'"

I began with a bibliography of Nat Turner and ended with this history of the suppression of the African Slave Trade to America; neither needed to be done again at least in my day. Thus in my quest for basic knowledge with which to help guide the American Negro, I came to the study of sociology, by way of philosophy and history rather than by physics and biology. After hesitating between history and economics, I chose history. On the other hand, psychology, hovering them on the threshold of experiment under Muensterberg, soon took a new orientation which I could understand from the beginning. I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America," and hoped to get my doctor's degree in another two years.

Already I had made up my mind that what I needed was further training in Europe. The German Universities were at the top of their reputation. Any

41-3-404

American scholar who wanted preferment went to Germany for study. The faculties of Johns Hopkins, and the new University of Chicago, were beginning to be filled with German PH.D's, and even Harvard had imported Muensterberg for the new experimental psychology, and Kuno Frank had long taught there. British Universities did not recognize American degrees and French Universities made no special effort to encourage American graduates. I wanted then to study in Germany. I was determined that any failure on my part to become a recognized American scholar must not be based on any lack of modern training.

41-3-405

I was confident. So far I had met no failure. I willed and lo! I was walking beneath the elms of Harvard, -- the name of allurement, the college of my youngest, wildest visions! I needed money; scholarships and prizes fell into my lap -- not all I wanted or strove for, but all I needed to keep in school. Commencement came and standing before governor, president, and grave gowned men, I told them certain truths, waving my arms and breathing fast! They applauded with what may have seemed to many as uncalled-for fervor, but I walked home on pink clouds of glory! I asked for a fellowship and got it. I announced my plan of studying in Germany, but Harvard had no more fellowships for me. A friend, however, told me of the Slater Fund and how the Board was looking for colored men worth educating.

No thought of modest hesitation occurred to me. I rushed at the chance. It was one of those tricks of fortune which always seem partly due to chance. In 1882, the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board in 1890 was headed by ex-President R. B. Hayes. Ex-President Hayes went down to Johns Hopkins University which admitted no Negro students and told a "darkey" joke in a frank talk about the plans of the fund. The Boston Herald of November 2, 1890, quoted him as saying: "If there is any young colored man in the South whom we find to have a talent for art or literature or any special aptitude for study, we are willing to give him money

money from the education funds to send him to Europe or give him advanced education." He added that so far they had been able to find only "orators." This seemed to me a nasty fling at my black classmate, Morgan, who had been Harvard class orator a few months earlier.

The Hayes statment was brought to my attention at a card party one evening; it not only made me good and angry but inspired me to write ex-President Hayes and ask for a scholarship. I received a pleasant reply saying that the newspaper quotation was incorrect; that his board had some such program in the past but had no present plans for such scholarships. I wrote him referring him to my teachers and to others who knew me, and intimating that his change of plan did not seem to me fair nor honest. He wrote again in apologetic mood and said that he was sorry the plan had been given up; that he recognized that I was a candidate who might otherwise have been given attention. I then sat down and wrote Mr. Hayes this letter:

41-3-406

May 25, 1891

"Your favor of the 2nd. is at hand. I thank you for your kind wishes. You will pardon me if I add a few words of explanation as to my application. The outcome of the matter is as I expected it would be. The announcement that any agency of the American people was willing to give a Negro a thoroughly liberal education and that it had been looking in vain for men to educate was to say the least rather startling. When the newspaper clipping was handed me in a company of friends, my first impulse was to make in some public way a categorical statement denying that such an offer had ever been made known to colored students. I saw

this would be injudicious and fruitless, and I therefore determined on the plan of applying myself. I did so and have been refused along with a "number of cases" beside mine.

"As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have - unwittingly I trust - done the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. You went before a number of keenly observant men who looked upon you as an authority in the matter, and told them in substance that the Negroes of the United States either couldn't or wouldn't embrace a most liberal opportunity for advancement. That statement went all over the country. When now finally you receive three or four applications for the fulfillment of that offer, the offer is suddenly withdrawn, while the impression still remains.

"If the offer was an experiment, you ought to have had at least one case before withdrawing it; if you have given aid before ( and I mean here toward liberal education - not toward training plowmen) then your statment at Johns Hopkins was partial. From the above facts I think you owe an apology to the Negro people. We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statments which injure us and which they cannot

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stand by.

"That you have been looking for men to liberally educate in the past may be so, but it is certainly strange so few have heard it. It was never mentioned during my three years stay at Fisk University. President Price of Livingstone, (then a leading Negro spokesman) has told me that he never heard of it, and students from various other Southern schools have expressed great surprise at the offer. The fact is that when I was wanting to come (to) Harvard, while yet in the South, I wrote to Dr. Haygood, (Atticus G. Haygood, a leader of Southern white liberals), for a loan merely, and he never even answered my letter. I find men willing to help me thro' cheap theological schools, I find men willing to help me use my hands before I have got my brains in working order, I have an abundance of good wishes on hand, but I never found a man willing to help me get a Harvard PH.D."

41-3-408

Hayes was stirred. He promised to take up the matter the next year with the board. Thereupon, the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of Master of Arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the Suppression of the Slave Trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington

during the Christmas holidays....Properly to finish my education, careful training in an European university for at least a year is, in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable." I thereupon asked respectfully "aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices" and if this was not practicable, "that the board loan me a sufficient sum for this purpose." I did not of course believe that this would get me an appointment, but I did think that possibly through the influence of people who thus came to know about my work, I might somehow borrow or beg enough to get to Europe.

41-3-409

I rained recommendations upon Mr. Hayes. The Slater Fund Board surrendered, and I was given a fellowship of seven hundred and fifty dollars to study a year abroad; with the promise that it might possibly be renewed for a second year. To salve their souls, however, this grant was made as half gift and a half repayable loan with 5% interest. I remember rushing down to New York and talking with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House, and emerging walking on air. I saw an especially delectable shirt in a shop window. I went in and asked about it. It cost three dollars, which was about four times as much as I had ever paid for a shirt in my life; but I bought it.

A. Rosner, ed.
to: Hungarian Word
130 E. 16 St. NYC 3
10/19/60

11

41-3-151

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY

by W. E. B. Du Bois

The best account of the Civil War in the United States which resulted in the abolition of the slavery of the Negro I have already written in the book BLACK RECONSTRUCTION published in 1935.

Considered effort has been made to keep this work from the notice of American readers. The publishers let it go out of print while there was still demand for it and historical students have largely ignored it. Nevertheless, it is a book to be read and for the Hungarian Word I am repeating what I said in BLACK RECONSTRUCTION.

41-3-152

## ~~THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY~~

When Edwin Ruffin, white-haired and mad, fired the first gun at Fort Sumter, he freed the slaves. It was the last thing he meant to do but that was because he was so typically a Southern oligarch. He did not know the real world about him. He was provincial and lived apart on his plantation with his servants, his books and his thoughts. Outside of agriculture, he jumped at conclusims instead of testing them by careful research. He knew, for instance, that the North would not fight. He knew that Negroes would never revolt.

And so war came. War is murder, force, anarchy and debt. Its end is evil, despite all incidental good. Neither North nor South had before 1861 the slightest intention of going to war. The thought was in many respects ridiculous. They were not prepared for war. The national army was small, poorly equipped and without experience. There was no file from which someone might draw plans of subjugation.

When Northern armies entered the South they became armies of emancipation. It was the last thing they ~~xxx~~ planned to be. The North did not propose to attack property. It did not propose to free slaves. This was to be a white man's war to preserve the Union, and the Union must be preserved.

Nothing that concerned the amelioration of the Negro touched the heart of the mass of Americans nor could the common run of men realize the political and economic cost of Negro slavery. When, therefore, the Southern radicals, backed by political oligarchy and economic dictatorship

in the most extreme form in which the world had seen it for five hundred years, precipitated secession, that part of the North that opposed the plan had to hunt for a rallying slogan to unite the majority in the North and in the West, and if possible, bring the Border States into ~~an opposing~~ a cooperating phalanx.

Freedom for slaves furnished no such slogan. Not one-tenth of the Northern white population would have fought for any such purpose. Free soil was a much stronger motive, but it had no cogency in this contest because the Free Soilers did not dream of asking free soil in the South, since that involved the competition of slaves, or what seemed worse than that, of free Negroes. On the other hand, the tremendous economic ideal of keeping this great market for goods, the United States, together with all its possibilities of agriculture, manufacture, trade and profit, appealed to both ~~the~~ West and the North; and what was then much more significant, it appealed to the Border State.

41-3-153

"To the flag we are pledged, all its foes we abhor,
And we ain't for the nigger, but we are for the war."

The Border States wanted the cotton belt in the Union so that they could sell it their surplus slaves; but they also wanted to be in the same union with the North and the West, where the profit of trade was large and increasing. The duty then of saving the Union became the great rallying cry of a war which for a long time made the Border States hesitate and confine secession to the far South. And yet they all knew that the only thing that really threatened the Union was slavery and the only remedy was Abolition.

If, now, the far South had had trained and astute leadership, a compromise would have been made which, so far as slavery was concerned would have held the abnoral political power of the South intact, made the slave system impregnale for generations, and even given slavery practical rights throughat the nation.

Both North and South ignored in differing degrees the interests of the laboring classes. To North expected patriotism and union to make white labor fight; the Suth expected all white men to defend the slave-holders' property. Both North and South expected at most a sharp, quick fight and victory; moreprobably the South expected to secede peaceably, and then outside the Union, to impose terms which would include national recognition of slavery, new slave territory and new cheap slaves. The North expected that after a threat and demonstration to appease its "honor," the South would return with the right of slave property recognized and protected but geograpically limited.

41-3-154

Both sections ignored the Negro. To the Northern masses the Negro was a curiosity, a sub-human minstrel, willingly and naturally a slave, and treated as wellas he deserved to be. He had not sense enough to revolt and help Northern armies, even if Northern armies were trying to emancipate him, which they were not. The North shrank at the very thought of encouraging servile insurrection against the whites. Above all it did not propose to interfere with property. Negroes on the whole were considered cowards and inferior beings whose very presence in America was unfortunate. The abolitionists, it was true, expected action on the part of the Negro, but how much, they could not say. Only John Brown knew just how revolt had come and would come and he was dead.

Thus the Negro himself was not seriously considered by the majority of men, North or South. And yet from the very beginning, the Negro occupied the center of the stage because of very simple physical reasons: the war was in the South and in the South were 3,953,740 black slaves and 261,918 free Negroes. What was to be the relation of this mass of workers to the war? What did the war mean to the Negroes, and what did the Negroes mean to the war? There are two theories, both rather over-elaborated: the one that the Negro did nothing but faithfully serve his master until emancipation was thrust upon him; the other that the Negro immediately, just as quickly as the presence of Northern soldiers made it possible, left serfdom and took his stand with the army of freedom.

41-3-155

It must be borne in mind that nine-tenths of the four million black slaves could neither read nor write, and that the overwhelming majority of them were isolated on country plantations. Any mass movement under such circumstances must materialize slowly and painfully. What the Negro did was to wait, look and listen and try to see where his interest lay. There was no use in seeking refuge in an army which was not an army of freedom; and there was no sense in revolting against armed masters who were conquering the world. As soon, however, as it became clear that the Union armies would not or could not return fugitive slaves, and that the masters with all their fume and fury were uncertain of victory, the slave entered upon a general strike against slavery by the same methods that he had used during the period of the fugitive slave. He ran away to the first place of safety and offered his services to the Federal Army. So that in this way it was really true that he served his former master and served the emancipating army; and it was also true that this withdrawal and bestowal of his labor decided the war.

41-3-156

The Negro became in the first year contraband of war; that is, property belonging to the enemy and valuable to the invader. And in addition to that, he became, as the South quickly saw, the key to Southern resistance. Either these four million laborers remained quietly at work to raise food for the fighters, or the fighter starved. Simultaneously, when the dream of the North for man-power produced riots, the only additional troops that the North could depend on were 200,000 Negroes (armed troops), for without them, as Lincoln said, the North could not have won the war.

But this slow, stubborn mutiny of the Negro slave was not merely a matter of 200,000 black soldiers and perhaps 300,000 other black laborers, servants, spies and helpers. Back of this half million stood 3 1/2 million more. Without their labor the South would starve. With arms in their hands, Negroes would form a fighting force which could replace every singe Northern white soldier fighting listlessly and against his will with a black man fighting for freedom.

This action of the slaves was followed by the disaffection of the poor whites. So long as the planters' war seemed successful, "there was little active opposition by the poorer whites; but the conscription and other burdens to support a slaveowners' war became very severe; the whites not interested in that cause became recalcitrant, some went into active opposition; and at last it was more desertion and disunion than anything else that brought about the final overthrow."

The guns at Sumter, the marching armies, the fugitive slaves, the fugitives as "contrabands," spies, servants and laborers; the Negr as soldier, as citizen, as voter --these steps came from 1861 to 1868 with regular beat that was almost rhythmic. It was the price of the disaster

of war, and it was a price that few Americans at first dreamed of paying or wanted to pay. The North was not Abolitionist. It was overwhelmingly in favor of Negro slavery, so long as this did not interfere with Northern moneymaking. But, on the other hand, there was a minority of the North who hated slavery with perfect hatred; who wanted no union with slaveholders; who fought for freedom and treated Negroes as men. As the Abolitionist democracy gained in prestige and in power, they appeared as prophets, and led by statesmen, they began to guide the nation out of the morass into which it had fallen. They and their black friends and the new freedmen became gradually the leaders of a Reconstruction of Democracy in the United States, while marching millions sang the noblest war-song of the ages to the tune of "John Brown's Body":

> Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
> He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored,
> He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword,
> His truth is marching on!

41-3-157

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# THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

41-3-177

As one studies history one is increasingly struck by the determination of historians and scientists to lie about the past in order as they seem to think, to make a better future. The first book which I wrote was a history of the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to America." I had but one object and that was to find out the facts. This was so difficult and there were so many contradictory happenings that after years of study and up to the day of publication I never felt that I had covered the field, but at no time did I assume or dream of assuming that I must find facts or insert facts in order to make this period of history more pleasant to think about or more inspiring for youth. I sought only the truth.

Today any person who has thought of the matter will realize that as we are trying to rehearse the history of a century ago we are determined to distort and falsify it. This is especially true about slavery. We are ashamed of it and we ought to be. But in order to make it a prettier story, historians are trying to ignore and lie about it. Take for instance the Civil War which started a century ago. We are having today loads of pictures, biographies and histories to show that the Civil War was a war to abolish slavery; that slaves had no part in it; that they were hardly, certainly at that time, worth the freedom that was given them as a gift and that this great and terrible catastrophe was carried on for the good of mankind and that not only those who helped to abolish slavery, but those who fought to preserve it are worthy of the Hall of Fame.

Honest historical research could disprove this whole tissue of falsehoods, but it does not take place; it is not encouraged. So far as the Civil War is concerned one thing ought to be so clear to honest men as to need no special effort of research and that is that the black slaves won the Civil War and made their own freedom absolutely necessary. Yet to state this today would bring a chorus of astonished disbelief. Yet consider the facts:

At the opening of the war in the South there were 3,953,740 black slaves and 261,918 free Negroes. What was the attitude of these people toward the war? The South was jaunty about it. I have noted this in my book, "Black Reconstruction."

41-3-178

The South counted on Negroes as laborers to raise food and money crops for civilians and for the army, and even in a crisis, to be used for military purposes. Slave revolt was an ever-present risk, but there was no reason to think that a short war with the North would greatly increase this danger. Publicly, the South repudiated the thought of its slaves even wanting to be rescued. The New Orleans Crescent showed "the absurdity of the assertion of a general stampede of our Negroes." The London Dispatch was convinced that Negroes did not want to be free. "As for the slaves themselves, crushed with the wrongs of Dred Scott and Uncle Tom--most provoking--they cannot be brought to 'burn with revenge.' They are spies for their masters. They obstinately refuse to run away to liberty, outrage and starvation. They work in the fields as usual when the planter and overseer are away and only the white women are left at home."

Early in the war, the South had made careful calculation of the military value of slaves. The Alabama Advertiser in 1861 discussed the slaves as a "Military Element in the South." It said that "The total white population of the eleven states nowcomprising the Confederacy is 5,000,000 and, therefore, to fill up the ranks of the proposed army,

600,000 about ten per cent of the entire white population, will be required. In any other country than our own such a draft could not be met, but the Southern states can furnish that number of men, and still not leave the material interest of the country in a suffering condition."

The editor, with fatuous faith, did not for a moment contemplate any mass movement against this program on the part of the slaves. "Those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and the Negroes can go on undisturbed in their usual labors. In the North, the case is different; the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence. The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly at the present crisis, and our enemies will be likely to find that the 'Moral Cancer' about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective weapons employed against the Union by the South."

41-3-179

It was a lovely dress parade of Alphonse and Gaston until the Negro spoiled it and in a perfectly logical way. So long as the Union stood still and talked, the Negro kept quiet and worked. The moment the Union army moved into slave territory, the Negro joined it. Despite all argument and calculation and in the face of refusals and commands, wherever the Union armies marched, appeared the fugitive slaves. It made no difference what the obstacles were, or the attitudes of the commanders. It was "like thrusting a walking stick into an

anthill," says one writer. And yet the army chiefs at first tried to regard it as an exceptional and temporary ~~matter~~ occurrence, a thing which they could control, when as amatter of fact it was the meat and kernel of the war.

Thus as the war went on and the invading armies came on, the way suddenly cleared for the onlooking Negro, for his spokesmen in the North, and for his silent listeners in the South. Each step, thereafter, came with curious, logical and inevitable fate. First there were the fugitive slaves. Slaves had always been running away to the North, and when the North grew hostile, on to Canada. It was the safety valve that kept down the chance of insurrection in the South to the lowest point. Suddenly, now, the chance to run away not only increased, but after preliminary repulse and hesitation, there was actual encouragement.

41-3-180

Not that the government planned or foresaw this eventuality; on the contrary, having repeatedly declared the object of the war as the preservation of the Union and that it did not propose to fight for slaves or touch slavery, it faced a stampede of fugitive slaves.

Every step the Northern armies took then meant fugitive slaves. They crossed the Potomac, and the slaves of northern Virginia began to pour ~~xxxx~~ into the army and into Washington. They captured Fortress Monroe, and slaves from Virginia and even North Carolina poured into the army. They captured Port Royal, and the masters ran away, leaving droves of black fugitives in the hands of the Northern army. They moved down the Mississippi Valley, and if the slaves did not rush to the army, the army marched to the slaves. They captured New Orleans, and captured a great black city and a state full Of slaves.

( Insert between paragraphs 2 and 3 on page 5 of the manuscript)

While most generals begged for laborers and servants, the Union generals of the Civil War, complained of too much help; other armies were swamped by the cost of transporting and paying labor; the Union armies had labor on the spot for the cost of feeding and that at nominal price. Most invading forces wander, blind and helpless, while these armies had free guides who knew every foot of terrain, every path, hill and hollow; every person and family, every movement of man and beast. Suppose Napoleon had had such help on his way to Moscow? Suppose Hitler had had such guidance and service on his march to Stalingrad? We sing and shout the battles of the Civil War, but what won that war as in the case of all wars was hard back-breaking work, dragging and digging, lifting and lugging. Even in battle, it was the black shock troops, at Fort Hudson and Fort Wagner, whose blood, broken bones and torn bodies, made a red path for white conquering feet. When the war was at an impasse; when poor Southern whites refused to fight against "niggers" and Northern labor refused to fight for "niggers", it was the vast reserve of three million blacks ready to fight for their own freedom, which frightened the guts out of the arrogant planters and made them surrender long before they were compelled to. It was then the slave who won the war.

41-3-181

~~In time~~ The South ~~[illegible] beyond them and~~ proposed to use Negroes as servants and laborers and finally even as enlisted soldiers. Meantime, the North was equally ignorant about the Negroes. Not a tenth of the Northern population had any plan for freeing slaves. They did not propose to have them in the North competing with free labor, but they were perfectly willing for the South to have as many black slaves as they wanted.

Northern armies at first cheerfully returned fugitive slaves. Northern generals protested that they would not think of emancipating slaves and when one general proposed emancipation he was promptly slapped down. Then what happened? This is today passed over in singular silence. The slave population moved to join the Northern armies just as fast and just as soon as they were convinced that the armies meant the emancipation of slaves and the armies were convinced that the slaves had to be emancipated because they knew they could not win the war without the slaves as allies. ~~They had~~ The armies got all the labor they needed. They had spies and guides. They had servants and in the end they had fighters. Insert

It is openly acknowledged that 200,000 Negroes were armed soldiers. But that isn't all. When one of these black soldiers died or was killed, another was substitutied in his place under the same name. Probably 300,000 actually bore arms. Then at least 300,000 worked in the camps. One of the greatest problems of the Northern armies was to take care of the huge numbers of the fugitives and escaped slaves who rushed to them. If this labor could have been ~~hired~~ used by the South; if as the Southerners wanted to believe the slaves had stayed quietly on the plantations, took care of their black mammies or grew food for the white soldiers who were fighting to maintain slavery,—if this had been true the South would have won the war. This was not true and the North won the war because the slaves helped them.

All this is clear from any general view of the Civil War. It could be indisputably proven by a little honest historical research. There is not a single university in the land nor a single great philanthropic fund who will

41-3-182

finance such study. On the other hand caricatures of Civil War times are repeated, sumptuously bound and sold over the whole country to provide a theory of the Civil War which ~~would~~ can tickle the palates of the still surviving slave South. Men like Robert E. Lee are praised for their loyalty to their state. Lee fought on the side of the South in order, as he himself said, to preserve the property of his family for his children and the property was mainly Negro slaves.

With the present determination to forget the history of the American Negro, to distort the story of abolition, and to pretend that slavery in America was a sign of our race superiority instead of proof of our moral degeneracy, so long as that is the public opinion of America there is little that I can say to stem the tide.

41-3-182a

It was a lovely dress parade of Alphonse and Gaston until the Negro spoiled it and in a perfectly logical way. So long as the Union stood still and talked, the Negro kept quiet and worked. The moment the Union army moved into slave territory, the Negro joined it. Despite all argument and calculation and in the face of refusals and commands, wherever the Union armies marched, appeared the fugitive slaves. It made no difference what the obstacles were, or the attitudes of the commanders. It was "like thrusting a walking stick into an

41-3-137

anthill," says one writer. And yet the army chiefs at first tried to regard it as an exceptional and temporary ~~matter~~ occurrence, a thing which they could control, when as matter of fact it was the meat and kernel of the war.

Thus as the war went on and the invading armies came on, the way suddenly cleared for the onlooking Negro, for his spokesmen in the North, and for his silent listeners in the South. Each step, ~~thereafter~~, came with curious, logical and inevitable fate. First there were the fugitive slaves. Slaves had always been running away to the North, and when the North grew hostile, on to Canada. It was the safety valve that kept down the chance of insurrection in the South to the lowest point. Suddenly, now, the chance to run away not only increased, but after preliminary repulse and hesitation, there was actual encouragement.

41-3-138

Not that the government planned or foresaw this eventuality; on the contrary, having repeatedly declared the object of the war as the preservation of the Union and that it did not propose to fight for slaves or touch slavery, it faced a stampede of fugitive slaves.

Every step the Northern armies took then meant fugitive slaves. They crossed the Potomac, and the slaves of northern Virginia began to pour ~~pour~~ into the army and into Washington. They captured Fortress Monroe, and slaves from Virginia and even North Carolina poured into the army. They captured Port Royal, and the masters ran away, leaving droves of black fugitives in the hands of the Northern army. They moved down the Mississippi Valley, and if the slaves did not rush to the army, the army marched to the slaves. They captured New Orleans, and captured a great black city and a state full of slaves.

B.T.W. 2nd

41-3-139

"The services which the Negro troops performed in the Civil War in fighting for the freedom of their race not only convinced the officers who commanded them and the white soldiers who fought by their side that the Negro race deserved to be free, but it served to convince the great mass of the people in the Norththat the Negroes were fit for freedom. It did, perhpas, more than ayy other one thing to gain for them, as a result of the war, the passage of those amendments to the Constitution which secured to the Negro race the same rights in the United States that are granted to white men."

41-3-140

The record of slave revolts during the Civil War and the concerted determination to surpress the news is amasing. Let us glance at a few. Just before the war in Louisiana "depredations by a gang of run away slaves" were reported. In South Carolina just before the firing on Ft. Sumpter, there was a stampede of slaves from the interior into Charleston, and "manifest uneasiness" of which there was "nothing in local papers". The same year a run away slave camp was captured with 12 guns, food and blankets. A man from New Orleans wrote his friend in England in 1861 about alarming disturbances among the blacks and the calling in of assistance to overcome the open resistance of the slaves. In 1862 in Virginia, a fugitive slave camp of 100 persons killed the whites who were hunting them. That year the governor of Mississippi was warned to summon in some white troops from Jackson City or "we may as well as give it to the Negroes." During the war repeated warnings of this sort came from various parts of the state. In 1863 the Governor of Alabama appealed for help to drive away a nest of deserters and runaway slaves, and in Richmond, Virginia, slaves employed in the vital iron works in Virginia, revolted. Aptoker says that concrete reports of conspiracy or revolt came practically from all the slave states during the Civil War.

So long as the Union Army stood still most of the slaves kept quiet. But the moment that the Army moved into slave territory, Negroes joined it. In spite of discouragement and in face of refusals and command, it was as one writer said, "like trusting a walking stick into an ant hill." The Union generals first regarded this as an exceptional thing but in time it became the kernel of the war. Each step followed logically and inevitably. First and before the war the fugitive slaves whose increasing number became a main cause of the conflict and at the same time a safety valve that lessened the chance of slave insurrections. With the war over the chance to run away was not only increased but after a period of hesitation actually encouraged. However having repeatedly declared that the object of the war was to preserve the Union and that the North was not fighting to abolish slavery, it faced a stampede of fugitive slaves.

41-3-141

When the Northern armies crossed the Potomac the slaves of North Virginia poured into Washington. When Fortress Monroe was captured slaves from North Virginia and North Carolina rushed North. When later Port Royal in South Carolina was taken, masters ran away leaving a mass of fugitives to be taken care of by the Northern Army. When the Union Army moved down the Mississippi Valley they marched into masses of slaves and when they captured New Orleans they captured a city and state full of slaves. In the face of all this both the South and many Europeans believed that the slaves did not want to be free. At first the Northern Armies returned all fugitive slaves with alacrity and apologies, and when Fremont tried to emancipate the slaves of Virginia his action was immediately repudiated. Meantime the slaves joined the Northern Armies whenever they were convinced that these armies proposed to emancipate them, and the armies became convinced that the slaves must be emancipated because they soon realised they could not win the war without the slaves as allies. They needed labor, they needed spies and guides, they needed servants, and in the end they had to have black soldiers.

It calculated that while their men went to war, they could count on at least four million black laborers who would raise food for them, work their plantations and protect their families. Did they fear slave revolt or running away? There was some fear of this but not much. And that was because the South for centuries had been deliberately deceiving themselves. Of course there had been slave revolts. Aptheker testifies to hundreds of slave insurrections if the has found 250 revolts and conspiracies in ~~the history of Negro slavery~~ in the United States, each involving at least ten slaves, and referred to in contemporary reports as insurrections. This doe not include unreported revolts or individual attacks. The slaveholders were afraid to report revolts leat they frighten the whites in general or especially lest they admit to outsiders that Negro slavery was not a perfect labor system. They therefor boasted of and advertised the docility and happiness of the Negro. But they contradicted themsdlves in their codes of laws and involuntary testimony. Slave codes from I79I to I860 shows intense fear of slave risings; and Southern testimony showed the reason for fear: Henry Laurens in I776 tells of the "awful business: of to put even fugitives and rebellious slaves to death (204) Travellors like Olmsted and others from abroad testified as to the plots and fear of plots by slaves. But all this was eventually denied and ridiculed by the press and real news invariably censored. The world must belive Negroes docile or sub-human and slavery beneficent. In this historian joined from the Sixteenth century to I96I

41-3-142

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41-3-143

Just before the war in Louisiana, depredations were reported by a "gang of runaway slaves "; in South Carolina in June I86I, a runaway slave camp was captured with twelve guns, food and blankets. In Virginia in I868 a slave camp of I00 persons killed whites who were hunting them . In I863 the governor of Alabama appealed to the secretary of state for help in driving away a nest of deserters and runaway slaves. In August I864n a Union general reported from Florida that 500 Union men, deserters and Negroes were raiding; and a Confederate officer reported fugitive slaves in the swamps. In North Carolina in I864 a Confederate newspaper found it difficult to describe : the wild and terrible ~~raids~~ consequences of the Negro raids ". Just before the firing on Fort Sumpter, there was a stampede of slaves from the interior into Charlesto and " manifest uneasiness" of which there was " nothing in loczal papers " An Englishman wrote from New Orldans in I86I about : alarming disturbances among the blacks and the calling in of azisrtance to "overclme the open resistance of the slaves " In Augus I862 ~~a~~ the governor of Mississippin was warnred to summon no more white troops from Jackson or " we may as well give it to the Negroes Repeated warnings of this nature came from this atate throug out the war. Aptheker says " concrete instances of conspiracy or revolt come from practically zall the slave states

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It was a wise brave word which Karl Marx and his First International Workingmans Association sent Lincoln in 1864: (Black Reconstruction, pp.218-219)

"When an oligarchy of 500,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century, when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitution' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficial institution,' indeed, the only solution of the great problem of the 'relation of capital to labor,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice' -- then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes, for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warnings, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic..." "...They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggles for the rescue of the enchained race and the Reconstruction of a social world."

31-5-13

It was a wise brave word which Karl Marx and his First International Workingmans Association sent Lincoln in 1864: (Black Reconstruction, pp.218-219)

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century, when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old Constitution' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficial institution,' indeed, the only solution of the great problem of the 'relation of capital to labor,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice' -- then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes, for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warnings, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic..." "...They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggles for the rescue of the enchained race and the Reconstruction of a social world."

39-5-14

The record of slave revolts during the Civil War and the concerted determination to surpress the news is amazing. Let us glance at a few. Just before the war in Louisiana "depredations by a gang of run away slaves" were reported. In South Carolina just before the firing on Ft. Sumpter, there was a stampede of slaves from the interior into Charleston, and "manifest uneasiness" of which there was "nothing in local papers". The same year a run away slave camp was captured with 12 guns, food and blankets. A man from New Orleans wrote his friend in England in 1861 about alarming disturbances among the blacks and the calling in of assistance to overcome the open resistance of the slaves. In 1862 in Virginia, a fugitive slave camp of 100 persons killed the whites who were hunting them. That year the governor of Mississippi was warned to summon ~~in some~~ no more white troops from Jackson ~~City~~ County or "we may as well as give it to the Negroes." During the war repeated warnings of this sort came from various parts of the state. In 1863 the Governor of Alabama appealed for help to drive away a nest of deserters and runaway slaves, and in Richmond, Virginia, slaves employed in the vital iron works in Virginia, revolted. Apteker says that concrete reports of conspiracy or revolt came practically from all the slave states during the Civil War.

42-2A-122

The South

It calculated that while their men went to war, they could count on at least four million black laborers who would raise food for them, work their plantations and protect their families. Did they fear slave revolt or running away? There was some fear of this but not much. And that was because the South for centuries had been deliberately deceiving themselves. Of course there had been slave revolts. Aptheker testifies to hundreds of slave insurrections if the legal definition is followed but has studied in detail 250 slave revolts and conspiracies in the United States, each involving at least ten slaves, and referred to in contemporary reports as insurrections. This does not include unreported revolts or individual attacks. The slaveholders were afraid to report revolts lest they frighten the whites in general or especially lest they admit to outsiders that Negro slavery was not a perfect labor system. They therefore boasted of and advertised the docility and happiness of the Negro. But they contradicted themselves in their codes of laws and involuntary testimony. Slave codes from 1791 to 1860 show intense fear of slave risings; and Southern testimony showed the reason for fear: Henry Laurens in 1776 tells of the "awful business: of to put even fugitives and rebellious slaves to death" (204) Travellers like Olmsted and others from abroad testified as to the plots and fear of plots by slaves. But all this was eventually denied and ridiculed by the press and real news invariably censored. The world must believe Negroes docile or sub-human and slavery beneficent. In this historians joined from the Sixteenth century to 1961

42-2A-121

those who are incapacitated for bearing arms can oversee the plantations, and the Negroes can go on undisturbed in their usual labors. In the North, the case is different; the men who join the army of subjugation are the laborers, the producers and the factory operatives. Nearly every man from that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence. The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly at the present crisis, and our enemies will be likely to find that the 'Moral Cancer' about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective weapons employed against the Union by the South."

42-2A-129

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42-2A-130

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When the Northern armies crossed the Potomac the slaves of North Virginia poured into Washington. When Fortress Monroe was captured slaves from North Virginia and North Carolina rushed North. When later Port Royal in South Carolina was taken, masters ran away leaving a mass of fugitives to be taken care of by the Northern Army. When the Union Army moved down the Mississippi Valley they marched into masses of slaves and when they captured New Orleans they captured a city and state full of slaves. In the face of all this both the South and many Europeans believed that the slaves did not want to be free. At first the Northern Armies returned all fugitive slaves with alacrity and apologies, and when Fremont tried to emancipate the slaves of Virginia his action was immediately repudiated. Meantime the slaves joined the Northern Armies whenever they were convinced that these armies proposed to emancipate them, and the armies became convinced that the slaves must be emancipated because they soon realized they could not win the war without the slaves as allies. They needed labor, they needed spies and guides, they needed servants, and in the end they had to have black soldiers.

42-29-131

While most generals in history beg for laborers and servants, the Union generals of the Civil War, complained of too much help; other armies were swamped by the cost of transporting and paying labor; the Union armies had labor on the spot for the cost of feeding and that at nominal price. Most invading forces wander, blind and helpless, while these armies had free guides who knew every foot of terrain, every path, hill and hollow; every person and family, every movement of man and beast. Suppose Napoleon had had such help on his way to Moscow? Suppose Hitler had had such guidance and service on his march to Stalingrad? We sing and shout the battles of the Civil War, but what won that war as in the case of all wars was had back-breaking work, dragging and digging, lifting and lugging. Even in battle, it was the black shock troops, at Fort Hudson and Fort Wagner, whose blood, broken bones and torn bodies, made a red path for white conquering feet. When the war was at

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It is openly acknowledged that 200,000 Negroes were armed soldiers. But that isn't all. When one of these black soldiers died or was killed, another was substituted in his place under the same name. Probably 300,000 actually bore arms. Then at least 300,000 worked in the camps. One of the great problems of the Northern armies was to take care of the huge numbers of the fugitives and escaped slaves who rushed to them. If this labor could have been used by the South; if as the Southerners wanted to believe the slaves had stayed quietly on the plantations, taken care of their black mammies or grown food for the white soldiers who were fighting to maintain slavery, - if this had been true the South would have won the war. This was not true and the North won the war because the slaves helped them.

42-2A-132

All this is clear from any general view of the Civil War. It could be indisputably proven by a little honest historical research. There is not a single university in the land nor a single great philanthropic fund that will finance such study. On the other hand caricatures of Civil War times are repeated, sumptuously bound and sold over the whole country to provide a theory of theCivil War to tickle the palates of the still surviving slave South. Men like Robert E. Lee are praised for their loyalty to their state. Lee fought on the side of the South in order, as he himself said, to preserve the property of his family for his children and the property was mainly Negro slaves.

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42-2A-127

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42-2A-123

The South proposed to use Negroes as servants and laborers and finally as enlisted soldiers. Meantime, the North was equally ignorant about the Negroes. Not a tenth of the Northern population had any plan for freeing slaves. They did not propose to have them in the North competing with free labor, but they were perfectly willing for the South to have as many black slaves as they wanted.

Northern armies cheerfully returned fugitive slaves. Northern generals protested that they would not think of emancipating slaves and when one general proposed emancipation he was promptly rebuffed. Then what happened? This is today passed over in singular silence. The slave population moved to join the Northern armies just as fast and just as soon as they were convinced that the armies meant the emancipation of slaves, and the armies were convinced that the slaves had to be emancipated because they knew they could not win the war without the slaves as allies. The armies got the labor they needed. They had spies and guides. They had servants and in the end they had fighters.

42-24-124

When the Northern armies crossed the Potomac the slaves of North Virginia poured into Washington. When Fortress Monroe was captured slaves from North Virginia and North Carolina rushed North. When later Port Royal in South Carolina was taken, masters ran away leaving a mass of fugitives to be taken care of by the Northern Army. When the Union Army moved down the Mississippi Valley they marched into masses of slaves and when they captured New Orleans they captured a city and state full of slaves. In the face of all this both the South and many Europeans believed that the slaves did not want to be free. At first the Northern Armies returned all fugitive slaves with alacrity and apologies, and when Fremont tried to emancipate the slaves of Virginia his action was immediately repudiated. Meantime the slaves joined the Northern Armies whenever they were convinced that these armies proposed to emancipate them, and the armies became convinced that the slaves must be emancipated because they soon realized they could not win the war without the slaves as allies. They needed labor, they needed spies and guides, they needed servants, and in the end they had to have black soldiers.

The South proposed to use Negroes as servants and laborers and finally even as enlisted soldiers, a measure, which Lee pressed desperately but in vain. Meantime, the North was equally ignorant about the Negroes. Not a tenth of the Northern population had any plan for freeing slaves. They did not propose to have them in the North competing with free labor, but they were perfectly willing for the South in their own territory to have as many black slaves as they wanted.

42-2A-125

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42-2A-126

in treating

While most generals begged for laborers and servants, the Union generals of the Civil War, complained of too much help; other armies were swamped by the cost of transporting and paying labor; the Union armies had labor on the spot for the cost of feeding and that at nominal price. Most invading forces wander, blind and helpless, while these armies had free guides who knew every foot of terrain, every path, hill and hollow; every person and family, every movement of man and beast. Suppose Napoleon had had such help on his way to Moscow? Suppose Hitler had had such guidance and service on his march to Stalingrad? We sing and shout the battles of the Civil War, but what won that war as in the case of all wars was hard back-breaking work, dragging and digging, lifting and lugging. Even in battle, it was the black shock troops, at Fort Hudson and Fort Wagner, whose blood, broken bones and torn bodies, made a red path for white conquering feet. When the war was at an impasse; when poor Southern whites refused to fight against "niggers" and Northern labor refused to fight for "niggers", it was the vast reserve of three million blacks ready to fight for their own freedom, which frightened ~~the guts out of~~ the arrogant planters and made them surrender long before they were compelled to. It was then the slave who won the war.

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42-24-128

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insert (Edison (paragraphs 2 & 3, page 5, 7th line))

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40-5a-13

Lumber

( Insert between paragraphs 2 and 3 on page 5 of the manuscript)

40-5a-14

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# THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEGRO - 1861 to 1961

by

W. E. B. DUBOIS

In 1861 the legal status of the American Negro was something like this. The Supreme Court, in an Obiter Dicta, had just said that, historically, the Negro had had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. Neither a horse, nor Frederick Douglass, could get an American passport for travel. Mules and men were sold at auction in Southern cities; and, while Bob Toomb's threat to auction slaves on Bunker Hill was unpopular, the act would not have been illegal. White Americans shuddered at miscegenation, yet in 1861 there were two million colored women who had no right to refuse sexual intercourse with their white owners. That these masters exercised this right was shown by 588,000 mulattoes in 1860. Kidnapping of free Negroes in the North had been made easy by the Fugitive Slave Law. All agreed that the Constitution recognized slavery as a legal institution and the government was bound to protect it. Abolitionists were considered as contemptible, and consorting with, impossible, and recognizing Negroes as equals. Lincoln had been elected President because the South and Border split on the slave trade; Lincoln was looked upon, not as the enemy of slavery, but as opposed to its expansion. He did not want slavery to come into competition with the free Northern white workers, and the workers hated Negroes as much as slavery. Lincoln did not believe that the Negro could be integrated into the nation. He would protect slavery in the South, but he would not encourage its expansion into the North. Lincoln undoubtedly did not like slavery, but he was no champion of freedom for Negroes.

In the nation as a whole, no considerable number of citizens objected to slavery or would fight for Negro freedom. When the war opened, everybody, North and South, declared it to be a white man's war, that is, fought by whites for objects which whites had. The wishes of Negroes were not to be taken into account. Slavery was

to be protected. Northern generals went out of their way to return fugitive slaves to their masters with apologies; and, on the other hand, when General Fremont tried to free slaves in his area, he was promptly slapped down.

On the other hand, there were certain difficulties that arose. What about the slave who served his master as a servant or laborer, and helped him drive back the Northern armies? And, especially, what about the salve who ran away and took refuge in the Northen armies? The single slave might be returned; but, when the slaves poured by the thousands into the Northern armies, Butler was right in considering them "contraband of war", that is, property owned by the enemy which the Union Army should at least sequester, if not use themselves.

The enthusiasm of the North for the war was not to be counted on. After all, what was the North fighting for? Certainly not to free Negroes, also, not to subdue the South. The Northern laborer, especially the foreign-born; the civil servant, farmer and small merchant, had no taste for going South for murder and destruction. The well-to-do bought their way out of the draft, which did not endear them to the laborers nor increase their general popularity. As the draft began to pinch the poor, they turned on the Negroes, who were not drafted, and who were willing to take the jobs of those whites who were. They hanged Negroes to lampposts in New York, and mobbed them in Cincinnati, and declared that they were not going to fight for "niggers".

39-5-2

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The war reeled on. Black men were used as shock troops and slaughtered by the thousands to make way for victorious white feet. In the end, 300,000 Negroes were used as servants, stevedores and spies. There were 200,000 armed Negro troops, and,

in the background, peering from the sidelines, were three million more Negroes, ready to fight for freedom. No wonder freedom came.

The Southern leaders were frightened. If black soldiers continued to be drafted and fought as they had fought at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson and Petersburgh, then the North with its supplies, and ships, and the hesitation of Europe, would beat the South to its knees. The South tried every expedient, even seeking to enlist the slaves on their side; and, failing, surrendered.

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The best conscience of the North rose to help them. The 8th Crusade of School Marms sent an endless column of teachers into the South. The white Shouth reviled them, and spit upon them. When it could it drove them out and killed them. But they, the Negro politicians and the Negro masses, established the first system of free, popular education which the South ever saw, and they welcomed to the door of the school room, white and black, men, women, and children, rich and poor. Beyond that, they took over the social uplift which the South had left to the slave plantations and the whim of the slave barons. They established a system of hospitals which still exists. They built decent jails, poor houses. They began to build orphanages and

insane asylums. But the landholders refused to pay the increased taxation and felt justified in stealing and cheating governments carried on by the help of their former slaves. To these were added "carpet-baggers" who were lured South by the high price of cotton and cheap labor. The thieves and grafters came, and the white South pretended to see no difference between the uplifter and robber; but they quickly made friends with the railroad manipulators and "financiers" and the white carpet-baggers, shook hands with the Negro leaders; and, in the end, when land had been stolen and debts piled up for railroads, Negroes were blamed for the financial disaster that fell on the nation in 1873; and freedmen suffered for all the disaster that followed in the South.

The few Negro leaders did, for the most part, a splendid job. Even the slave South praised men like Cardoza of South Carolina, Dunn of Louisiana, Lynch of Mississippi and Gibbs of Florida. These men led reform in South Carolina. They led reform in Louisiana. They fought graft in Florida and Alabama. But, instead of getting the sympathy and cooperation of the Northern leaders of reform, they got obloquy and contempt or concerted oblivion; while Northern industry and religion and the Southern aristocracy blamed every misfortune which came from the attempt to abolish slavery in the United States upon the slaves who were freed.

It was a contemptible transaction. Because, after all, it was the Negro, and the Negro alone, who restored the Union after the violence of 1861 to 1864. Indeed, who else but the Negro could have restored the Union? The mass of the Southern white population were too poor and ignorant to be of use, and they had no leaders. Their leaders had become slave owners and their ambition was to destroy the Negro whom they hated and feared. On the other hand, the Negroes had leaders. The best of the house servants, the educated free Negro from the North, and the white

Northern teachers and missionaries. The enfranchisement, then, of the Negroes, was not an act of grace on the part of the North; it was the only thing they could do. If the Southern freedmen, with their leadership, could carry on the functions of the state, they could, if protected by military force and legal guardianship, restore the Southern states to their seats in Congress on such conditions as the victors laid down. This was done; and, instead of the anarchy and failure which the white South expected and the North was prepared to see, the South staggered to its feet, and what the leaders of the whites feared, was not the failure of these freedmen's governments but their increasing success. They, therefore, offered the North, and especially its business leaders, a compromise. They would accept tariffs on imports, which soon reached the highest in the nation's history; they would pay the national war debt in monopolized gold; they would drop the demand for payment of the Southern war debt and for emancipated slaves. One thing they insisted on was the complete control of labor and the disfranchisement of the freedmen, and that they easily got from a complacent North, now on the way to immense wealth and power. Calmly, the North withdrew military protection, winked at the mob violence of the Ku Klux Klan, and promised to let the freedmen be disfranchised with only token opposition. They even gave up control and oversight of Southern voting for federal officials. This will destroy democracy, said some. Others answered: democracy is already dead.

39-5-26

Anarchy and mob law now swept the South, and, of course, could not be allowed to continue. By 1880 the leaders of the nation began to look about to see how far they could get the Negroes themselves to assent to a caste condition in the United States based on color and race. They found, at last, such a leader in Booker Washington. Not that Washington believed in caste, not that Washington wanted anything less than other Negro leaders but that he assented to compromise because he

saw no other way. He was willing to let the whites believe that Negroes did not want social equality or the right to vote or education for the higher professions, but to ask for whatever the whites offered, and would be patient and quiet under a caste system. Industry poured millions into this propaganda; and, as a result, came disfranchisement and color caste. There followed the Niagara Movement of Negroes in 1905 and the establishment of the NAACP in 1910. The Southern states and some of the Northern states passed laws forbidding intermarriage, limiting employment, establishing ghettoes, discriminating in transportation, and taking away the vote of most of the Negroes in the United States. It was an impossible condition to which no people, if they were really human, would consent. The NAACP was established by radical whites, reinforced by an increasing number of thinking Negroes, and it finally made a frontal attack upon lynching and mob law which brought the nation to its feet.

After all, a civilised nation could not sometime publicly to murder one Negro each week without giving him a trial. It looked as if the chief industry of white women in the South was that of being raped by burly Negroes. The white women, themselves, at last, protested, and an anti-lynching law was nearly forced through Congress, but finally failed.

Then the front of attack changed. Trusts appeared and organised wealth disguised in corporations began to take over control of the nation. They seized the West Indies, Central and South America. They consorted with imperial Europe. When imperial colonialism drove Europe to war, the United States found it could make money by following. The First World War came and posed the fundamental question of Negro citizenship. The Supreme Court, after years of hesitation, sustained it. But the Negro was allowed to go into war as a stevedore, rather than as a soldier, and was treated with every indignity. After this war came wild speculation and severe depression. Franklin Roosevelt, with Harry Hopkins, began to socialise the nation, in order to beat back the power of the trusts and industrial monopolies. They did

31-5-27

not wholly succeed; but they began just as the unexpected second World War burst on civilisation.

In this second World War the Negro was registered in the ranks of the Army and the Navy and in the Air Corps, and then success only made clearer their caste condition in the nation. This, in the succeeding cold war, became so threateningly a phenomenon that the Supreme Court in 1954 declared race discrimination, especially in schools, unconstitutional. The former slave South was furious, but was soon appeased by the assurance that the decree would not be enforced. The South could use "deliberate speed" which meant do little or nothing. That, again, aroused the Negroes. It led to bus strikes like that in Montgomery, and to student sit-ins, where the Negroes began to assert rights which had never been taken from them by law, but only yielded to in custom. This still goes on. And its contradiction is that one of its leaders, Martin Luther King, after starting the bus strikes and joining the sit-ins, has recently declared that the love which he feels for his wife and children is the love which he also feels for the Southerners who are deliberately stepping on his face in the mud. If he really means this he is a fool. If he does not mean it he is a dangerous liar. In any case, neither Jesus Christ nor Mahatma Ghandhi ever preached such a doctrine. On top of all this in 1961 comes the rise of Africa.

39-5-22

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On the other hand, there were certain difficulties that arose. What about the slave who served his master as a servant or laborer, and helped him drive back the Northern armies? And, especially, what about the salve who ran away and took refuge in the Northern armies? The single slave might be returned; but, when the slaves poured by the thousands into the Northern armies, Butler was right in considering them "contraband of war", that is, property owned by the enemy which the Union Army should at least sequester, if not use themselves.

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39-5-8

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39-59

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39-5-10

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39-5-12

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The few Negro leaders did, for the most part, a splendid job. Even the slave South praised men like Cardoza of South Carolina, Dunn of Louisiana, Lynch of Mississippi and Gibbs of Florida. These men led reform in South Carolina. They led reform in Louisiana. They fought graft in Florida and Alabama. But, instead of getting the sympathy and cooperation of the Northern leaders of reform, they got obloquy and contempt or concerted oblivion; while Northern industry and religion and the Southern aristocracy blamed every misfortune which came from the attempt to abolish slavery in the United States upon the slaves who were freed.

It was a contemptible transaction. Because, after all, it was the Negro, and the Negro alone, who restored the Union after the violence of 1861 to 1864. Indeed, who else but the Negro could have restored the Union? The mass of the Southern white population were too poor and ignorant to be of use, and they had no leaders. Their leaders had become slave owners and their ambition was to destroy the Negro whom they hated and feared. On the other hand, the Negroes had leaders. The best of the house servants, the educated free Negro from the North, and the white

Northern teachers and missionaries. The enfranchisement, then, of the Negroes, was not an act of grace on the part of the North; it was the only thing they could do. If the Southern freedmen, with their leadership, could carry on the functions of the state, they could, if protected by military force and legal guardianship, restore the Southern states to their seats in Congress on such conditions as the victors laid down. This was done; and, instead of the anarchy and failure which the white South expected and the North was prepared to see, the South staggered to its feet, and what the leaders of the whites feared, was not the failure of these freedmen's governments but their increasing success. They, therefore, offered the North, and especially its business leaders, a compromise. They would accept tariffs on imports, which soon reached the highest in the nation's history; they would pay the national war debt in monopolized gold; they would drop the demand for payment of the Southern war debt and for emancipated slaves. One thing they insisted on was the complete control of labor and the disfranchisement of the freedmen, and that they easily got from a complacent North, now on the way to immense wealth and power. Calmly, the North withdrew military protection, winked at the mob violence of the Ku Klux Klan, and promised to let the freedmen be disfranchised with only token opposition. They even gave up control and oversight of Southern voting for federal officials. This will destroy democracy, said some. Others answered: democracy is already dead.

39-5-16

Anarchy and mob law now swept the South, and, of course, could not be allowed to continue. By 1880 the leaders of the nation began to look about to see how far they could get the Negroes themselves to assent to a caste condition in the United States based on color and race. They found, at last, such a leader in Booker Washington. Not that Washington believed in caste, not that Washington wanted anything less than other Negro leaders but that he assented to compromise because he

saw no other way. He was willing to let the whites believe that Negroes did not want social equality or the right to vote or education for the higher professions, but to ask for whatever the whites offered, and would be patient and quiet under a caste system. Industry poured millions into this propaganda; and, as a result, came disfranchisement and color caste. There followed the Niagara Movement of Negroes in 1905 and the establishment of the NAACP in 1910. The Southern states and some of the Northern states passed laws forbidding intermarriage, limiting employment, establishing ghettoes, discriminating in transportation, and taking away the vote of most of the Negroes in the United States. It was an impossible condition to which no people, if they were really human, would consent. The NAACP was established by radical whites, reinforced by an increasing number of thinking Negroes, and it finally made a frontal attack upon lynching and mob law which brought the nation to its feet.

After all, a civilized nation could not continue publicly to murder one Negro each week without giving him a trial. It looked as if the chief industry of white women in the South was that of being raped by burly Negroes. The white women, themselves, at last, protested, and an anti-lynching law was nearly forced through Congress, but finally failed.

Then the front of attack changed. Trusts appeared and organized wealth disguised in corporations began to take over control of the nation. They seized the West Indies, Central and South America. They consorted with imperial Europe. When imperial colonialism drove Europe to war, the United States found it could make money by following. The First World War came and posed the fundamental question of Negro citizenship. The Supreme Court, after years of hesitation, sustained it. But the Negro was allowed to go into war as a stevedore, rather than as a soldier, and was treated with every indignity. After this war came wild speculation and severe depression. Franklin Roosevelt, with Harry Hopkins, began to socialize the nation, in order to beat back the power of the trusts and industrial monopolies. They did

not wholly succeed; but they began just as the unexpected second World War burst on civilization.

In this second World War the Negro was registered in the ranks of the Army and the Navy and in the Air Corps, and then success only made clearer their caste condition in the nation. This, in the succeeding cold war, became so threateningly a phenomenon that the Supreme Court in 1954 declared race discrimination, especially in schools, unconstitutional. The former slave South was furious, but was soon appeased by the assurance that the decree would not be enforced. The South could use "deliberate speed" which meant do little or nothing. That, again, aroused the Negroes. It led to bus strikes like that in Montgomery, and to student sit-ins, where the Negroes began to assert rights which had never been taken from them by law, but only yielded to in custom. This still goes on. And its contradiction is that one of its leaders, Martin Luther King, after starting the bus strikes and joining the sit-ins, has recently declared that the love which he feels for his wife and children is the love which he also feels for the Southerners who are deliberately stepping on his face in the mud. If he really means this he is a fool. If he does not mean it he is a dangerous liar. In any case, neither Jesus Christ nor Mahatma Ghandhi ever preached such a doctrine. On top of all this in 1961 comes the rise of Africa.

31-5-18

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEGRO - 1861 to 1961

by

W. E. B. DuBois

In 1861 the legal status of the American Negro was something like this: kidnapping of free Negroes in the North had been made easy by the Fugitive Slave Law. All agreed that the Constitution recognized slavery as a legal institution and was bound to protect it. Abolitionsits were considered as contemptuous, as consorting with radicals, and recognizing Negroes as equals rather than as inferiors. Lincoln had been elected President and Lincoln was looked upon not as the enemy of slavery, but as opposed to its expansion because he did not want slavery to come into competition with the free Northern white workers. Lincoln did not believe that the Negro could be integrated into the nation or that he was the equal of white people. But he did not want

He would, therefore, protest slavery in the United States, but he would not encourage its return into the North. Also he would not free a slave who was brought North by his master. Lincoln undoubtedly did not like slavery, but he was no champion of freedom for Negroes. When the war opened, everybody, North and South, declared it to be a white man's war, that is, fought by white soldiers for objects which they desired. The desires of the Negroes were not to be taken into account. Slavery was to be protected. During the first year of the war northern generals went out of their way to return fugitive slaves with apologies, and on the other hand, the northern general who tried to free slaves was promptly repudiated.

On the other hand, there were certain difficulties that had to be considered. What about the slave who served his master and helped him drive back the Northern armies as a scout or as a laborer, and, especially, what about the slave who ran away and took refuge when the Northern armies invaded the South? The single slave might be

returned, but when the slaves poured by the thousands into the Northern armies, Butler was right in considering them "contraband of war," that is, property owned by the enemy which the Union Army should at least sequester, if not use themselves. ~~On the other hand,~~ The enthusiasm of the North for the war was not to be counted on. After all, what was the North fighting for? Certainly not to free Negroes, also not to subdue the South. The Northern ~~Negro~~ laborer, especially the foreign-born, the ~~northern~~ Civil servant farmer and small merchant, had no taste for going South for murder and destruction. The well-to-do bought their way out of the draft, which did not endear them to the laborers nor increase their general popularity. As the draft began to pinch the poor, they turned on the Negroes, who were not drafted and who were willing to take the jobs of those white who were. They hanged Negroes to lampposts in New York and murdered them in Greenwich ~~burned down an orphan asylum,~~ and declared they were not going to fight for "niggers". This was a serious matter, especially, as many of the Negroes were willing, ~~begging~~ eager, to fight for themselves. Their leaders, ~~like Fred Douglass,~~ were ~~shouting~~ begging to bear arms, but the government was adamant: no Negro ~~volunteers~~ soldiers. Moreover, Lincoln laughed. "If we put arms into the ~~hands of Negro men~~," he said, "next day they would be in the hands of our enemies." Then, again, things happened whether we would or not. Down in South Carolina, for instance, we had driven a wedge into the Southern armies. We needed soldiers to guard our gains, but the War Department had ~~no more~~ to spare soldiers. The draft was failing. So General Hunter put guns in the hands of freed slaves, drilled them in their use, and told them to shoot intruders. Congress boiled with rage. But Hunter answered: "What else could I do?" I am not arming ~~Negroes~~ slaves, but, since ~~all the white men have run away, and there are no new ones coming~~ there are no white troops in; I have put ~~black men~~ loyal men to guard what we have gained. Congress burst into laughter as the first colored regiment was ~~brought~~ drawn into the army. That was but a beginning. Systematically, wherever the Northern armies appeared, the slaves stopped work and joined them. The generals pretended to be greatly annoyed. Here were thousands of mouths to feed, space had to be provided, and sickness cared for. They usually forgot to mention that here were invading armies

guns in the hands of freed slaves to guard

whose problems of hard labor, of cooking, cleaning, and menial service, ~~of digging, lugging, and walking~~ was being furnished free, and in abundance, without cost or wage, to armies invading a strange and hostile land. More than this, every inch of the land, every tree and river, every person and town, was known intimately to this writhing mass of people who did this work willingly because they thought it was for their own salvation. What would Alexander and Caesar have said, what would Frederick the Great and Napoleon have done, if God had sent them a gift like this?

But the Federal government, for the most part, laughed, jeered and complained. They told funny stories about the darkeys as they ate their biscuit and sent them on as spies. Then, too, the South was having difficulties. There was no "solid South." The South was a small group of rich and near rich slave owners and land owners. The large body of poor whites who had nothing and were now asked to fight for slavery hated the slaves, who got the work and food that belonged to them. Also they hated the masters more who got everything, and they began to desert from the Southern armies. Then, too, the plight of the elegant slave owner before the world was not happy. England, after fostering the slave trade for a century found it more profitable to free the Negro and stop the African slave trade. France had carried on a revolution for freedom, equality and brotherhood, but did not propose to include among her brothers, the black slaves of Haiti, so the black slaves killed them and ran them off the island. Now, Britain and France ~~were standing for freedom and not slavery could they make an alliance with a new slave state~~ needed the cotton raised and in the Southern United States. The South had to appease them. It promised not to revive the slave trade, at least, not at once. But Fred Douglass, talking in England and Ireland, told the factory workers how the black slaves were suffering and the British workers refused to recognize the slave South. On the other hand, the Northern United States, refusing still to fight for abolition nevertheless, began to used Negroes as troops and workers and spies, and explained that they were working the "Union," and by Union they meant control of the slavery's cotton crop and its sale to France and Britain ~~for goods which they wanted to import~~ at the highest possible price.

Otherwise, the South would sell the crop abroad and the Northern factories would close. Here a curious contradiction was seen as the war went on. The Northern armies cut the South in two, but they did it only by using the teeming Negro slaves of the Mississippi Valley. They marched from Atlanta to the sea, but only with the help of the black throngs of Georgia who cleared the path and stole the food for them. The grateful Northern armies, when they reached the sea, ~~freed~~ the Negroes ~~and~~ gave ~~them~~ land, but the Federal governemnt, when it gained full control, took this land away and gave it to its former slave-holding owners.

39-5-22

The Negroes sang in the sea-swept darkness, "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen, ~~Nobody knows but Jesus.~~" General Howard wept. The war reeled on. Black men were used as shock troops and slaughtered by the thousands to ~~make~~ way for victorious ~~Northern~~ feet. ~~There were~~ 300,000 Negroes as servants, stevedores and spies. There were 200,000 armed Negro ~~troops~~ troops, and in the background, peering from the sidelines, were 3 million more Negroes ready to fight for freedom. No wonder freedom came.

The Southern leaders were frightened. If black soldiers continued to be drafted and fought as they had fought at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson and Petersburgh, then the North with its supplies, and ships and the hesitation of Europe would beat the South to its knees and free the slaves. The South tried every expedient, even seeking to enlist the slaves on their side, and, failing, surrendered. Meantime, the North had had a vision, not the whole North, but the North of thinkers, dreamers, abolitionists and free Negroes. Uncle Tom's Cabin had done its work. "John Brown's Body Was A-Mouldering in the Grave," and the eyes of the poets had seen the coming of the Lord. At last, then, there was a reason for this senseless war, and that was the freeing of the slaves. Lincoln came to a decision. He would try to make the border states agree to gradual emancipation, and he would (challenge?) the recalcitrant South with immediate freedom of the labor which was supporting it. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 sounded like more than it was. Negroes were not henceforth and forever free. But the Emancipation had certainly begun. The abolitionists gave up. Since the Negro was free what more was there to be done? The Liberator stopped publication. Lincoln saw a way out. He seized a further step toward real emancipation by enfranchising the élite of the Negro mass, the rich, the educated, the soldiers, small in number, but encouraging in prospect. The South bluntly refused.

Then, after Lincoln's death came a poor white from Tennessee, who, after being cajoled by the former masters, agreed then to put them back in the saddle with full control over their former slaves. A series of Black Codes were adopted which made the nation gasp. Stevens and Sumner had plans which made sense, but could not command a majority in Congress. Stevens said: "give the Negro Freedman's Bureau, give each slave 40 acres and a mule, and give them special legal protection. Sumner said and reiterated: "give them the vote, nothing else is democracy; the Negro must have the vote. Meantime, the mass of Northerners were ~~(f)xxxx

North saw, and the farmers and the factory builders, was the Southern walking back into Congress threatening to lower the tariff, attack the monopoly of gold and bring down prices. On top of this, they saw the spawn of war, thieves and grafters like Tweed, start on a rampage of public theft. Industry and reform got together, And the conquered slave aristocracy got their ear, and made many of them believe and ~~of their assent~~ that the theft and graft which was sweeping the North was also rampant in the South because of the emancipated slaves. This was untrue, and everybody who really studied the situation knew it was untrue. Schurz and Trowbridge and others who looked at the South saw the truth. It was the free Negro of the North working hand and glvoe with the freed Negro leader of the South, who, together tried desperately to rescue the South from the accumulated disasters of war. The Negroes wanted a free popular education. It was their talisman, their star of hope. Probably never in the world have so many oppressed people tried in every possible way to educate themselves, and to educate the nation. The best minds of the North rose to help them. The 8th Crusade of School Marms sent an endless column of teachers into the South. The white South reviled them, and spit upon them. When it could it drove them out and killed them. But they, the Negro politicians and the Negro pupils established the first system of free popular education which the South every saw and they welcomed to the door of the school room, white and black, men, women, and children, rich and poor. Beyond that, they took over the social uplift which the South had left to the slave plantations and the whim of the slave barons. They established a system of hospitals which still exists. They built decent jails, poor houses. They began to build orphanages and insane asylums. The Negro leaders and some of the white leaders who had come South tried to go in with the white landholders and exploiters of labor to build railroads. Here the thieving railroad builders of the North came in and, in the end, money was wasted and stolen, and for this the Negroes who had the least guilt, were loaded with nearly all the blame of the increasing Southern debt.

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But the landholders refused to pay thd increased taxation and yelled "th ieves" The real thieves wsre whites. Former slave owners who had lost slaves and ~~BUT~~ other whites beside the teachers and missionaries rushed south.. The thieves and grafters came and the white South pretended to see no differenc between uplifter and robber but they qukckly amde friends with the railro road manipilators and "financiers" and the white carpet-baggers shook ha hands with the Negro leaders and in the end when land had been stolen and debts piled up for railroads, Negro were blamed for financial disast er that fel, on the natiino in I873, and freedmen suffered for all that followed ~~that disaster~~ in the So ugth In addition financiers and phi lanthropists organized a Freed man's bank and stole the freedman's fir savings before it went into bankruptcy

reform in South Carolina. They led reform in Louisiana. They fought graft in Florida and Alabama. But instead of getting the sympathy and cooperation of the Northern leaders of reform, they got obloquy and contempt or concerted oblivion, while Northen industry and religious churches and the Southern aristocracy blamed every misfortune which came from the attempt to abolish slavery in the United States upon the slaves who were freed. It was a contemptible transaction. Because, after all, it was the Negro, and the Negro, alone, who restored the Union after the violence of 1861 to 1864. Despite this, the Federal government stepped in and by virtual recognition of the Ku Klux Klan, and by manipulation of the courts, both Federal and State, forced disfranchisement upon the Negro in 1876 by mob law. That, of course, they could not continue, and by 1880 the nation [redacted] to see how far they could get the Negroes themselves to assent to a caste condition in the United States based on color and race. They found, at last, such a leader in Booker Washington. Not that Washington believed in caste, not that Washington wanted anything less than other Negro leaders, but that he assented to compromise. He was willing to let the whites belive that Negroes did not want social equality or the right to vote or education for the higher professions, but ~~were willing to~~ ask for whatever the whites offered and would be patient and quiet under a caste system. Industry poured millions into this propaganda, and as a result, [illegible] the establishment of the NAACP in 1910, the Southern states and some of the Northern states had passed laws forbidding intermarriage, limiting employment, establishing ghettoes, discriminating in transportation and taking away the vote of most of the Negroes in the United States. It was an impossible condition to which no people, if they were really human, would consent. The NAACP was established by radical whites, reinforced by an increasing number of thinking Negroes, and it finally made a frontal attack upon lynching and mob law, which brought the nation to its feet. After all, a civilized nation could not continue publicly to murder one Negro each week without giving him a trial. It looked as if the chief industry of white women in the South

was that of being raped by burly Negroes. The women, themselves, protested and an anti-lynching law was nearly forced through Congress, but finally failed.

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395-24

~~[redacted]~~ all justified in stealing and ~~[redacted]~~ governments ~~[redacted]~~ carried on by the help of their former slaves. To these were added "carpet-baggers" who were lured south by high price of cotton and cheap labor

(c 1935)

To most Indians, the problem of American Negroes--of twelve million people swallowed in a great nation, as compared with the more than three hundred millions of India--may seem unimportant. It would be very easy for intelligent Indians to succumb to the widespread propaganda that these Negroes have neither the brains or ability to take a decisive part in the modern world. On the other hand, American Negroes have long considered that their destiny lay with the American people; that their object was to become full American citizens and eventually to lose themselves in the nation by continued intermingling of blood. But there are many things that have happened and are happening in the modern world to show that both these lines of thought are erroneous. The American Negroes belong to a group which went through the fire of American slavery and is now a part of the vast American industrial organization; nevertheless it exists as representative of two hundred or more million Negroes in Africa, the West Indies and South America. In many respects, although not in all, this group may be regarded as the leading intelligentsia of the black race and no matter what its destiny in America, its problems will never be settled until the problem of the relation of the white and coloured races is settled throughout the world.

37-10-42

India has also had temptation to stand apart from the darker peoples and seek her affinities among whites. She has long wished to regard herself as "Aryan" rather than "coloured" and to think of herself as much nearer physically and spiritually to Germany and England than to Africa, China or the South Seas. And yet the history of the modern world shows the futility of this thought. European exploitation desires the black slave, the Chinese coolie and the Indian labourer for the same ends and the same purposes, and calls them all "niggers."

If India has her castes, American Negroes have in their own internal colour lines the plain shadow of a caste system. For American Negroes have a large infiltration of white blood and the tendency to measure worth by the degree of this mulatto strain.

The problem of the Negroes thus remains a part of the world-wide clash of colour. So, too, the problem of the Indians can never be simply a problem of autonomy in the British commonwealth of nations. They must always stand as representatives of the coloured races--of the yellow and black peoples as well as the brown--of the majority of mankind, and together with the Negroes they must face the insistent problem of the

assumption of the white peoples of Europe that they have a right to dominate the world and especially so to organise it politically and industrially as to make most men their slaves and servants. This attitude on the part of the white world has doubtless softened since the World War. Nevertheless, the present desperate attempt of Italy in Ethiopia and the real reasons back of the unexpected opposition on thepart of the League of Nations, shows that the ideals of the white world have not yet essentially changed. If now the coloured peoples--Negroes, Indians, Chinese and Japanese--are going successfully to oppose these assumptions of white Europe, they have got to be sure of their own attitude toward their labouring masses. Otherwise they will substitute for the exploitation of coloured by white races, an exploitation of coloured races by coloured men. If, however, they can follow the newer ideals which look upon human labour as the only real and final repository of political power, and conceive that the freeing of the human spirit and real liberty of life will only come when industrial exploitation has ceased and the struggle to live is not confined to a mad fight for food, clothes and shelter; then and only then, can the union of the darker races bring a new and beautiful world, not simply for themselves, but for all men.

37-10-43

To Freedomways
1965

For W.E. Burghardt Du Bois Collection
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# AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE

by

W. E. B. Du Bois

Persons who today are rightly worried about the future of civilization should give their attention to Africa for it is the failure to do this for so many years in the past that has been a prime cause of the present critical situation.

41-3-313

I remember vividly when I was in high school in western Massachusetts, between the ages of twelve and sixteen, of being puzzled about Africa. I was visibly of African descent and in my family African music and culture patterns had persisted, although we had lived in this New England valley for two hundred years or more. Yet for me information about Africa was difficult to obtain. I could draw a map of the United States with all the states and their capital cities, with its rivers, lakes and ocean borders. I knew the kings of England and the British political system and I knew the English tongue; I knew the kings of France, but I could hardly get hold of any information of Africa in any detail. Apparently no history of Africa existed and the attitude of my teachers toward Africa and its peoples was a little discouraging. My textbooks mentioned some details about the ancient history of Egypt, but it was implied if not actually said, that Egypt was not a part of Africa. In college at Fisk and Harvard there were no courses of study which touched Africa except again ancient Egypt.

During my study in Germany there was more mention of Africa and some literature, but my time was given to studies of European society and they were seldom based on Asia or Africa; thus I had no time for study outside the white world. I came therefore, to be in America, a teacher of economics and history and talked to my colored students of a future work that the peoples of Africa and their descendants would undoubtedly do, but I said little or nothing of the great African past because of this I was quite ignorant. Then in 1906 Franz Boas, the great anthropologist,

came to Atlanta University where I was head of the Department of Economics and History, and told the graduating class of American Negroes of certain things that they ought to know about their black ancestors. He mentioned Ghana, Melle and the Hausa. He related the travels of Ibn Batuta and the reign of Askia Mohammed. I sought him out after his talk and begged him to tell me the sources of his information. It was then that I began to seek out and read the sources of African history and in 1915 I wrote my first book on Africa in the Home University Library.

I immediately met a great deal of concealed and open opposition. Students and authorities doubted many of my conclusions. Fundamentally most American intelligentsia and a large number of Europeans did not believe that Negroes were human beings in the same sense that other peoples were. They did not always say this nor were they themselves often aware how subtly and widely this idea had arisen and spread. Yet America was built on the Negro. It was his toil and service, his culture patterns, his singing and dancing, his whole attitude toward life which laid the foundation on which Europeans built much of their new world. The Negro was at first an integral part of this new world, and then because the slave trade made this labor cheaper and more abundant than white European labor or red Indian, he became the exploited class on the theft of which slavery crops like cotton and sugar were distributed over the world and service and pleasure furnished.

41-3-314

Seeking to excuse this black slavery, a deeply religious world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries began to rationalize in this wise: Negroes were natural slaves and never had a civilization of their own. They were well suited for the hard toil which the development of America needed. They were therefore made slaves not simply for the advantage of white European immigrants but for the salvation of their own souls. Then as the Negroes followed the bidding of missionaries and became converts to Christianity, another line of reasoning was adopted; their souls and bodies were not as valuable as the souls of white people because they were fundamentally incapable of modern civilization. The inferior peoples of the world,

the blacks especially, the browns and the yellow in part, were adapted to work and obedience in order to help the more gifted whites develop modern civilization. By the seventeenth century and later this theory of the inferiority of the black people took larger and larger hold of the belief of religionists, scientists and statesmen until by my century, the nineteenth, a book like mine which assumed that Negroes were normal people was not recognized as authentic scholarship. I tried in this first book to work out a history of black folk in Africa, of their descent into the vally of the Nile and the raising of a new civilization allied with Asia; of the development along the Niger on the west coast and in the Congo valley; of a new art and technique; of work in iron, copper and bronze; of irrigation and building. I opposed the prevalent idea that every sign of civilization in Africa at Benin and Zimbabwe and on the east coast were due to imported European or Asiatic cultures. I said then:

41-3-316

> "The time has not yet come for a complete history of the Negro peoples. Archaeological research in Africa has just begun, and many sources of information in Arabian, Portugese, and other tongues are not fully at our command; and, too, it must frankly be confessed, racial prejudice against darker peoples is still too strong in so-called civilized centers for judicial appraisement of the peoples of Africa. Much intensive monographic work in history and science is needed to clear mooted points and quiet the controversialist who mistakes present personal desire for scientific proof."

Nearly a quarter of a century later I attempted again a study of the history and development of black folk, but I was unable even then to get the financial backing or the scholarly support which would enable me to do the kind of work which I wanted to do. On the other hand, Lord Hailey, with an Empire back of him and the wealth of Carnegie assisting, edited an <u>African Survey</u> which brought wide acclaim. French and Belgian scholars wrote books and monographs and many governments

established museums and institutions. My book could only emphasise certain facts which most of these studies minimized or forget and that was what the past African had been the history of real and gifted peoples, showed a cultural unity and was worth modern study. I said frankly in my preface:

> "But we face a curious situation in the world attitude toward the Negro race today. On the one hand there is increasing curiosity as to the place of black men in future social development; in their relation to work, art and democracy; and judgement as to the future must depend upon the past. Yet this past lies shrouded not simply by widespread lack of knowledge but by certain irritating silence. Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: The Negro has no history.
>
> "For instance, I am no Egyptologist. That goes without saying. And yet I have written something in this volume on the Negro in Egypt, because in recent years, despite the work of exploration and interpretation in Egypt and Ethiopia, almost nothing is said of the Negro Race."

41-3-315

There were groups of civilized Negroes in my own United States, in the various islands of the West Indies and in Africa. I met some of these in the great Races Conference which met in London in 1911 and which would have marked an era if it had not been followed so closely by the First World War. After that War, I called four Pan-African Congresses into meeting and we discussed Negro political power, culture recognition and education for a future. My effort met opposition from the colonial powers like Britain, France and Belgium; and finally a world depression and Second World War stopped my movement.

Then after the Second World War along with efforts of laboring people in Europe, America and Africa there came out of the Trade Union Congress in Paris in 1945 a demand of the black workers for a Fifth Pan-African Congress. This met in Manchester, England in 1945. I presided. There met with us Kwame Nkrumah who later made the British Colony of the Gold Coast an independent Ghana; Jomo Kenyatta, later accused of helping the Mau-Mau in Kenya; Peter Abrahams, the African writer, George Padmore, the black historian of Britain in Africa and two hundred other Negroes from all over the world. It resulted ultimately in a Sixth Pan-African Congress called the "All-African Conference" at Accra in 1958.

417-3-47

These Congresses had made these declarations:

1919: The First Congress said, "To the World: The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion, and practical politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of superraces or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

"That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed, and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demigods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial eqality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather it fulfills it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic ...

"The beginning of wisdom in interracial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempts to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self-government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established tomorrow in Asia, in Africa, America, and the isles of the sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance, but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

"Sure in the twentieth century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Mohammed, and in the mightiest Age of Human Reason, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning, and benevolence to develop native institutions, whose one aim is not profit and power for the few ... What then do these demand who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination, and who believe in the divine right of suppressed and backward people to learn and aspire and be free? The Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia demand:

"I. The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color.

"II. Local self-government for backward groups deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-government under the limitation of a self-governed world.

"III. Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth, and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.

"IV. Freedom in their own religion and social customs and with the right to be different and non-conformist.

41-3-318

"V. Cooperation with the rest of the world in government, industry, and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom and Peace.

"Vl. The return of Negroes of their land and its natural fruits and defense against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

"Vll. The establishment of an international institution for study of the Negro problem under the League of Nations.

"Vlll. The establishment of an international section of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor ...

"In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid we call all men of the earth who love justice and mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb masters of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls. The answer is written in the stars."

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The Third Pan-African Congress 1924 demanded for Africans:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. The right of access to the land and its resources.
3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.
4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial techniques; and higher training of selected talent.
5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few ...

"In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men.

We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African state striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans?"

I had published in 1947 my last book on the Negro, "The World and Africa, an Inquiry Into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History." The Conference at Accra build in part on the Pan-African Conferences previously held and on the knowledge which I had assembled in this book and on other world influences brought a new era for the African people and this era the present world must understand. They must realize that the peace movement in the world before the Second World War did not envisage peace in Africa or between the imperial rulers of the world and other peoples regarded as inferior. The history of the world between Napoleon and the first World War has been sometimes called an era of peace and so-called because the wars during that time were not among the leading nations but between European powers and the peoples of Asia and Africa and designed to reduce the colored world to exploitation by the white world and subservience to Anglo-Saxon civilization. Consequently the peace movement largely ignored colonial wars, regarding them as efforts to establish an uplift civilization, while wars between France, England, Holland, Germany and Italy were attacks on civilization. With, however, the second half of the twentieth century, science developed by anthropology and ethnology, by chemistry and archaeology, has begun to prove to history the tremendous value of what peoples of Asia and Africa have done in the past. That knowledge is being realized by the darker peoples and as a result with sudden impact Africa has literally burst upon the attention of modern peoples.

We must realize that there can be no world peace which is not peace for and in Africa; that the reason that modern European civilization descended so disastrously into the hell of war in the twentieth century was because of their

41-3-320

determined and continuous war in Asia and Africa, their theft of raw materials which belonged to other peoples and their exploitation and enslavement of colored human labor. In a world effort to stop this method of forwarding modern culture, to realize liberty, equality and brotherhood, the peace movement has begun and is showing itself most effectively in the upsurge of nationalism in Asia and Africa.

If one wishes to realize the momentous change that this has brought compare a map of Africa, not of a thousand years ago, but of ten years ago and today see the new black nations that have arisen and are arising and those that are in embryo. Realize too the difficulties of ancient culture patterns struggling with the new technology, of present greed and theft in great civilized nations striving to beat back Freedom, Socialism and Communism and to maintain itself in control of the world, by a way of life based on profit derived out of theft of material and slavery of labor. The struggle and good will of the best of mankind is needed to solve this contradiction and basic rivalry, and here the battle of world peace must be fought.

41-3-321

AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Persons who today are rightly worried about the future of civilization should give their attention to Africa for it is the failure to do this for so many years in the past that has been a prime cause of the present critical situation.

41-3-304

I remember vividly when I was in high school in western Massachusetts, between the ages of twelve and sixteen, of being puzzled about Africa. I was visibly of African descent and in my family African music and culture patterns had persisted, although we had lived in this New England valley for two hundred years or more. Yet for me information about Africa was difficult to obtain. I could draw a map of the United States with all the States and their capital cities, with its rivers, lakes and ocean borders. I knew the kings of England and the British political system and I knew the English tongue; I knew the kings of France, but I could hardly get hold of any information of Africa in any detail. Apparently no history of Africa existed and the attitude of my teachers toward Africa and its peoples was a little discouraging. My textbooks mentioned some details about the ancient history of Egypt, but it was implied if not actually said, that Egypt was not a part of Africa. In college at Fisk and Harvard there were no courses of study which touched Africa except again ancient Egypt.

During my study in Germany there was more mention of Africa and some literature, but my time was given to studies of European society and they were

seldom based on Asia or Africa; thus I had no time for study outside the white world. I came therefore, to be in America a teacher of economics and history and talked to my colored students of a future work that the peoples of Africa and their descendants would undoubtedly do, but I said little or nothing of the great African past because of this I was quite ignorant. Then in 1906 Franz Boas, the great anthropologist, came to Atlanta University where I was head of the Department of Economics and History, and told the graduating class of American Negroes of certain things that they ought to know about their black ancestors. He mentioned Ghana, Melle and the Hausa. He related the travels of Ibn Batuta and the reign of Askia Mohammed. I sought him out after his talk and begged him to tell me the sources of his information.

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It was then that I began to seek out and read the sources of African history and in 1915 I wrote my first book on Africa in the Home University Library.

I immediately met a great deal of concealed and open opposition. Students and authorities doubted many of my conclusions. Fundamentally most American intelligentsia and a large number of Europeans did not believe that Negroes were human beings in the same sense that other peoples were. They did not always say this nor were they themselves often aware how subtly and widely this idea had arisen and spread. Yet America was built on the Negro. It was his toil and service, his culture patterns, his singing and dancing, his whole attitude toward life which laid the foundation on which Europeans built much of their new world. The Negro was at first an integral part of this new world, and then because the slave trade made this labor cheaper and more abundant than white European labor or red Indian, he became the exploited class on the theft of which slavery crops like cotton and sugar were distributed over the world and service and pleasure furnished.

Seeking to excuse this black slavery, a deeply religious world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centureies began to rationalize in this wise: Negroes

were natural slaves and never had a civilization of their own. They were well suited for the hard toil which the development of America needed. They were therefore made slaves not simply for the advantage of white European immigrants but for the salvation of their own souls. Then as the Negroes followed the bidding of the missionaries and became converts to Christianity, another line of reasoning was adopted: their souls and bodies were not as valuable as the souls of white people because they were fundamentally incapable of modern civilization. The inferior peoples of the world, the blacks especially, the browns and the yellows in large part, were adapted to work and obedience in order to help the more gifted whites develop modern civilization. By the seventeenth century and later this theory of the inferiority of black people took larger and larger hold of the belief of religionists, scientists and statesmen until by my century, the nineteenth, a book like mine which assumed that Negroes were normal people was not recognized as authentic scholarship. I tried in this first book to work out a history of black folk in Africa, of their descent into the valley of the Nile and the raising of a new civilization allied with Asia; of the development along the Niger on the west coast and in the Congo valley; of a new art and technique; of work in iron, copper and bronze; of irrigation and building. I opposed the prevalent idea that every sign of civilization in Africa at Benin and Zimbabwe and on the east coast were due to imported European or Asiatic cultures. I said then:

41-3-306

> "The time has not yet come for a complete history of the Negro peoples. Archaeological research in Africa has just begun, and many sources of information in Arabian, Portuguese, and other tongues are not fully at our command; and, too, it must frankly be confessed, racial prejudice against darker peoples is still too strong in so-called civilized centers for judicial appraisement of the peoples of Africa. Much intensive monographic work in

41-3-307

history and science is needed to clear mooted points and quiet the controversialist who mistakes present personal desire for scientific proof."

Nearly a quarter of a century later I attempted again a study of the history and development of black folk, but I was unable even then to get the financial backing or the scholarly support which would enable me to do the kind of work which I wanted to do. On the other hand, Lord Hailey, with an Empire back of him and the wealth of a Carnegie assisting, edited an African Survey which brought wide acclaim. French and Belgian scholars wrote books and monographs and many governments established museums and institutions. My book could only emphasize certain facts which most of these studies minimized or forgot and that was that the African past had been the history of real and gifted peoples, showed a cultural unity and was worth modern study. I said frankly in my preface:

"But we face a curious situation in the world attitude toward the Negro race today. On the one hand there is increasing curiosity as to the place of black men in future social development; in their relation to work, art and democracy; and judgement as to the future must depend upon the past. Yet this past lies shrouded not simply by widespread lack of knowledge but by certain irritating silence. Few today are interested in Negro history because they feel the matter already settled: the Negro has no history.

"For instance, I am no Egyptologist. That goes without saying. And yet I have written something in this volume on the Negro in Egypt, because in recent years, despite the work of exploration and interpretation in Egypt and Ethiopia, almost nothing is said of the Negro Race."

There were groups of civilized Negroes in my own United States, in the various islands of the West Indies and in Africa. I met some of these in the great Races Conference which met in London in 1911 and which would have marked an era if it had not been followed so closely by the First World War. After that War, I called four Pan-African Congresses into meeting and we discussed Negro political power, culture recognition and education for a future. My effort met opposition from the colonial powers like Britain, France and Belgium; and finally a world depression and Second World War stopped my movement.

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Then after the Second World War along with efforts of the laboring people in Europe, America and Africa there came out of the Trade Union Congress in Paris in 1945 a demand of the black workers for a Fifth Pan-African Congress. This met in Manchester, England in 1945. I presided. There met with us Kwame Nkrumah who later made the British Colony of the Gold Coast an indepdendent Ghana; Jomo Kenyatta, later accused of helping the Mau-Mau in Kenya; Peter Abrahams, the African writer, George Padmore, the black historian of Britain in Africa and two hundred other Negroes from all over the world. It resulted ultimately in a Sixth Pan-African Congress called the "All-African Conference" at Accra in 1958.

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"That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred

41-3-309

years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought, deed, and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demigods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty; rather it fulfills it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic...

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41-3-312

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# CRISIS ARTICLE MANUSCRIPTS
## PUBLISHED

NOTE: MANY OF THE FOLLOWING MANUSCRIPTS ARE UNSIGNED.
DU BOIS' AUTHORSHIP HAS NOT BEEN VERIFIED IN ALL CASES.

c 1910 a 1911

# ENVY

It is unfortunate that in the recent newspaper discussion of the Appeal to Europe by certain colored men reference was constantly made to the lowest personal motives and seldom to the arguments presented.

It is unfortunately true that with a race in the throes of birth-pains personal likes and hatreds, personal insults and jealousies play a wretchedly large part. But it does not follow that they explain all the struggle and difference of opinion. It is true that the rise of a man like Mr. Booker T. Washington to a place of commanding influence among black people in America has made him an object of envy and jealousy to many narrow souls. But it does not follow that the thousands of intelligent people who differ with Mr. Washington are all actuated by such despicable motives, or are unable to distinguish great and vital principles apart from personal feeling.

38-2-145

When, therefore, such differences of opinion arise as it is natural and healthy that they should arise it is both wrong and unjust to assume the motive to be necessarily low and despicable.

Particularly is this true when adequate causes of deep and compelling importance ard openly and honestly given as the cause of this difference.

Are such causes sufficient to sustain the complainers? That is a matter of argument, not of inuendos or abuse. No man and no cause is above the honest scrutiny and criticism of honest men and certainly today there is in the United States a very large field for honest and vital differences of opinion as to the proper solution of the Negro problem.

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# A S H A M E D

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Any colored man who complains of the treatment he receives in America is apt to be faced sooner or later by the statement that he is ashamed of his race.

The statement usually strikes him as a most astounding piece of illogical reasoning to which a hot reply is appropriate.

And yet notice the curious logic of the persons who say such things. They argue:

33-3-159

White men alone are men. This Negro wants to be a man. Ergo he wants to be a white man.

Their attention is dra wn to the efforts of colored people to be treated decently. This minor premiss therefore attracts them. But the major premiss - thequestion as to treating black men like white men never enters their heads, nor can they conceive it entering the black man's head. If he wants to be a man he must want to be white and therefore it is with peculiar complacency that a Tennessee paper says of a dark champion of Negro equality: "He bitterly resents his Negro blood."

Not so, O Blind Man, he bitterly resents your treatment of Negro blood. The prouder he is or has a right to be of the blood of his black fathers the more doggedly he resists the attempt to load that blood with ignominy and chains. It is race pride that fights for freedom; it is the man ashamed of his blood who weakly submits and smiles.

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(c 1908 ?)
W.E.B.
to Freedomways 1965

# THE OLD STORY

Negro - Crime

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There is without doubt a large criminal and semi-criminal class among colored people. This is but another way of saying that the social uplift of a group of freedmen is a serious task. But it is also true and painfully true that the crime imputed carelessly and recklessly against colored people gives an impression of far greater criminality than the facts warrant.

Take for instance antypical case: A little innocent school girl is brutally murdered in New Jersey. A Negro vagabond is arrested. Immediately the news is heralded from East to West, from North to South, in Europe and Asia, of the crime of this black murderer. Immediately the mob gathers with frenzy and hysterics and attemps to lynch the poor wretch. He is spirited away and the public is almost sorry that he has escaped summary justice. Without counsel or friends the man is shut up in prison and tortured to make him confess. "They did pretty near everything to me except kill me" , whispered the wretched man to the first friend he saw.

Finally after the whole black race in America had suffered aspersion for several weeks, sense began to dawn in Jersey. After all what proof was there against this man? He was lazy, he had been in jail for alleged theft from gipsies, he was good natured and he drank whisky. That was all. Yet he stayed in jail under no charge and yet under universal censure. The coroner's jury found no evidence to indict him. Still he lay in jail. Finally the N.A.A. C.P. stepped in and said "What are you holding this man for?" The Public Prosecutor got red in the face and vociferated. Then he went down town and when the <u>habeas corpus</u> proceedings came and the judge asked again: Why are you holding this man?" The prosecutor said chirpily "For violoating election laws", and brought a mass of testimony. Then the judge thereupon discharged the prisoner from the murder charge and

congratulated the N.A.A.C.P - but the man is still in jail.

Such justice is outrageous and such methods disgraceful. Black folk are willing to shoulder their own sins but the difference between a vagabond and a murderer is too tremendous to be lightly ignored.

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31-3-7

# A CHILDREN'S NUMBER.

Crisis

The CRISIS magazine issues for October a charming specail number for children. There is a new "Uncle Remus" story, direct from Africa and an article on "Books for Boys and Girls which mothers will aprreciate.

Most interesting, however, and the hundred or more pictures of colored children: the baby faces appear on the cover, around the editorial and strewn through the articles until the atmosphere of joyous childhood pervades the whole magazines.

There are two serious articles - color problems - in South Africa and Cuba by expert writers, but perhaps the average reader will turn with greatest interest to the editorial discussion of problems of childhood which every colored parent knows only too well. The editor says:

"The mothers and fathers and the men and women of our race must pause and ask why is it worth while?

Ought children to be born to us?

Have we a right to make human sould face what we face to-day?

The answer is clear if the great battle of human rights against poverty, against disease, against color prejudice is to be won, it must be won not in our day, but in the day of our children's children. Ours is the blood and dust of the battle, theirs the rewards of victory. If then they are not there because we have not brought them to the world, then we have been the guiltiest factor in conquering ourselves. It is our duty then to conquer the immortality of black blood in order that the day may come in this dark world when poverty shall be abolished, privilege based on individual desert, and the color of a man's skin be no bar to the outlook of his soul.

It is wrong th imtroduce the child to race consciousness prematurely. It is dangerous to let that consciousness grow spontaneously without intelligent guidance. With every step of dawning intelligence explanation - frank, free guiding explanation - must come. The dya will dawn when mother must explain gently but clearly why the little girls next door do not want to play with "Niggers:" what the real cause is

32-8-21

of the teachers' unsympathetic attitude, and how people may ride on the backs of street cars and the smoked end of trains and still be people, honest high-minded souls.

Out of little unspoiled souls arise up wonderful resources and healing balm. Once the colored child understands the world's attitude and the shameful wrong of it, you have furnished it with motive - a power and impulse toward good, which is the mightest thing man has. How many white folks would give their own souls if they might into their children's souls a great, moving, guiding ideal!

The CRISIS with its circulation of 22,500 is now the most widely read periodical published for colored people, and its connection with the great work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gives it unusual opportunity to serve the cause of the American Negro.

32-8-22

Vol. 14 1917

THE CRISIS

Vol. 14, No. 5 September, 1917 Whole No. 83

# AWAKE AMERICA!

Let us enter this war for Liberty with clean hands. May no blood-smeared garments bind our feet when we rise to make the world safe for Democracy. The New Freedom cannot survive if it means Waco, Memphis and East St. Louis. We cannot lynch 2,867 untried black men and women in thirty-one years and pose successfully as leaders of civilization. Rather let us bow our shamed heads and in sack cloth and ashes declare that when in awful war we raise our weapons against the enemies of mankind, so, too, and in that same hour here at home we raise our hands to Heaven and pledge our sacred honor to make our own America a real land of the free:

To stop lynching and mob violence.

To stop disfranchisement for race and sex.

To abolish Jim Crow cars.

To resist the attempt to establish an American ghetto.

To stop race discrimination in Trade Unions, in Civil Service, in places of public adcomodation, and in the Public School.

To secure Justice for all men in the courts.

p. 216

~~To insist that individual decent and~~

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Dup -

# THE YEAR'S LYNCHINGS AND MOB MURDERS 1917.

Proctor, Ark. - February 9 - James Smith (alias Coy Anderson) - hanged - murder

Hammond, La. - " 28 - Emma Hooper - hanged - wounding a constable

Meigs, Ga. - March 2 - Linton Clinton - shot - assault upon a white girl

April

Phoenix, Ariz. - May 7 - Starr Daley - hanged - murder

Shreveport, La.- " 11 - Henry Brooks - shot - intimacy with white woman

Fulton, Ky. - " 20 - Lawrence Dempsey - hanged - wounding a railroad watchman

Memphis, Tenn. - " 22 - El Persons - burned - rape and murder - hanged

Holdenville, Okla. - June 16 - Henry Conley - assault upon a white woman

Courtney, Tex. - " 21 - Ben Harper - hanged - drove an automobile that ran down and killed a white girl

Riesel, Tex. - " 23 - Elijah Hays - beaten to death - striking a white woman

Galveston, Tex. - " 25 - Shep Trent - shot - attempt to attack a white woman

Reform, Ala. - July 16 - Unidentified Negro - hanged - petty burglary

Pickens County, Ala. - " 23 - Poe Hibbler - hanged - attempted assault upon a white girl

Montgomery, Ala. - July 23 - Will Powell, Jesse Powell } hanged - hold-up

East St. Louis, Ill. - July 2 - 175 colored men, women, and children slain by mobs

Amite, La. - " 30 - Dan Rout, Jerry Rout } hanged - murder of Simeon Bennett

Garland City, Okla. - " 31 - Arland Avery - hanged - assault and robbery of William Woods

34-3-101

Butte, Mont. - August 1 - Frank Little - hanged - member of executive board I. W. W.

Ashdown, Ark. - " 9 - Aaron Jimerson - hanged - attacking a constable

Heathsville, Va. - " 16 - William Page - hanged - attempted assault upon a white girl

Memphis, Tenn. - " 17 - Strickland - hanged- reason unknown

Marshall, Tex. - " 22 - Charles Jones - hanged - entering room of white woman

York, S. C. - " 23 - W. T. Sims - shot - opposing draft law

Chester, Pa. - September 3 - Colored men killed by mob

Columbia, Miss. - - 1 unknown Negro - hanged - murder and robbery

Beaumont, Tex. - " 3 - Charles Jennings - shot - cause unknown

Athens, Ga. - " 18 - Rufus Moncrief - hanged - attacking a white woman

Goose Creek, Tex. - " 21 - Unknown Negro - hanged - attacking a white woman

England, Ark. - " 21 - Sam Cates - shot - annoying white girls

October

Quitman, Ga. - November 10 - Jesse Staten - shot - insolent letter to white woman

Welch, W. Va. - November 22 - Unidentified Negro - shot - attacking white woman

Dyersburg, Tenn. - December 2 - Ligon Scott - burned - attacking a white woman

(Details of four lynchings missing from record)

34-3-102

LYNCHINGS AND MOB MURDERS BY STATES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Illinois | 175 | Florida | 1 |
| Texas | 6 | Arizona | 1 |
| Alabama | 4 | Kentucky | 2 |
| Louisiana | 5 | Mississippi | 1 |
| Georgia | 6 | West Virginia | 1 |
| Arkansas | 4 | South Carolina | 1 |
| Tennessee | 3 | Virginia | 1 |
| Oklahoma | 3 | Montana | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 3 | Wyoming | 1 |

LYNCHINGS BY RACE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Negro | 36 | White | 2 |

LYNCHINGS BY SEX.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 37 | Female | 1 |

LYNCHINGS AND MOB MURDERS BY ALLEGED CRIMES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Murder | 5 |
| Attempted rape | 5 |
| Rape | 6 |
| Assault | 4 |
| Insulting women, intimacy, entering room, etc. | 8 |
| Stealing | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Accidental killing | 1 |
| Vagrancy | 1 |
| Opposing draft | 1 |
| Insolence | 4 |
| Mob victims | 178 |

34-3-103

24-3-104

| State | Crime | Punishment |
|---|---|---|
| + Arkansas | – murder | hanged |
| + La. | – wounding | " |
| + Ga. | – rape | shot |
| + Ky | – robbery | hanged |
| + Tenn | – wounding | " |
| + Va | – ? | " |
| + Tex. | – refused to give up farm | " |
| + Ariz | – murder | " |
| + La | – intimacy with white woman | shot |
| + Ky | – wounding | hanged |
| + Tenn | – rape | burned |
| + Okla | – " | hanged |
| + Tex | – accidental killing | " |
| + " | – striking a white woman | beaten to death |
| + " | – rape | shot |
| + " | – ? | " |
| + " | – rape | hanged |
| + Ala | – theft | " |
| + " | – rape | " |
| + " | – hold up | " |
| + " | – " | " |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| + La. | – murder | hanged |
| + " | / " | " |
| + " | / robbery | " |
| + Okla | / assault | " |
| + Ark | – rape | " |
| + Va | / ? | " |
| + Tenn | – enticing white woman's room | " |
| + Tex | – opposing draft law | shot |
| + S C | – murder | hanged |
| + Miss | / ? | shot |
| + Tex | – rape | hanged |
| + Ga | / " | " |
| + Tex | – annoying white girl | shot |
| + Ark | / robbery | hanged |
| + La | – resisting arrest | shot |
| + Va | – insult. A white woman | " |
| + Ga | – rape | " |
| + W Va | / " | burned |
| + Tenn | – annoying white women | hanged |
| + Miss | | |

## Lynchings and mob murders BY STATES

Illinois — 175.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Texas | 6 | Florida | 1 |
| Alabama | 4 | Arizona | 1 |
| Louisiana | 5 | Kentucky | 2 |
| Georgia | 6 | Mississippi | 1 |
| Arkansas | 4 | West Virginia | 1 |
| Tennessee | 3 | South Carolina | 1 |
| Oklahoma | 3 | Virginia | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 3 | Montana | 1 |
| | | Wyoming | 1 |

## Lynchings BY RACE

Negro ---------- 36 White ---------- 2

## Lynchings BY SEX

Male ---------- 37 Female ---------- 1

(and 175 mob murders unknown)

## Lynchings and mob murders BY ALLEGED CRIMES

| | |
|---|---|
| Murder | 5 |
| Attacking and attempting to attack white females | 6 |
| Assault and attempted assault | 4 |
| Wounding white men | 3 |
| Robbery | 1 |
| Unknown | 2 |
| Running down and killing a white girl | 1 |
| Striking a white woman | 1 |
| Rape | 1 |
| Intimacy with white woman | 1 |
| Petty burglary | 1 |
| Hold up | 2 |
| Member of I. W. W. (white) | 1 |
| Entering room of white woman | 1 |
| Opposing draft law | 1 |
| Annoying white girls | 1 |

34-3-106

34-3-107

| | |
|---|---|
| Murder | 5 |
| Attempted rape | 5 |
| Rape | 6 |
| Assault | 4 |
| Insulting women, intimacy, ordering women etc, | 8 |
| Stealing | 1 |
| Accidental killing | 1 |
| Vagrancy | 1 |
| Opposing draft | 1 |
| Insolence | 4 |
| ~~Total victims~~ | ~~178~~ |
| Total victims | 178 |

NEGRO EDUCATION

A Review

published in The Crisis 1918

The casual reader has greeted this study of Negro Education with pleasure. It is the first attempt to cover the field of secondary and higher education among colored Americans with anything like completeness. It is published with the sanction and prestige of the United States government and has many excellent points as, for instance, full statistics on such matters as the public expenditure for Negro school systems, the amount of philanthropy given private schools, Negro property, etc.; there is excellent and continued insistence upon the poor support which the colored public schools are receiving today. The need of continued philanthropic aid to private schools is emphasized and there are several excellent maps. Despite, then, some evidently careless proofreading (pages 59,129,157) the ordinary reader unacquainted with the tremendous ramifications of the Negro problem will hail this report with unstinted praise.

34-1-106

Thinking Negroes, however, and other persons who know the problem of educating the American Negro will regard the Jones' report, despite its many praiseworthy features, as a dangerous and in many respects unfortunate publication.

This report again and again insists by direct statements, by inference and by continued repetition on three principles of a thesis which we may state as follows: FIRST, that the present tendency toward academic and higher education among Negroes should be restricted and replaced by a larger insistence on manual training, industrial education and agricultural training. SECONDLY, the private schools in the South must cooperate with the whites and THIRD, that there should be more thorough-going unity of purpose among education boards and foundations working among Negroes.

Mr. Jones states and states strongly the argument for the higher

34-1-1059

(Bottom of first page) Negro Education, a Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States; prepared in cooperation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, specialist in education of racial groups, Bureau of Education. Two volumes 80 -423 plus 724 pages. Washington, 1917.

training of Americans.

But notwithstanding this statement the whole trend of his study and of his general recommendations is to make the higher training of Negroes practically difficult if not impossible. Despite the fact that his statistics show in 1914-15 only 1643 colored students studying college subjects in all the private Negro schools out of 12,726 pupils. He shows that there are (in proportion to population) ten times as many whites in the public high schools as there are colored pupils and that there are only sixty-four public high schools for Negroes in the whole South! He shows that even at present there are few Negro colleges and that they have small chance for survival. What he is criticising, then, is not the fact that Negroes are tumbling into college in enormous numbers but their wish to go to college and their endeavor to support and maintain even poor college departments. What, now, is back of this? Is it merely a silly desire to study "Greek," as Mr. Jones several times intimates, or is it not rather a desire on the part of American Negroes to develop a class of thoroughly educated men according to modern standards? If such a class is to be developed these Negro colleges must be planned as far as possible according to the standards of white colleges otherwise colored students would be shut out of the best colleges of the country. The curriculum offered at the colored southern colleges however, brings the author's caustic criticism. Why, for instance, should "Greek and Latin" be maintained to the exclusion of economics, sociology and "a strong course in biology?" The reason for the maintainance of these older courses of study in the colored colleges is not at all, as the author assumes, that Negroes have a childish love for "classics." It is very easily and sumply explicable. Take, for instance, Fisk University. Fisk University maintained Greek longer than most northern colleges for the reason that it had in Adam K. Spence not simply a finished Greek

34-1-107

scholar, pupil of the great D'Ooge, but a man of singularly strong personality and fine soul. It did not make any difference whether the student were studying Greek, or Hebrew or Eskimo the great thing was that he was studying under Spence. So, in a large number of cases the curriculum of the southern Negro college has been determined by the personnel of the available men. These men were beyond price and working for their devotion to the cause. The college was unable to call men representing the newer sciences; young sociologists and biologists. They were unable to equip laboratories but they did with infinite pains and often heartbreaking endeavor keep within touch of the standard set by the higher northern schools and the proof that they did well came from the men they turned out and not simply from the course the men studied. This, Mr. Jones either forgets or does not know and is thus led into exceedingly unfortunate statements as when, for instance, he says that the underlying principle of the industrial school "is the adaptation of educational activities whether industrial or literary to the needs of the pupils and the community." This, of course, is the object of any educational institution and it is grossly unfair to speak of it as being the object of only a part of the great Negro schools of the South. Any school that does not have this for its object is not a school but a fraud.

34-1-108

Not only does this report continually decry the Negro college and its curriculum but on the other hand it seeks to put in its place schools and courses of study which while well enough in themselves make it absolutely impossible that their students should be thoroughly trained according to modern standards. To illustrate: Mr. Jones shows (page 90) that in Butte, Mont., manual training has been put into the elementary schools and at the rate of half a day a week during the first six years and two half-days a week in the seventh and eighth grades. When, however, it comes to the smaller elementary industrial schools of the South Mr. Jones recommends one-half day classroom work and one-half practise

in the field and shops EVERY DAY. What, now, is the real difference between these two schemes of education? The difference is that in the Butte schools for white pupils a chance is held open for the pupil to go through high school and college and to advance at the rate which the modern curriculum demands; that in the colored schools, on the other hand, a program is being made out that will land the boy at the time he will become self-conscious and aware of his own possibilities in an educational IMPASSE. He cannot go on in the public schools even if he should move to a place where there are good public schools because he is too old. Even if he has done the elementary work in twice the time that a student is supposed to it has been work of a kind that will not admit him to a northern high school. No matter, then, how gifted the boy may be he is while yet in the elementary grades he is absolutely estopped from a higher education. This is not only unfair to the boy but it is grossly unfair to the Negro race. The argument, then, against the kind of school that is being foisted upon Negroes in the name of industrial education is not any dislike on the part of the Negroes for having their children trained in vocations or in having manual training used as a means of education; it is rather in having a series of schools established which deliberately shut the door of opportunity in the face of a bright Negro student, and this is and was aimed to encourage.

34-1-109

With the drive that has been made to industrialize elementary schools before the children have learned to read and write and to turn the high schools to vocational teaching without giving any of the pupils a chance to train for college, it is, of course, beside the mark to criticiz the colored colleges because the children that come to them are poorly trained. Much of the criticism of colored teachers is also unfair.

Even well trained teachers are having curious pressure put upon them. Here is a teacher with eighty or one hundred pupils trying to teach them in three r's in a country district. The Jeanes Fund sends a

supervisor and introduces, to quote the report, (page 35) "shuck mat work, simple sewing, patch quilting for girls, repair of buildings and wood-working for boys." It might be possible to so interlock this work with the teaching of the three r's as to help the net result but when the stress, the emphasis and the inspection has to do mainly with the industrial work as such and nobody knows or cares about the chief work for which the school, ought to exist; when the white community demands of these schools servants and laborers and NOT educated men and women what is the result bound to be? With its insistent criticising of Negro colleges this report bears slightly upon the short comings of industrial schools. Their failure to distinguish between general education and technical trade training has resulted in sending out numbers of socalled teachers from educational schools who cannot read and write the English language and who are put in public and other schools as teachers. They may show children how to make tin pans and cobble shoes but they are not the right persons to train youth, mentally or morally. In the second place most of the trades taught by the so-called trade schools are because of hostile public opinion and poverty decadent trades: carpentry, which is rapidly falling below the level of skilled trades, the patching of shoes, blacksmithing in the sense of repair work, etc. The important trades of the world that are today assembled in factories and call for skilled technique and costly machinery are not taught in the vast majority of so-called Negro industrial schools. Moreover, the higher industrial training calls for more education than the industrial schools give. I remember some ten years ago going into the wheel-wrighting shop at Hampton. I said to the white instructor: "How are your students getting on?" He said: "Fairly well only they haven't enough mathematics." Yet here is a report that has much to say over the foolishness of teaching mathematics.

That the course of study in the southern schools as well as in the schools of the nation has got to be changed and adapted is absolutely true

34-1-110

but the object of a school system is to carry the child as far as possible in its knowledge of the accumulated wisdom of the world and then when exonomic or physical reasons demand that this education must stop vocational training to prepare for life work should follow. That some of this vocational training may be made educational in object is true; that normal training may use manual training and even to some extent vocational training is true; but it is not true that the industrializing of any curriculum necessarily makes it better or that you can at one and the same time educate the race in modern civilization and train it simply to be servants and laborers. Anyone who suggests by sneering at books and "literary courses" that the great heritage of human thought ought to be displaced simply for the reason of teaching the technique of modern industry is pitifully wrong and if the comparison must be made more wrong than the man who would sacrifice modern technique to the heritage of ancient thought.

The second part of Mr. Jones' theses lies in an insistence that the private schools of the Negro should "cooperate" with the South. He stresses the adaptation of education to the needs of the "community" (page 18) evidently meaning the white community. He quotes on page 25 the resolution of the white Southern Educational Association which deplores that the Negro schools are isolated from the community, meaning again the white community. He instances Willcox County, Ala., where there are almost no public schools and recommends that the private schools established there be put under community authorities (page 149). Now what is this "community" with which the colored people are to cooperate? In the first place Mr. Jones admits (pages 4 and 5) that it is only the progressive few in the white South that care anything at all about Negro schools. He might go even further and acknowledge that if a plebescite were taken tomorrow in the Southern South the popular vote of white people would

shut every single Negro school by a large majority. The hostile majority is kept from such radical action by the more progressive minority and by fear of northern interference, but the condition in which they have today left the colored schools is shown by this report to be truly lamentable. He quotes from southern white men speaking of Negro school houses as "miserable beyond all description," of teachers as "absolutely untrained" and paid "the princely fortune of $80.92 for the whole term." Mr. Jones goes on with fact after fact to show the absolute inadequacy in the provision for colored children in the public schools of the South. On the other hand he shows the increase in Negro property, the larger and larger amounts which they are contributing to the schools funds and with all this he practically asks that the domination of the Negro private schools which are now bearing the burden of nearly all the secondary and higher education of the Negro and much of the elementary education - that the domination of these schools be put in the hands of the same people who are doing so little for the public schools!.

There is not in the whole report a single word about taxation without representation. There is not a single protest against a public school system in which the public which it seems have absolutely no voice vote or influence. There is no defense of those colored people of vision who see the public schools being used as training schools for cheap labor and menial servants instead of for education and who are protesting against this by submitting to double taxation in the support of private schools; and who cannot see that these schools should be turned over to people who by their actions prove themselves to be enemies of the Negro race and its advancement.

Until the southern Negro has a vote and representation on school boards public control of his education will mean his spiritual and economic death and that despite the good intentions of the small white minority in the South who believe in justice to the Negro. It is, therefore,

contradictory for this report to insist on the one hand on the continuation of northern philanthropy for these schools and on the other to commend various southern schools in proportion as they have gained the approval of the white community. Compare, for instance, Fisk University and Atlanta University. Both Cravath of Fisk and Ware of Atlanta were men radical in their belief in Negro possibility and in their determination to establish well equipped Negro colleges; but Cravath live in a more enlightened community which was earlier converted to his ideals. He did not yield his opinion any more than Ware did; but Ware lived in a community that to this day will not furnish even a high school to its colored pupils. Now to say that Fisk should receive on this account more support than Atlanta is rank injustice, if anythingn Atlanta deserves the greater credit.

Cooperation with the white South means in many cases the surrender of the very foundations of self-respect. Mr. Jones inserts in his report one picture of a colored principal and his assistant waiting on table while the white trustees of his school eat. The colored peo- of the South do not care a rap about whether white folks eat with them or not, but if white officials are coming into their schools as persons in control or advisors then to ask that in those schools and in their homes the colored people shall voluntarily treat themselves as inferiors is to ask more than any self-respecting man is going to do. The white community undoubtedly wants to keep the Negro in the country as a peasant under working conditions least removed from slavery. The colored man wished to escape from those conditions. Mr. Jones seeks to pursuade him to stay there by asserting that the advance of the Negro in the rural South has been greatest (pages 97, 123) and he refers to the "delusion" of city life even among white people. This may be all good enough propaganda but in fact is is untrue. Civilization has always depended upon the cities. The advance of the cities has been

greatest for all people, white and colored, and any colored man who would take his family to the country districts of South Georgia in order to grow and develop and secure education and uplift would be idiotic.

34-1-114

Mr. Jones touches the State schools very lightly. Here are cases where the whites have control and stories of graft and misappropriation of funds and poor organization are well known to everybody with the slightest knowledge of southern conditions. Teachers there and in the public schools are often selected, not from the best available, but either from the worst or most complacent. In small towns and country districts white trustees may maintain their mistresses in such positions and the protests of the colored people will fall upon deaf ears. Until, then, colored people have a voice in the community surrender to the domination of the white South is unthinkable.

This brings us to the third part of Mr. Jones' theses, namely, that the boards working for southern education should unite as far as possible with one policy. This is an unfortunate and dangerous proposal for the simple reason that the great dominating philanthropic agencies of the General Education Board long ago surrendered to the white South by practically saying that the educational needs of the white South must be attended to before any attention was paid to the Negro and that the Negro must be trained as the white South wanted him to be trained and not as the Negro wanted to be trained. It is this board that is spending more money today in helping Negroes learn how to can vegetables than in helping them go through college. It is this board that by a system of interlocking directorates bids fair to dominate philanthropy toward the Negro in the United States. Indeed, the moving thought back of the present report is the idea of a single authority who is to say what school is right or is wrong, what system is right and what is wrong, etc. No one doubts the efficiency of concentration and unity

in certain lines of work but always, even in work that can be unified, the question is WHOSE influence is going to dominate and it may well be that diversity and even a certain chaos would be better than unity under a wrong idea. This is even more true in educational than in economic matters. Of course, the economic foundation of all recent educational philanthropy, particularly toward the Negro, is evident. Mr. Jones rather naively speaks of the fact that at certain parts of the year "it is exceedingly difficult to prevail upon children to attend school" in the colored South which is, of course, an other way of saying that bread and butter in the cotton fields is of more importance than trained intelligence.

Undoubtedly there has already been a strong public opinion manufactured in the country which looks upon the training of Negroes in the South as cheap, contented labor to be used in emergency for keeping white union labor from extravagant demands, as a feasible and workable program. It is, in fact, one of the most dangerous programs ever thought out and responsible for much of the lynching, unrest, and unhappiness in the South. Its genesis came easily with the idea of working for the Negro rather than working with him, a thing which Mr. Jones condemns, but hardly lives up to his condemnation. In this very report the Negro was practically unrepresented. Instead of choosing a strong, experienced man like W. T. B. Williams or President Young of Tallahassee, an inexperienced young man was taken, of excellent character, but absolutely without weight or influence. Of course, back of all this is the great difficulty of ordinary social intercourse. The reason that boards of trustees like those that control the Phelps-Stokes Fund find it so much easier to work FOR the Negro than WITH him; the reason that for getting the investigations by Negroes at Atlanta University they turned to white institutions to encourage investigation, and neglected,

established and worthy work is because if they are going to cooperate with the dominant white South and even with certain classes of Northern ers they cannot meet Negroes as men. The propaganda that is so largely carried on and the influence that is so often formed through social intercourse must always at present be offered with the Negro unrepresented and unheard.

34-1-196

There follows easily the habit of having no patience with the man that does not agree with the decisions of such boards. The Negro that comes with his hat in his hand and who flatters and cajoles the philanthropists gets money. If the great foundations raise as they do in this report the cry of fraud they have themselves to thank. They more than any other agency have encouraged that kind of person. On the other hand the Negro that shows the slightest independence of thought o character is apt to be read out of all possibile influence not only by the white South but by the philanthropic North.

If philanthropic agencies could unite for certain obvious great movements how splendid it would be. Take, for instance, the duplication of higher educational schools which Mr. Jones repeatedly denounces and which undoubtedly is a source of weakness. The General Education Board could settle the matter with the greatest ease. Let them offer in Atlanta an endowment of $500,000 for a single Negro college provided that there be but one college there for Negroes. The boards of the different schools immediately would have something to act on. As it is nothing that they can individually do would really better the situation. A new college formed by a federation of colored colleges in Atlanta, Marshall, Tex., and elsewhere would be easily possible if an endowment was in sight, but gives no evidence of being ready to.

Here, then, is the weakness and sinister danger of this report. It calls for a union of philanthropic effort with no attempt to make either of the proper and just lines along which this united effort should

34-1-117

work. It calls for cooperation with the South without insisting on the Negro being represented by voice and vote in such cooperation and it calls for a recasting of the educational program for the colored man without insisting on leaving the door of opportunity open for development of a thoroughly trained class of leaders at the bottom in the very beginnings of education as well as at the top.

DuBois

# THE BLACK MAN AND THE UNIONS

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

I am among the few colored men who have tried consciously to bring about understanding and cooperation between American Negroes and the Labor Unions. I have sought to look upon the Sons of Freedmen as simply a part of the great mass of the earth's Disinherited and to realize that the world movements which have lifted the lowly in the past and are opening the gates of opportunity to them today are of equal value for all men, white and black, then and now.

Nevertheless I have known that in the intensity and virulence of American racial prejudice there arises a problem which the Unions not only will not see but which brings repeated temptation to use our misfortune for to attempt to upbuild all other unfortunates. I carry on the title page, for instance, of my magazine, the union label and yet I know and everyone of my Negro readers knows that the very fact that this label is there is an advertisement that no Negro's hand is engaged in the printing of that magazine, because the International Typographical Union systematically and deliberately excludes every Negro that it dares from membership, no matter what his qualifications. Even here, however, and beyond the hurt of mine own, I have always striven to recognize the real cogency of the union argument.

Collective bargaining has, undoubtedly, raised modern labor from something very like chattel slavery to the threshold of industrial freedom and in this advance of labor, white and black has shared.

I have tried, therefore, to see a vision of vast union between the laboring forces, particularly of the South, and hoped for no

distant day when the black laborer and the white laborer instead of being used against each other as helpless pawns should unite to bring real democracy in the South.

All this, however, has been a dream and has been in direct contradiction to the practical present Southern situation. A prominent Southern man said before the Industrial Commission: "I believe that in the Negro labor of the South lies the panecea for the wrongs frequently committed by organized labor and a reserve force from which can be supplied any needed number of workers." On the other hand the whole scheme of settling the Negro problem inaugurated by philanthropists and carried out during the last twenty years, has been based upon this idea of playing off black workers against white idea. That it is essentially a mischievous and dangerous program no sane thinker can deny, but it is peculiarly disheartening to realize that it is the Labor Unions themselves that have given this movement its greatest impulse and that today, at last, in East St. Louis have brought the most unwilling of us to acknowledge that in the present Union movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, there is absolutely no hope of justice for an American of Negro descent. Personally, I have come to this decision reluctantly and have, in the past, written and spoken little of the closed door of opportunity, shut impudently in the faces of black men by organized white workingmen. I realize that by heredity and century-long lack of opportunity one cannot with the laborer expect that larger sense of justice and duty which we ought to demand of the privileged classes. I have, therefore, inveighed against color discrimination by employers and by the rich and well-to-do, knowing at the same time in silence that it is practically impossible for any colored man or woman to become a boiler maker or book binder, an electrical worker or glass maker, a worker in jewelry or leather, a machinist or metal polisher,

a paper maker or piano builder, a plumber or a potter, a printer or a pressman, a telegrapher or a railway trackman, an electrotyper or stove mounter, a textile worker or tile layer, a trunk maker, upholsterer, carpenter, locomotive engineer, switchman, stone cutter, baker, blacksmith, boot and shoemaker, tailor, or any one of a dozen other important well-paid employments without encountering the open determination and unscrupulous opposition of the whole united labor movement of America. That further than this, if he should want to become a painter, mason, carpenter, plasterer, brick maker, or fireman he would be subject to humiliating discriminations by his fellow union workers and be deprived of work at every possible opportunity, even in defiance of their own union laws. If, braving this outrageous attitude of the unions, he succeeds in some small establishment or at some exceptional time in gaining employment , he must be labeled as a "scab" throughout the length and breadth of the land and written down as one who for his selfish advantage seeks to overthrow the Labor theft of ~~number~~ centuries a century

This intolerable situation is so unbelievable that not only is it difficult to convince the public of its truth, but I do not think that I myself quite realized the devilish ~~temper back~~ design of the labor movement to exclude the Negro from ~~domestic~~ industrial democracy until the massacre of East St. Louis.

We all know now what East St. Louis is - a typical American industrial center where a vast concentration of capital has attracted a mass of labor, skilled and unskilled, and representing all races. The factories, lumber yards, stock yards and works of various kinds represent, undoubtedly, free-booting at its worse. They ~~own a~~ hold the town and its grafting politicians and they are not in business for their health. On the other hand, if anyone thinks that all the laborers of East St. Louis are the innocent victims of this aggregation of capital they do not know what they are talking about. The La

Unions are joint partners with ~~central~~ considerable capital in the ownership of the city with its grafting politicians, saloons and bawdy houses. East St. Louis is what it is because they consciously and deliberately want it to be that. If capital in that town is an untaxed privilege & monopoly it is because the best organized trade unions find it to their distinct ~~money~~ financial advantage to give capital its privilege. Into these unions ~~unions~~ of skilled ~~and unskilled~~ laborers no black man, no matter what his accomplishment, ability or character, can ~~no~~ under ~~no~~ any circumstances gain admission. ¶ It is these labor leaders who have stood up impudently and given the world this explanation of the recent riots:

1. ~~That~~ That capital in East St. Louis is oppressing labor
2. That labor in self-defense has resorted to collective bargaining
3. That Negroes have been brought in by the capitalists in immense numbers as strike breakers
4. That in desperation ~~to ward off starvation~~ the white workers have turned and driven the Negroes out.

This is an explanation blandly and cheerfully given, wired throughout the United States, and it bids fair to stand as a sufficient explanation of that awful day of the second of July when between one and two hundred human beings were deliberately murdered, 6000 workingmen driven out of their homes, and the property and homes of several thousands burned by mobs.

~~This explanation is too delightfully simple and the lie cannot be left to stand unchallenged.~~ The real truth of the matter is this: Negroes were excluded from nearly all of the unions in East St. Louis, especially in the better and well-paid trades. In one union alone were they represented in any large numbers, the hod carriers. When the war caused scarcity of labor certain semi-skilled and unskilled employers sought to unionize and invited the Negroes to join. The Negroes did join and when

the strike was called they struck with the whites. When the second strike was called they struck a second time and they went back to work only when their white fellow workmen also returned ~~to work~~ on account of ~~the~~ a court injunction. They joined in the meetings of protest which the unions subsequently held. P The colored workers who poured into the city at this time came in obedience to perfectly a legitimate demand for workers. There was no plethora of workers in East St. Louis. There was plenty of work for everybody and good wages. That the wages for common ~~labor~~ laborers and many others should have been better goes without saying, ~~but~~ and that the influx of the Negroes ~~was~~ kept the ~~any deciding factor in the rate of wages is absolutely unproven.~~ wages of common labor from soaring as high as East St Louis while laborers naturally If this immigrant labor had been white, the unions would have been compelled to admit them, to teach them the ethics and advantage of collective bargaining, and thus to make them a part of the labor phalanx. Instead of doing this, or attempting to do it, by the deliberate advice and conspiracy of the labor leaders of East St. Louis, race prejudice was invoked as a weapon to secure labor scarcity and monopoly. ~~A~~ deliberate massacre was planned. Labor unions of East St. Louis and of neighboring towns sent 5000 men and women into the city in broad day light and in open conjunction with the police, and in some cases the militia, they caught the crowd of black workingmen between their places of employment and their homes and beat, shot and burned them to death. So far as they dared ~~to~~ without too great danger to the city and without invading the distinctly colored quarters, they burned the homes of the colored people and they gave as an excuse for this atrocious series of ~~acts~~ barbarities the fact that the colored people warned by numberless ~~outrages~~ outrages extending over a month had armed their homes thoroughly for defense. No unbiased person can review the plain ~~fact~~ evidence which anyone

~~can obtain in East St. Louis, and not be certain of the truth of this statement.~~ We know perfectly well that what happened in East St. Louis may happen in a dozen other centers and has happened in the past. Right here in New York City, in opposition to army draft like ~~that which is going on at~~ present, it was the laborers of the labor unions of 1863 who arose and for three days murdered, robbed and outraged the colored citizens of New York. In Philadelphia similar riots led by labor union leaders extended over a generation. The same thing happened in Cincinnati. There is this moment imminent danger that if the murderers of East St. Louis go unpunished and 5000 law-abidding, hard-working colored people are permanently driven out of East St. Louis, the same sort of massacre will be staged in Chicago, Indianapolis, Detroit, Pittsburg, Philadelphia and New York. We all know the recent strike in Schenectady led by an uninstructed ~~Polish~~ Pole against a college-bred Negro.

In other words, what we have in the labor movement inthe United States is oligarchy posing as democracy and the time has come when we must straitly discriminate between the progress of the laboring class and the oligarchy which under Samuel Gompers and his followers assumes to speak for these laboring classes. The history of the American Federation of Labor on the race question is a history of steady submission to low and selfish principles. The federation early declared that the working people must unite irrespective of creed, color and sex, Although this declaration was reaffirmed in 1897 there was opposition and it was not embodied in the constitution. In 1902 the federation recognized the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions and from city central labor bodies. Soon after

this it admitted to full membership national unions which by constitutional provision excluded Negroes, and later it allowed national unions affiliated with it to change their constitutions so as to exclude Negroes. It is now not only possible for any union in affiliation with the federated union to exclude any man on account of his color, but it is also possible for a union to refuse to recognize a colored man who has a union card and even in unions where Negroes are members it is nearly in all unions a recognized policy to discriminate against the colored members and in some cases even to refuse to work with them.

Here , then, is a situation which points to ramifications far beyond the color line. It has long been the contention of many groups of unskilled laborers that the union movement is not a real movement for the uplift of the laboring classes, but merely the attempt of a few to take advantage of their position and monopoly so as to secure their individual uplift at the expense of the mass of laborers. This is openly and cynically proven in the case of the Negroes of East St. Louis, but this proof points to just as unmistakable deviltry in the case of tens of thousands of ignorant foreign workmen and thousands of unfortunate natives.

We might as well recognize that the time has come when we can no longer indiscriminately assume that the present labor movement is the movement for the uplift of labor. On the contrary, standing unshakably by the principle of collective bargaining, we must refuse to allow the men who are now using it for their selfish ends at the expense of the masses to be the exclusive mouthpiece of these masses. The real danger that threatens American democracy is today the oligarchy of these unions and if the fight against their arrogance and barbarism does not begin immediately its horror when it does begin will be only intensified.

What we are building in America is an extraordinary oligarchy consisting of a combination of promoters, industrial agents, and leaders of the upper class of skilled labor. These men are coming to understand each other. They are resorting to secret collective bargaining and their political power - local, state and national - is already astonishing. They are absolutely ruthless resorting to bribery, assassination, murder and riot as calmly as we go on the stump or "write to the papers." They constitute today next to the Rotten Boroughs of the South the greatest menance to American Democracy. If they are not exposed and crushed they will crush us. Our hope lies in an appeal on the one hand to the educated thinker of all classes - on the other hand to the mass of laborers, and inthis mass the 12,000,000 Negroes are the saving remnant because they are Americans, they are Democratic, they are unprejudiced,and their souls are free.

41-2-129

This is my only copy. W.E.B.

MEMORANDA ON THE FUTURE OF AFRICA

By W. E. B. DuBois

c 1919

1. The barter of colonies without regard to the wishes or welfare of the inhabitants or the welfare of the world in general is a custom to which this war should put an end, since it is a fruitful cause of dissension among nations, a danger to the status of civilized labor, a temptation to unbridled exploitation, and an excuse for unspeakable atrocities committed against natives.

2. It is clear that at least one of Germany's specific objects in the present war was the extension of her African colinies at the expense of France and Portugal.

34-4-125

3. As a result of the war, the Germany colonies in Africa have been seized by the Allies, and the question of their disposition must come before the Peace Conference. Responsible English statesmen have announced that their return to Germany is unthinkable.

4. However, to take German Africa from one imperial master, even though a bad one, and hand it over to another, even though a better one, would inevitably arouse a suspicion of selfish aims on the part of the Allies and would leave after the war the grave questions of future colonial possessions and government.

5. While the principle of self-determination which has been recognized as fundamental by the Allies cannot be wholly applied to semi-civilized peoples, yet as the English Prime Minister has acknowledged, it cannot be partially applied.

6. The public opinion which in the case of the former German colonies should have the decisive voice is composed of:

(a) The Chiefs and intelligent Negroes among the twelve and one-

half million natives of German Africa, especially those trained in the government and mission schools.

(b) The twelve million civilized Negroes of the United States.

(c) Educated persons of Negro descent in South America and the West Indies.

(d) The independent Negro governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Hayti.

(e) The educated classes among the Negroes of French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and in British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Nyassaland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Bechuanaland, and the four and one-half millions of colored people in the Union of Africa.

34-4-126

These classes comprise today the thinking classes of the future Negro world and their wish should have weight in the future disposition of the German colonies.

~~7. It would be a wise step to ascertain by a series of conferences the desires, aspirations and grievances of these people and to incorporate to some extent in the plans for the reconstruction of the world the desires of these people.~~ The first step towards ascertaining the inner desires of the Colored peoples is to call together a Pan-African Congress to meet in Paris sometime during the sessions of the Peace Conference.

~~8. The first step toward such conferences might well be the chief work of the movement to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Negro in America.~~

9. If the world after the war decided to reconstruct Africa in accordance with the wishes of the Negro race and the best interests of civilization, the process might be carried out as follows: the former German colonies with one million square miles and twelve and one-half millions of inhabitants could be internationalized. To this could be added by negotiation the 800,000 square miles and nine million inhabitants of Portuguese Africa. It is not impossible that Belgium could be persuaded

to add to such a state the 900,000 square miles and nine million natives of the Congo, making an International Africa with over two and one-half million square miles of land and over twenty million people.

10. This reorganized Africa could be under the guidance of organized civilization. The Governing International Commission should represent not simply governments but modern culture - science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy.

34-4-127

11. With these two principles the practical policies to be followed out in the government of the new states should involve a thorough and complete system of modern education built upon the present government, religion and customary law of the natives. There should be no violent tampering with the curiously efficient African institutions of local self-government through the family and the tribe; there should be no attempt at sudden "conversion" by religious propaganda. Obviously deleterious customs and unsanitary usages must gradually be abolished, and careful religious teaching given but the general government set up from without must follow the example of the best colonial administrators and build on recognized established foundations rather than from entirely new and theoretical plans.

12. The chief effort to modernize Africa should be through schools. Within ten years twenty million black children ought to be in school. With a generation young Africa should know the essential outlines of modern culture and groups of bright African students could be going to the world's great universities. From the beginning the actual general government should use both colored and white officials and natives should be gradually worked in. Taxation and industry could follow the newer ideals of industrial democracy, avoiding private land monoply and poverty, promoting co-operation in production and the socialization of income.

13. Is such a state possible? Those who believe in men; who know what black men have done in human history; who have taken pains to follow even superficially the story of the rise of the Negro in Africa, the West Indies, and the Americans of our day know that the wide-spread modern contempt of Negroes rests upon no scientific foundation worth a moment's attention. It is nothing more than a vicious habit of mind. It could as easily be overthrown as our belief in war, as our international hatreds, as old conception of the status of women; as our fear of education the masses, and as our belief in the necessity of poverty. We can, if we will, inaugurate on the Dark Continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant.

34-4-128

34-4-132

# RETURNING SOLDIERS

We are returning from war! THE CRISIS and tens of thousands of black men were drafted into a great struggle. For bleeding France and what she means and has meant and will mean to us and humanity and against the threat of German race arrogance, we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideas, we fought in far-off hope; for the dominant southern oligarchy entrenched in Washington, we fought in bitter resignation because we were compelled to fight. For the America that represents and gloats in lynching, disfranchisement, caste, brutality and devilish insult - for this, in the hateful upturning and mixing of things, we were forced by vindictive fate to fight, also.

But today we return! We return from the slavery of uniform which the world's madness compelled us to don to the freedom of civil garb. We stand again to look America squarely in the face and call a spade a spade. We sing: this country of ours is a shameful, dispicable country, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed.

It lynches.

And lynching is barbarism of a degree of contemptible nastiness unparalleled in human history. Yet for fifty years we have lynched two Negroes a week, and we have kept this up right through the war.

It disfranchises its own citizens.

Disfranchisement is the deliberate theft and robbery of the only protection of poor against rich and black against white. The land that disfranchises its citizens and calls itself a democracy lies and knows it lies.

34-4-133

It encourages ignorance.

It has never tried to educate the Negro. It does not want Negroes educated. It wants servants, dogs, whores and monkeys. And when it forces as many black folk into these categories as it possibly can, it cries in contemptible hypocrisy: "They threaten us with degeneracy; they cannot be educated".

It steals from us.

It organizes industry to cheat us. It cheats us out of our land; it cheats us out of our labor. It confiscates our savings. It reduces our wages. It raises our rent. It steals our profit. It taxes us without representation. It keeps us consistently and universally poor, and then feeds us on charity and derides our poverty.

It insults us.

It has organized a nation-wide and latterly a world-wide propaganda of deliberate and continuous insult and defamation of black blood whereever found. It decrees that neither in travel or residence, work or play, education or instruction shall it be possible for a black man to exist without tacit or open acknowledgement of his inferiority to the dirtiest white dog. And it looks upon any attempt to question or even discuss this dogma as arrogance, unwarranted assumption and treason.

This is the country to which we Soldiers of Democracy return. This is the fatherland for which we fought! It was right for us to fight. Under similar circumstances, we would fight again. But by the God of Heaven, we are cowards and jackasses if, now that that war is over, we do not marshall every ounce of our brain and brawn to fight a wilder, fiercer, more unbending battle against the forces of hell

in our own land.

We <u>return.</u>

We <u>return from fighting</u>.

We <u>return fighting!</u>

Make way for Democracy. We saved it in France, and by the Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.

34-4-134

# THE HISTORY OF HAITI

Haiti was discovered by Christopher Columbus December 6,1492. The Spaniards enslaved and killed the Indian inhabitants until in 1511 only 14,000 Of the original million were left. Many revolts tookmplace but finally the island settled down under Spanish-Indian rule. French pirates began to frequent the island in the seventeenth century and in 1563 the French annexed the eastern part and since then the island has been divided into Spanish and French halves, the former known as Santo Domingo and the latter as Haiti. African slaves were now poured into this island and the French introduced their celebrated code noir.

Later, in Hayti, a more liberal policy encouraged trade; war was over and capital and slaves poured in. Sugar, coffee, chocolate, indigo, dyes, and spices were raised. There were large numbers of mulattoes, many of whom were educated in France, and many masters married Negro women who had inherited large properties, just as in the United States to-day white men are marrying eagerly the landed Indian women in the West. When white immigration increased in 1749, however, prejudice arose against these mulattoes and severe laws were passed depriving them of civil rights, entrance into the professions, and the right to hold office; sever edicts were enforced as to clothing, names, and social intercourse. Finally, after 1777, mulattoes were forbidden to come to France.

When the French Revolution broke out, the Haytians managed to send two delegates to Paris. Nevertheless the planters maintained the upper

hand, and one of the colored delegates, Oge, on returning, started a small rebellion. He and his companions were killed with great brutality. This led the French government to grant full civil rights to free Negroes. Immediately planters and free Negroes flew to arms against each other and then, suddenly, August 22, 1791, the black slaves, of whom there were four hundred and fifty-two thousand, arose in revolt to help the free Negroes.

32-4-10

For many years runaway slaves had hidden in the mountains under their own chiefs. One of the earliest of these chiefs was Polydor, in 1724, who was succeeded by Macandal. The great chief of these runaways or "Maroons" at the time of the slave revolt was Jean Francois, who was soon succeeded by Biassou.

Pierre Dominic Toussaint, known as Toussaint L'Overture, joined these Maroon bands, where he was called "the doctor of the armies of the king," and soon became chief aid to Jean Francois and Biassou. Upon their deaths Toussaint rose to the chief command. He acquired complete control over the blacks, not only in military matters, but in politics and social organization; "the soldiers regarded him as a superior being, and the farmers prostrated themselves before hi (Dessalines did not dare to look in his face), and all the world trembled before his generals."

The revolt once started, blacks and mulattoes murdered whites without mercy and the whites retaliated. Commissioners were sent from France, who asked simply civil rights for freedmen, and not emancipation. Indeed that was all that Toussaint himself had as yet demanded. The planters intrigued with the British and this, together with the beheading of the king (an impious act in the eyes of Negroes), induced Toussaint to join the Spaniards. In 1793 British troops were landed and

the French commissioners in desperation declared the slaves emancipated. This at once won back Toussaint from the Spaniards. He became supreme in the north, while Rigaud, leader of the mulattoes, held the south and the west. By 1798 the British, having lost most of their forces by yellow fever, surrendered Mole St. Nicholas to Toussaint and departed. Rigaud finally left for France, and Toussaint in 1800 was master of Hayti. He promulgated a constitution under which Hayti was to be a self-governing colony; all men were equal before the law, and trade was practically free. Toussaint was to be president for life, with the power to name his successor.

Napoleon Bonaparte, master of France, had at this time dreams of a great American empire, and replied to Toussaint's new government by sending twenty-five thousand men under his brother-in-law to subdue the presumptuous Negroes, as a preliminary step to his occupation and development of the Mississippi valley. Fierce fighting and yellow fever decimated the French, but matters went hard with the Negroes too, and Toussaint finally offered to yield. He was courteously received with military honors and then, as soon as possible, treacherously seized, bound, and sent to France. He was imprisoned at Fort Joux and died, perhaps of poison, after studied humiliations, April 7, 1803.

Thus perished the greatest of American Negroes and one of the great men of all time, at the age of fifty-six. A French planter said, "God in his terrestrial globe did not commune with a purer spirit."

The treacherous killing of Toussaint did not conquer Hayti. In 1802 and 1803 some forty thousand French soldiers died of war and fever. A new colored leader, Dessalines, arose and all the eight thousand remaining French surrendered to the blockading British fleet.

Thus in 1801 Hayti became a free and independent nation but the inhabitants were, it must be remembered, chiefly absolutely illiterate slaves without capital or experience. They began a long struggle to secure their independence and achieve prosperity. Dessalines became the first national leader and was succeeded in 1806 by Petion and Christophe, the latter had been among the Haytian soldiers who helped the Americans against the British at the seige of Savannah, while the former was a staunch and effective ally of the South American revolutions. Petion died in 1818 and Christophe the following year. They were succeeded by Boyer who became ruler not only of Hayti but of Santo Domingo from 1822 to 1843. He gained recognition for Hayti from France, United States and Great Britain and arranged the concordate with the pope. He finally resigned in 1843.

The subsequent history of Hayti since 1843 has been the struggle of a small divided country to maintain political independence. The rich resources of the country called for foreigh capital, but outside capital meant political influence from abroad, which the little nation rightly feared. Within, the old antagonism between the freedman and the slave settled into a color line between the mulatto and the black, which for a time meant the difference between educated liberalism and reactionary ignorance. This difference has largely disappeared, but some vestiges of the color line remain. The result has been reaction and savagery under Soulouque, Dominique, and Nord Alexis, and decided advance under presidents like Nissage-Saget, Solomon, Legitime, and Hyppolite.

In political life Hayti is still in the sixteenth century; but in economic life she has succeeded in placing on their own little farms

the happiest and most contented peasantry in the world, after raising them from a veritable hell of slavery. If modern capitalistic greed can be restrained from interference until the best elements of Hayti secure permanent political leadership the triumph of the revolution will be complete.

37-4-13

I-

## - TO THE WORLD -

1919

[illegible] the absolute equality of races physical, political and social [illegible] ...nding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies [illegible] ...ferences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals [illegible] ...races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Poli- [illegible] ...s one in denying the God-Appointed existence of super-races, [illegible] ...races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought deed and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty. rather, it fulfils it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic.

38-2-241

It is the duty of the world to assist in every way the advance of the Backward and Suppressed Groups of mankind. The rise of all men is a menace to no one and is the highest human ideal , it is not an altruistic benevolence, but the one road to world salvation.

For the purpose of raising such peoples to intelligence, self knowledge and self control, their intelligentsia of right ought to be recognized as the natural leaders of their groups.

The insidious and dishonorable propaganda, which, for selfish ends, so distorts and denies facts as to represent the advancement and development of certain races of men as impossible and undesirable, should be met with wide-spread dissemination of the truth; the experiment of making the Negro slave a free citizen in the United States is not a failure; the attempts at autonomous government in Haiti and Liberia are not proofs of the impossibility of self government among black men, the experience of Spanish America does not prove that mulatto democraty will not eventually succeed there. The aspirations of Egypt and India are not successfully to be met by sneers at the capacity of darker races.

We who resent the attempt to treat civilized men as uncivilized, and who bring in our hearts grievance upon grievance against those who lynch the untried, disfranchise the intelligent, deny self-government to educated men, and insult the helpless, we complain, but not simply or primarily for ourselves - more especially for the millions of our fellows, blood of our blood, and flesh of our flesh, who have not even what we have; the power to complain against monstrous wrong, the power to see and know the source of our oppression.

How far the future advance of mankind will depend on the social contact and physical intermixture of the various strains of human blood is Unknown, but the demand for the interpenetration of countries and intermingling of blood has come , in modern days, from the white race alone, and has been imposed on brown and black folks

mainly by brute force and fraud; and on top of that the resulting people of mixed race have had to endure innuendo, persecution, and insult, and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery.

If it be proven that absolute world segregation by group, color or historic affinity is the best thing for the future, let the white race leave the dark world and the darker races will gladly leave the white. But the proposition is absurd. This is a world of men, of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labor and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only Peace-Makers who work sincerely and peacefully to this end.

The beginning of Wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among Suppressed Peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempt to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the Few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established to morrow in Asia, in Africa , America and the Isles of the Sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest Age of Human Raison, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good, rather than continuing to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalized and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions, whose one aim is profit and power for the few.

And this brings us to the crux of the matter : it is the shame of the world that today the relations between the main groups of mankind and their mutual estimate and respect is determined chiefly by the degree in which one can subject the other to its service, enslaving labor, making ignorance compulsory, uprooting ruthlessly religion and customs, and destroying government, so that the favoured Few may luxuriate in the toil of the tortured Many. Science, Religion, and Philanthropy have thus been made the Slaves of world commerce and industry, and bodies, minds, souls of Fiji and Congo are judged almost solely by the quotations on the Bourse.

The day of such world organization is past and whatever excuse be made for it in other ages, the 20th century must come to judge men as men and not as material and labor.

The great industrial problem which has hitherto been regarded as the domestic problem of culture lands, must be viewed far more broadly if it is ever to reach just settlement. Labor and Capital in England, France and America can never solve their problem as long as a similar and vastly greater problem of poverty and injustice marks the relations of the whiter and darker peoples. It is shameful , unreligious, unscientific and undemocratic that the estimate, that half the peoples of earth

38-2-242

38-2-243

put on the other half depends mainly on their ability to squeeze profit out of them.

If we are coming to recognize that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustment in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustment is in the outrageously unjust distribution of world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples; in the rape of land and raw material, the monopoly of technique and culture. And in this crime white labor is particeps criminis with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white labor vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown and yellow labor, until with fatal retribution, they are themselves today bound and gagged and smothered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few.

And too just as curiously, the educated and cultured of the world, the well-born and well-bred, and even the deeply pious and philanthropic, receive their training and comfort and luxury, the ministrations of delicate beauty and sensibility on condition that they neither inquire into the real source of their income or the methods of distribution or interfere with the legal props which rest on a pitiful human foundation of ~~writhing~~ writhing white and yellow and brown and black bodies.

We claim no perfectness of our own nor do we seek to escape the blame which of right falls on the Backward for failure to advance, but noblesse oblige, and we arraign civilization and more especially the colonial powers for deliberate transgressions of our just demands and ~~their~~ their own better conscience.

England, with her Pax Britannica, her courts of justice, established commerce and a certain apparent recognition of native law and customs has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the natives, has enslaved them and is still enslaving some of them, has usually declined even to try to train black and brown men in real self-government, to recognize civilized black folk as civilized, or to grant to colored colonies those rights of self-government which it freely gives to white men.

Belgium is a nation who has but recently assumed responsibility for her colonies, and has taken some steps to lift them from the worst abuses of the autocratic regime; but she has not instituted any adequate state system of education, she has not confirmed to the people the possession of their land and labor, and she shows no disposition to allow the natives any voice in their own government, or to provide for their political future. Her colonial politics is still mainly dominated by the banks and great corporations, ~~who are determined to exploit Congo rather than civilized it.~~

But we are glad + learn that the present government is considering a liberal program of reform in the future.

Portugal and Spain have never drawn a legal ~~caste~~ line against persons of culture who happen to be of Negro descent. Portugal has a human code for the natives and has begun their education in some religions. But, unfortunately, the industrial concessions of Portuguese Africa are almost wholly in the hands of foreigners whom Portugal cannot or

will not control, and who are exploiting land ~~and labor~~ and reestablishing the African slave ~~trade~~.

The United States of America after brutally enslaving millions of black folks, suddenly emancipated them and began their education; but it acted without system or forethought, throwing the freedmen on the world penniless and landless, educating them without thoroughness and system and subjecting them the while to lynching, lawlessness, discrimination, insult and slander, such as human beings have seldom endured and survived. To save their own government, they disfranchized the Negro and then when danger passed allowed hundreds of thousands of educated and civilized black folk to be lawlessly disfranchised and subjected to a caste system; and at the same time, in 1776, 1812, 1861, 1897 and 1917, they asked and allowed thousands of black men to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the country which despised and despises them.

France alone of the great colonial powers has sought to place her cultured black citizens on a plane of absolute legal and social equality with her white and given them representation in her highest legislature. In her colonies she has a wide-spread but still imperfect system of state education. This splendid beginning must be completed by widening the political bases of her native government, by restoring to the indigenes the ownership of the soil, by protecting native labor against the aggression of established capital, and by asking no man blak or white, to be a soldier unless the county gives him a voice in his own government.

The independance of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and San Domingo is absolutely necessary to any sustained belief of the black folk, in the sincerity and honesty of the white. These nations have earned the right to be free, they deserve the recognition of the world; Notwithstanding all their faults and mistakes, and the fact that they are behind the most advanced civilizations of the day, nevertheless they compare favorably with the past, and even more recent, history of most European nations, and it shames civilization that the treaty of London practically invited Italy to aggression on Abyssinia, and that free America has unjustly and cruelly seized Haiti, murdered and for a time enslaved her workmen, overthrown her free institutions by force and, has so far failed in return to give her a single bit of help, aid or sympathy.

What then to those demand who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination and who believe in the divine right of Suppressed and Backward Peoples to learn and aspire and be free?

The ~~Suppressed Races~~ Negro race through its thinking intelligensia ~~are~~ is demanding:

I - The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color;

II - Local self-government, for backward groupe, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to emplete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world.

III - Education in ~~self-konwledge, in scientific truth and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.~~ undivorced

~~Impossible~~

IV - Freedom in their own religion and social customs, and with the right to be different and non-conformist.

V - Cooperation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom and Peace.

VI - The ancient common ownership of the Land and its natural fruits and defence against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

38-2-245 (4)

The world must face two eventualities : either the complete assimilation of Africa with 2 or 3 of the great world states, with political, civil and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of a great black African state founded in Peace and Good Will , based on popular education, natural art and industry and freedom of trade, autonomus and sovereign in its internal policy, but from its beginning a part of a great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world.

In some such words and thoughts as these we seek to express our will and ideal, and the end of our untiring effort. To our aid, we call all men of the Earth who love Justice and Mercy. Out of the depths we have cried unto the deaf and dumb master of the world. Out of the depths we cry to our own sleeping souls.

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League of Nations

7. The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for the study of Negro Problems

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8.-Th establishment of an international section in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor.

- TO THE WORLD -

The absolute equality of races physical, political and social is the founding stone of world and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of Science, Religion and practical Politics is one in denying the God-Appointed existence of supper-races, or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

That in the vast range of time, one group should in its industrial technique, or social organization, or spiritual vision, lag a few hundred years behind another, or forge fitfully ahead, or come to differ decidedly in thought deed and ideal, is proof of the essential richness and variety of human nature, rather than proof of the co-existence of demi-gods and apes in human form. The doctrine of racial equality does not interfere with individual liberty, rather, it fulfils it. And of all the various criteria of which masses of men have in the past been prejudged and classified that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair, is surely the most adventitious and idiotic.

It is the duty of the world to assist in every way the advance of the Backward and Suppressed Groups of mankind. The rise of all men is a menace to no one and is the highest human ideal, it is not an altruistic benevolence, but the one road to world salvation.

For the purpose of raising such peoples to intelligence, self knowledge and self control, their intelligentsia of right ought to be recognized as the natural leaders of their groups.

The insidious and dishonorable propaganda, which, for selfish ends, so distorts and denies facts as to represent the advancement and development of certain races of men as impossible and undesirable, should be met with wide-spread dissemination of the truth; the experiment of making the Negro slave a free citizen in the United States is not a failure; the attempts at autonomous government in Haiti and Liberia are not proofs of the impossibility of self government among black men, the experience of Spanish America does not prove that mulatto democraty will not eventually succeed there. The aspirations of Egypt and India are not successfully to be met by sneers at the capacity of daker races.

We who resent the attempt to treat civilized men as uncivilized, and who bring in our hearts grievance upon grievance against those who lynch the untried, disfranchise the intelligent, deny self government to educated men, and insult the helpless, we complain, but not simply or primarly for ourselves - more especially for the millions of our fellows, blood of our blood, and flesh of our flesh, who have not even what we have; the power to complain against montruous wrong, the power to see and know the source of our oppression.

How far the future advance of mankind will depend on the social contact and physical intermixture of the various strains of human blood is unknown, but the demand for the interpenetration of countries and intermingling of blood has come, in modern days, from the white race alone, and has been imposed on brown and black folks

44-1-122

44-1-123

mainly by brute force and fraud; and on top of that the resulting people of mixed race have had to endure innuendo, persecution, and insult, and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery.

If it be proven that absolute world segregation by group, color or historic affinity is the best for the future, let the white race leave the dark world and the darker races will gladly leave the white. But the proposition is absurd. This is a world of men, of men whose likenesses far outweigh their differences; who mutually need each other in labor and thought and dream, but who can successfully have each other only on terms of equality, justice and mutual respect. They are the real and only Peace-Makers who work sincerely and peacefully to this end.

The beginning of Wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among Suppressed Peoples. The habit of democraty must be made to encircle the earth. Despite the attempt to prove that its practice is the secret and divine gift of the Few, no habit is more natural or more widely spread among primitive people, or more easily capable of development among masses. Local self government with a minimum of help and oversight can be established to morrow in Asia, in Africa, America and the Isles of the Sea. It will in many instances need general control and guidance but it will fail only when that guidance seeks ignorantly and consciously its own selfish ends and not the people's liberty and good.

Surely in the 20th century of the Prince of Peace, in the millenium of Buddha and Mahmoud, and in the mightiest Age of Human Raison, there can be found in the civilized world enough of altruism, learning and benevolence to develop native institutions for the native's good, rather than continuing to allow the majority of mankind to be brutalized and enslaved by ignorant and selfish agents of commercial institutions, whose one aim is profit and power for the few.

And this brings us to the crux of the matter : it is the shame of the world that today the relations between the main groups of mankind and their mutual estimate and respect is determined chiefly by the degree in which one can subject the other to its service, enslaving labor, making ignorance compulsory, uprooting ruthlessly religion and customs, and destroying government, so that the favoured Few may luxuriate in the toil of the tortured Many. Science, Religion and Philanthropy have thus been made the Slaves of world commerce and industry, and bodies, minds, souls of Fiji and Congo are judged almost solely by the quotations on the Bourse.

The day of such world organization is past and whatever excuse be made for it in other ages, the 20th century must come to judge men as men and not as material and labor.

The great industrial problem which has hitherto been regarded as the domestic problem of culture lands, must be viewed far more broadly if it is ever to reach just settlement. Labor and Capital in England France and America can never solve their problem as long as a similar and vastly greater problem of poverty and injustice marks the relations of the whiter and darker peoples. It is shameful, unreligious, unscientific and undemocratic that the estimate, that half the peoples of earth put on the other half, depends mainly on their ability to squeeze profit out of them,

If we are coming to recognize that the great modern problem is to correct maladjustement in the distribution of wealth, it must be remembered that the basic maladjustement is in the outrageously

44-1-124

unjust distribution of world income between the dominant and suppressed peoples; in the rape of land and raw material, the monopoly of technique and culture. And in this crime white labor is particeps criminis with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white labor vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown and yellow labor, until with fatal retribution, they are themselves today bound and gagged and rendered impotent by the resulting monopoly of the world's raw material in the hands of a dominant, cruel and irresponsible few.

And too just as curiously, the educated and cultured of the world, the well-born and well-bred, and even the deeply pious and philanthropic, receive their training and comfort and luxury, the ministrations of delicate beauty and sensibility on condition that they neither inquire into the real source of their income or the methods of distribution or interfere with the legal props which rest on a pitiful human foundation of writhing white and yellow and brown and black bodies.

We claim no perfectness of our own nor do we seek to escape the blame which of right falls on the Blackward for failure to advance, but noblesse oblige, and we arraign civilization and more especially the colonial powers for deliberate transgressions of our just demands and their own better conscience.

England, with her Pax Britannica, her courts of justice, established commerce and a certain apparent recognition of native law and customs, has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the natives, has enslaved them and is still enslaving some of them, has usually declined even to try to train black and brown men in real self-government, to recognize civilized black folks as civilized, or to grant to coloured colonies those rights of self-government which it freely gives to white men.

Belgium is a nation who has but recently assumed responsibility for her colonies, and has taken some steps to lift them from the worst abuses of the autocratic regime; but she has not confirmed to the people the possession of their land and labor, and she shows no disposition to allow the nativesmany voice in their own government, or to provide for their political future. Her colonial policy is still mainly dominated by the banks and great corporations. But we are glad to learn that the present government is considering a liberal program of reform for the future.

Portugal and Spain have never drawn a legal caste line against persons of culture who happen to be Negro descent. Portugal has a human code for the natives and has begun their education in some regions. But, unfortunately, the industrial concessions of Portuguese Africa are almost wholly in the hands of foreigners whom Portugal cannot or will not control, and who are exploiting land and restablishing the African slave trade.

The United States of America after brutally enslaving millions of black folks, suddenly emancipated them and began their education; but it acted without system or forethought, throwing the freedmen on the world penniless and landless, educating them without thoroughness and system and subjecting them the while to lynching, lawlessness, discrimination, insult and slander, such as human beeings have seldom endured and survived. To save their own government, they enfranchized the Negro and then when danger passed allowed hundreds of thousands of educated and civilized black folk to be lawlessly

41-1-125

disfranchised and subjected to a caste system; and at the same time, in 1776, 1812, 1861, 1897, and 1917, they asked and allowed thousands of black men to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the country which despised and despises them.

France alone of the great colonial powers has sought to place her cultured black citizens on a plane of absolute legal and social equality with her white and given them representation in her highest legislature. In her colonies she has a wide-spread but still imperfect system of state education. This splendid beginning must be completed by widening the political bases of her native government, by restoring to the indigenes the ownership of the soil, by protecting native labor against the aggression of established capital, and by asking no man black or white, to be a soldier unless the country gives him a voice in his own government.

The independence of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti and San Domingo is absolutely necessary to any sustained belief of the black folk, in the sincerity and honesty of the white. These nations have earned the right to be free, they deserve the recognition of the world; not with standing all their faults and mistaken, and the fact that they are behind the most advanced civilization of the day, nevertheless they compare favorably with the past, and even more recent, history of most European nations, and it shames civilization that the treaty of London practically invited Italy to aggression in Abyssinia, and that free America has unjustly and cruelly seized Haiti, murdered and for a time enslaved her workmen, overthrown her free institutions by force and has so far failed in return to give her a single bit of help, aid or sympathy.

What then to those demand who see these evils of the color line and racial discrimination and who believe in the divine right of Suppressed and Backward Peoples to learn and aspire and be free ?

The Negro race through its thinking intelligensia is demanding :

I - The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race of color;

II - Local self-government, for backward groupe, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world.

III - Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.

IV - Freedom in their own religion and social customs, and with the right to be different and non-conformist.

V - Cooperation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the bases of Justice, Freedom and Peace.

VI - The ancient common ownership of the Land and its natural fruits and defence against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

VII - The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for the study of Negro Problems.

VIII - The establishment of an international section in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor.

The world must face two eventualities : either the complete assimilation of Africa with 2 or 3 of the great world states, with political, civil and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of a great black African state founded in Peace and Good Will, based on popular education, natural art and industry and freedom of trade, autonomus and sovereign in its internal policy, but from its beginning a part of a great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world.

44-1-126

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# The Negro and the League of Nations

by W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Very homely and human was the look of the Assembly of the League of Nations as I peered down from the t ird row of the first gallery. Two things were possible: a simplicity saved by earnestness and the presence of great names; or that eager pomp of circumstance with which Europe speaks its hundreds and Asia its thousands of years. Either would have been impressive: imagine the Federation of the World, scarlet and gold against a background of Notre Dame and Taj Mahal with English horse-guards and Austrian Hussars! After all, could any magnificence be too great for the Wonderful Idea? Next to this, and equally impressive come the brown severe lines of a Calvanist Church -- straight wooden benches and narrow aisles, little white cards with the names of the ends of earth, and beside them Bourgeois, La Fontaine, Branting, Nansen, Gilbert Murray and a presiding officer with hair that a Georgia conductor would never have been satisfied with outside the Jim Crow Car.

I had the vaguest notion of what the League of Nations could do for the Negro. Nothing I imagined and starting here I worked up.

The Second Pan-African Congress had asked me as Secretary to go to Geneva and present its cause, but I had to determine the form and method of its presentation. I counted on certain allies; the one delegate of acknowledged Negro descent was Bellegarde, Haitian minister to France and he stood ready to help us in any way consonant with his rather equivocal international position; the Swiss Society for the Protection of Natives under Rene Claparede was eager to be of service but had been greatly weakened by the war; the English Aborigines Protection Society had a strong delegation on the ground, but they were

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naturally more conservative than the Pan-African Congress.

After consultation with Claparede, Harris of the Aborigines Protection Society, Rappard of the Mandates Commission, Gilbert Murray, Lief Jones M. P., and Bellegarde, I began with the International Labor Bureau. After two interviews with its head, Albert Thomas, formerly of the French Government and with Gustav Spiller, once secretary of the World Races Congress I laid before Mr. Thomas my general petition to the League of Nations with this memorandum:

38-12-121

"I am laying before you herewith a copy of a communication sent to the League of Nations in behalf of the Second Pan-African Congress.

"The Congress is asking for a special section of the International Bureau of Labor devoted to native labor, especially that of the Negro.

"Studies of this sort might be made by your bureau from time to time; but we want a section continuously devoted to this work for the following reasons:

"1: Because native unorganized and unprotected labor forms a large and increasingly important part of all labor.

"2: The increase of machinery, improvements of methods and cheapening of freights brings this labor into direct competition with white civilized labor.

"3: The labor problem of civilized lands can never be settled by ignoring native labor, or helping to enslave it, or by attmepting to climb to power on its back.

"4: These facts and similar ones ought to be brought before the modern labor world and kept there by regular intensive investigations, following out by scientific methods the real costs of Congo and East African slavery and by developing a body of experts who can teach the

world along these vital lines."

Mr Thomas showed much interest, pointed out that some attention had already been given to this matter and intimated that further steps might be taken. He promised us a memorandum on the subject.

I then turned to the mandates commission. Here a stiff battle was already on and the very first day I visited the Assembly, an Indian arose and pointed out the fact that if German Southwest Africa came under the control of the Union of South Africa as mandatory of the League of Nations, and if in this class of mandates the mandatory had the right to extend its domestic legislation to the mandated area, then under the South African color bar the Indians would actually have fewer rights under the League of Nations than they had under Germany.

38-12-122

The whole question then of the mandates over African territory involved color problems, but arrangements and debates had gone too far when we arrived for us to exert much influence. We did however fasten on one point: the great majority of the peoples of the mandated areas are Negroes. It would surely seem that on the governing Commission of the League of Nations which is in charge of mandates the Negro race should be represented. The demand then for such representation we made the second point of our petition, after consultation with the Chairman of the Mandates Commission of the Assembly.

The third question that we took under consideration was the relation of the Negro to the Minorities Commission. This brought us to the difficult question of the treatment of Negroes in civilized lands; but it was not at all clear that this fell under the general question of minorities as worked out by the League of Nations. By a series of treaties between its members the League has arranged for the pro-

tection of the rights of certain religious and racial minorities; but the Negroes in the parts of the world where they suffer discrimination are not always in the minority although it might be said that their educated classes are; and moreover in the most conspicuous case, (that of the United States), where the Negro forms a minority which is discriminated against, the nation itself is not a member of the League. If, in the future, the United States should elect to come into the League the question is, would it be asked to assent to the treaties for the protection of minorities as other entering nations are now being asked; and would the likelihood of its being required to make such promises militate against the possibility of its ever entering the League of Nations.

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These difficult problems made us decide that it was probably impossible to bring the Negro problems at present under any application of the minorities treaties; but we did attempt to make a general demand on the League of Nations with regard to civilized Negroes and their treatment and to ask for an international body to study and advise upon this problem.

Having come to these definite conclusions we presented a petition to the council and Assembly of the League of Nations which was in substance as follows:

"The Second Pan-African Congress which met in London, Brussells and Paris, August 28, 29, and 31 and September 2, 3, 5 and 6 represented 26 different groups of people of Negro descent; namely British Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone; the Egyptian Sudan, British East Africa, former German East Africa; French Senegal, the French Congo and Madagascar; Belgian Congo; Portuguese St. Thome, Angola and Mozambique;

Liberia; Abyssinia; Haiti; British Jamaica and Grenada; French Martinique and Guadeloupe; British Guiana; the United States of America; Negroes resident in England, France, Belgium and Portugal, and fraternal visitors from India, Morocco, the Philippines and Annam.

"The Congress directed its executive officers to approach the League of Nations with three earnest requests, believing that the greatest international body in the world must sooner or later turn its attention to the racial problem as it today affects persons of Negro descent.

38-12-124

"First:

" The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of Native Negro Labor especially in Africa and in the Islands of the Seas. It is the earnest belief of the Congress that the labor problems of the world cannot be understood or properly settled so long as colored and especially Negro labor is enslaved and neglected and that a first step toward the world emancipation of labor would be through investigation of Native Labor.

"Secondly:

" The second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the modern world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations and that consequently the mandated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission so soon as a vacancy occurs.

"Thirdly and finally:

"The second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and

emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and unconsciously there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are colored and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and of many consequent laws, customs and conventions is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult and despair is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.

35-12-125

We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little if any direct power to adjust these matters but it has the vast moral power of public world opinion and of a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races and that it suggest to the Colonial Powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro Problem, and for the Evolution and protection of the Negro Race."

The next duty was that of getting this petition in such shape before the League of Nations that it could be acted on in whole or in part. We were too late to present these matters when the committees were appointed at the opening of the Assembly as our own Congress had not then finished its work. Our only method seemed to be to have the points brought up on the floor of the Assembly and referred to the various committees. We therefore wrote to Mr. Gilbert Murray of England, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium and Mr. Bellegarde of Haiti. Mr. Gilbert Murray represented South Africa, the worst Negro-hating country in the world, in the Assembly. Nevertheless he is a liberal-minded Englishman

and it seemed to us that it would be peculiarly fitting if he could bring this matter forward on the floor. Then too, Senator La Fontaine represented Belgium with its huge colony of the Congo. Finally Mr. Bellegarde as the only Negro representative on the floor was in a sense the spokesman for the Negro race. Mr. Gilbert Murray writes me under date of September 23, saying:

38-12-126

"I am sorry to say that your resolutions were too late to be profitably referred to a Committee for discussion, but I suggested to Mr. Bellegarde that he should put the second [The demand for a representative on the Mandates Commission] to the Assembly during the debate on Mandates. I advised him not to move it as an amendment to the report of the Committee, but merely to state it as a principle. He did so, and his speech was quite a remarkable success, and I think that next year it may be quite suitable to put it down as a resolution."

The resolutions, together with the resolutions of the Pan-African Congress were also sent to Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary of the League for filing in the archives. This is a small beginning toward bringing Africa into the center of the international movement of the world; but it is an important beginning, and if pushed in the future may mean a revolution for the Negro race particularly if the League of Nations survives to fulfill its present promise.

(1) Garvey The Black Star Line

W. E. B. Du Bois

File Garvey

The main economic venture of Marcus Garvey was the Black Star Line.

This steamship venture was the foundation stone of Garvey's rise to popularity among Negroes. African migration is a century old and a pretty thoroughly discredited dream. Autonomous African Negro States have been forecast by scores of Negro leaders and writers. But a definite plan to unite Negrodom by a line of steamship was a brilliant suggestion and Garvey's only original contribution to the race problem. But, asked the critic, can it be done? Has Garvey the business sense, can he raise the capital, can he gather the men?

The answer lies in the history of the Black Star fleet. The Yarmouth was a steamer of 1452 gross tons, built in 1887. ~~According to the Manifest of December 1921 it was~~ formerly sold at anchor for $1325. The Black Star Line bought this boat in 1919 and in its report for the year 1920, it was put down as worth $178,156.36. At the Orr trial, Garvey swore under oath that he paid $140,000 cash for it. We will tell the rest of this story in Garvey's own words:

"We contracted to bring a carload of whiskey valued at five million dollars and the ship, in sailing out between here and Sandy Hook, was caught in a gale and was damaged badly and put back into port, and there were several raids on the whiskey; when it came back, Prohibition was in effect; the ship was raided several times, whiskey was stolen; we had a great deal of trouble with the Federal Government, costing us thousands of dollars; ultimately the ship was repaired in Cuba; we experienced a tie-up of two months with this cargo of whiskey with a crew of over fifty men and we experienced some trouble in Cuba in handling the whiskey; when she did clear from Cuba, she went to the West Indies and also had an accident there and returned and we lost on that trip from 250 to 300 thousand dollars, and on another trip we lost about 75 thousand dollars; there were extensive repairs done on the

boat, and even against our instructions because the captain of the boat did things on his own account, and we were held liable for it.

Q. What did you mean by testifying you lost about a quarter of million dollars on that cargo? A. Because we had to pay the cost of the undelivered cargo; we had to pay the cost of the repairs of the boat.

THE COURT: You had to pay for what disappeared?

ANSWER: Yes.

Q. Did all of that cargo disappear, or a few cases?

A. Part of the cargo.

Q. Do you mean for the Court to understand that you, at the head of a corporation that had a load of whiskey on their boat, that because it was destoryed or confiscated, you had to pay for it, is that what you want the Court to believe? A. We had to pay for the carro that was not delivered for which we contracted to deliver.

Q. Did you insure the cargo? A. No, I did not.

Q. You mean for the Court to believe you had to pay for the cargo of whiskey?

THE COURT: That is what he said.

On another voyage, Luc Dorsinville, who claimed to have been Haitian agent of the line, stated that it took the Yarmouth three months to make a single voyage between New York, Cuba, Haiti and Jamaica; that the voyage cost between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars and that at the end of the three months the cargo did not pay half the cost. This agent claims that he had 77 passengers booked for passage and a cargo of freight, but the boat was so dirty that most of the people would not take passage. ~~Nevertheless~~ He said that he sold 27 passages beside paying many bills for the ship. Nevertheless the ship went to Jamaica instead of New York

(3) for passage money hand and other matters.

and left the agent to settle the claims. There was a good deal of controversy as to just who was to blame for all this and why the Yarmouth did not return to ship the cargo worth over $30,000 which the agent claims was waiting for her.

Of the staggering losses on the Yarmouth no hint appears in Mr. Garvey's glowing speeches concerning the Black Star Line, or in the advertisements in the Negro World, or even in the first annual financial report issued in 1920, July 26. No loses whatsoever are recorded there. The Yarmouth is entered at full value and an organization expense of $289,033.27 is put down as an asset because it is an "organization expense." It was also recorded: ~~that~~ "We have much to be thankful for in that no unfortunate accident has befallen us!"

The "Yarmouth" made in all three trips to the West Indies in three years. It was then docked for repairs. This bill was apparently not paid for the Nauticus announced, October 15, 1921, an attachment against the Black Star Line for $20,285.57 by the National Dry Dock and Repair Company. This was presumably for unpaid repairs on the Yarmouth, although it may have applied to other boats also. At any rate in the Nauticus of December 10, 1921, appears this obituary of the first boat of the Black Star Line:

"Yarmouth (S.S.) 1452 tons gross 725 net, built at Dumbarton 1887 and owned by the B. S. L., N. Y., was sold by U. S. Marshall as she lay at the National Dry Dock, N. Y., December 8, [1921] to Frederic Townsend, c/o Walter Welsh, 32 Broadway, for $1525."

The "Kanawha" or "Antonio Maceo" was listed in the Black Star report as worth $75,359.01. Garvey swore that he paid $30,000 for it. It was apparently bought to do a small carrying trade between the West Indie Islands. The "Kanawha" left New York about Easter time 1921 and sailed for Cuba and the West Indies. Garvey testified that she and another ship, " was repaired in dry dock and sailed from here; she broke down between Cuba and the Virginia Coast and we had to tow her back to

New York. We had to spend 70 of 80 thousand dollars on that boat." The Negro World announced that this boat "arrived in Cuba in a blaze of glory, April 13."

According to the New York Evening World the boat was held up in Cuba because of boiler troubles, although several thousand dollars had been recently spent on new boilers. Finally she was tied up in Santiago de Cuba and the United States government brought the crew back. The boat itself has never reappeared.

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The "Shadyside" was listed by the Black Star Line as worth $35,000. It did a small excursion business up the Hudson during one summer.

In March 1921 the Shadyside lay on the beach beside North River, at the foot of 157th Street and was in a hopeless condition, quite beyond repair.

Thus the three first boats of the Garvey fleet disappeared and if the Black Star's own figures and Mr. Garvey's statements of losses are true, this involves a total disappearance of $388,515 of the hard earned savings of Colored folk.

But this is not all.

On Sunday night, April 10, according to the Negro World of April 16, 1921:

"Unexpectedly, like a bolt of lightning, came the announcement at Liberty Hall tonight that the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation expected by May 1, next, to float the "Phyllis Wheatley," its latest addition to the corporation's line of steamships to engage in transportation between this country and Africa. The news was hailed with wild expressions of joy and delight by the immense audience that filled the great hall."

$6 for Colored

The ship was said to carry 4,500 tons of cargo and 2,000 passengers, was equipped with electric lights, fans, music and smoking-rooms and refrigerative machinery.

* (In the Ann trial)

Already, as early as January 1921, Black Star Line sailings for Liberia, West Africa, had been given display advertising in the Negro World. They were announced for "on or about the 27th of March, 1921, at 3 P.M." Beginning in April and continuing for seven or more months, there appeared advertisements announcing "passengers and freight" for the West Indies and West Africa by the S.S. Phyllis Wheatley, "sailing on or about April 25th" or without definite date.

When the delegates came to the convention, August 1, they naturally asked to see the Phyllis Wheatley, but [illegible] a delegate, Noah Thompson, says in the California New Age of September 23, 1921 [illegible]:

> None of the boasted ships were shown the delegates, who were daily promised that on "tomorrow" the ships would be shown. Mr. Thompson said that he was in New York thirty-five days, and with others persisted in demanding to be shown the ships, but was daily told that they could see the ships "tomorrow," and "later," but "tomorrow" never came.

September 30, 1921, Mr. Garvey defended himself, declaring:

> It was announced before the convention adjourned, that the United States Shipping Board had awarded the S. S. Orion to the Black Star Line, Inc., the ship for which we are to pay $250,000 and on which we have a deposit of $25,000.

Finally the truth came out. In an editorial in the Negro World, February 18, 1922, Mr. Garvey alleges that a "group" have robbed the Black Star Line and desires to cover up their robbery, in that within recent months a thorough investigation has been started to find out what has been done in the matter of over $25,000 which is said to be deposited with the United States Shipping Board for the purchase of a ship, and the continuous deception of the said parties in promising the president of the Black Star Line, the Board of Directors and stockholders, that a ship by the name of the S. S. Orion, which should have been named the S. S. Phyllis Wheatley, should have been delivered since April of 1921 and is not yet delivered up to the time of writing, and for which over a thousand and one excuses have been given.

Moreover Mr. Garvey virtually acknowledged that the Black Star Line

after collecting nearly three-quarters of a million dollars did not have in 1921 enough money to deposit $25,000 on the new ship, but ~~had to go round the world collecting more.~~ said

~~He said~~ that part of the purchase money of the ship was to be raised in America and that he went to the West Indies to raise the balance. No sooner had Mr. Garvey left, however, than as he alleges:

> Certain parties who assumed the active management of affairs of the Black Star Line in the United States planned, in conjunction with others, that I should never return to America, and that during my absence from the country, plunderings of all kinds would have been indulged in.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Changes were made in the plans that were laid out for the acquirement of the African boat; new arrangements were made, contracts were signed and for four months, whilst all these changes had been going on, not even a word of information was sent to me, to acquaint me of what was being done.
>
> The S. S. Phyllis Wheatley that should have been secured since April, and which I had every reason to believe was either at anchor in New York, or had sailed for Africa, was nowhere to be found!

Finally Mr. Garvey concludes:

> Patience dragged on and on, until I took definite steps to locate either the money or the ship, and then to my surprise where $25,000 should have been only $12,500 was credited.

In other words, Mr. Garvey says that officials of the Black Star Line, who he is careful not to name, stole so much of the deposit money that the Phyllis Wheatley could not be secured for the line!

Just when Mr. Garvey made this astonishing discovery, we are not informed; but when he returned to America in July, the sailing of the Phyllis Wheatley continued to be advertised until October and tickets of passage were sold. As a result, Mr. Garvey and three of his chief officials were indicted by the Grand Jury of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, for "using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud and conspiring so to do."

Several states questioned the honesty of the corporation and refused to let Mr. Garvey sell stock. In the city of Chicago, he was convicted of violating the Illinois Stock Law and fined one hundred

dollars. In Virginia, John A. George was sent to jail for selling stock after the Corporation Commission had investigated the scheme through Pinkerton detectives. This was in February 1921.

What excuses does Mr. Garvey offer for his failure? His excuses are various and extraordinary. First and perhaps the most astonishing is the following statement in the Negro World of January 21, 1922:

> All the troubles we have had on our ships have been caused because men were paid to make this trouble by certain organizations calling themselves Negro Advancement Associations. They paid men to dismantle our machinery and otherwise damage it so as to bring about the downfall of the movement;

Secondly, Mr. Garvey alleges gigantic "conspiracies". He said, as reported in the Negro World May 13, 1922, at Liberty Hall:

> Millions of dollars were expended in the shipping industries to boycott and put out of existence the Black Star Line.

In the Negro World of January 28, 1922, he ~~says:~~ adds:

> The matter of my arrest last week for the alleged fraudulent use of the mails is but a concoction decided upon by the unseen forces operating against us to find some criminal excuse by which the promoter of the greatest movement among Negroes could be held up to world scorn and ridicule, thereby exposing the movement to contempt. It is a mean, low-down, contemptible method of embarrassing any movement for human uplift.

He also says that "Bolshevists" are paying for attacks on the line. (Negro World December 14, 1921).

Thirdly and chiefly, Mr. Garvey accuses his associates and employees of dishonesty. In the Negro World of February 18, 1922, Mr. Garvey writes of a "treacherous plot" against him and a "great state of demoralization" in the Black Star Line during his absence, and of "the tricks and dishonesty of a few employees of the Black Star Line".

In the Negro World of December 24, 1921, he says:

> Through the dishonesty of some of the "so-called educated," Garvey has had to suffer many reverses. Business transactions and financial arrangements which Garvey was too busy to attend to himself and left to others opened the door for several of these "so-called educated" (whom he trusted to represent him) to rob and cheat the organization, and thus make it harder for Garvey to protect and represent the interests of the people.
>
> As often as found out the so-called "educated" tramps and villains have been kicked out of the organization. Several of them have formed new organizations, started newspapers and journals. And some of the organizations, newspapers and journals, after collecting a few thousand dollars from the poor, innocent people, have gone out of existence; but the villains still hover around, connecting themselves with other papers and organizations that keep up a fight against the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Garvey.
>
> Observe carefully the composition of any anti-Garvey organization or paper and you will find there a congregation of dismissed, disgraced and so-called resigned employes of either the Universal Negro Improvement Association, The Negro World or the Black Star Line Corporation. All birds of a feather flock together. All villains keep together.

Spot Reid

323-49

In the Negro World of July 8, 1922, he writes:

> No head of any steamship company can guarantee what will be the action of the captain of one of his ships when he clears port. If a captain wants to sell or confiscate your goods; if a captain wants to pile up debts on a steamship company for his own selfish profit, what can the president of that corporation do, especially when the individual may be in league with some powers that be, and especially the only powers that could punish him if he creates a criminal offense against the corporation?
>
> What can Marcus Garvey do if men are employed to do their work and they prove to be dishonest and dishonorable in the performance of that work? What could Jesus do dealing with a dishonest man but to wait and punish him at His judgment? and judgment is not just now. What will happen in the meanwhile—Jesus would be robbed.

Spotted

Finally, Mr. Garvey alleges his own lack of experience in the shipping business.

> Marcus Garvey is not a navigator; he is not a marine engineer; he is not even a good sailor, therefore the individual who would criticize Marcus Garvey for a ship of the Black Star Line not making a success at sea is a fool." (Negro World July 8, 1922).

Spotted

Mr. Garvey consequently writes in the Negro World of April 1, 1922, "We have suspended the activities of the Black Star Line."

(20)

(21)

Here then is the collapse of the only thing in the Garvey movement which was original or promising. Of course, Mr. Garvey promises repayment, reorganization and a "New" Black Star Line.

What are his statements and promises worth? Knowing, as he did, that he had lost $250,000 on a single voyage and $75,000 on another and that his capital had practically disappeared, he declared according to a report in the Negro World, March 5, 1921:

> Nothing engineered by Negroes within the last 500 years has been as big or as stupendous as the Black Star Line.
>
> . . . . . Today we control three-quarters of a million dollars (applause); not three-quarters of a million on mere paper, but in property value—money that can be realized in twenty-four hours if the stockholders desire that their money be refunded to them. By a majority vote at any meeting we can sell out the property of the Black Star Line and realize every nickel we have placed in it.

In spite of this, Mr. Garvey made the following statements under oath in the Orr trial:

THE COURT: The people in your community have a great deal of faith in you?

ANSWER: Yes, they have.

THE COURT: They have had a great deal of faith in you in 1919?

ANSWER: Yes, and they still have.

THE COURT: Any statements you made in 1919 were relied on by the members of your community?

ANSWER: Yes.

THE COURT: You wanted those statements to be believed when you made them?

ANSWER: Yes.

THE COURT: You wanted them to be relied on?

ANSWER: Yes.

THE COURT: You did not paint the possibilities of the Black Star Line in hues of rose color, did you?

ANSWER: No, I did not; it was still a business proposition like any other business proposition. (Italics ours).

Small wonder that at the end of this trial Jude Panken said: "It seems to me that you have been preying upon the gullibility of your own people, having kept no proper accounts of the money received for investment, being an organization of high finance in which the officers received outrageously high salaries and were permitted to have exorbitant exrense accounts for pleasure jaunts throughout the country. I advise these "dupes" who have contributed to these organizations to go into court and ask for the appointment of a receiver. You should have taken this $600,000 and built a hospital for colored people in this city instead of purchasing a few old boats. There is a form of paranoia which manifests itself in believing oneself to be a great man."

To this let us add this pitiful human document:

San Diego, Cal.

Mr. Noah D. Thompson,

Dear Sir:

Reading your report on the Convention of the U.N.I.A., I am forced to write you, asking if it is wise for a widow women who makes her living by working in service and doing day work, to continue to make the sacrifice by sending $5.00 per month on payment of shares in the Black Star Line.

After reading that part of your report, stating that you and many other delegates were unable to see the ships supposed to be owned by said company, I began to think maybe I had better keep my hard earnings at home, for I have an aged mother to support and I havent one penny to throw away. So, I am writing you for facts in regard to what I have asked you. I am willing to make the sacrifice, if I know it is doing the race some good and will help to promote better conditions along financial lines.

Yours Truly

Ella Ross Hutson.

The Pan-African Congress and Native Labor

It will be remembered that the Pan African Congress of 1921 voted among other things a resolution addressed to the International Bureau of Labor connected with the League of Nations, at Geneva, Switzerland. This resolution said: "The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of native labor, especially in Africa and elsewhere. This Congress earnestly believes that the labor problems of the world can never be understood or completely solved so long as colored, and expecially black, labor is enslaved and neglected. The Congress believes furthermore that the first step toward the emancipation of labor throughout the world would be the organization of a thorough investigation into native labor."

After the adjournment of the Pan-African Congress, Dr. Du Bois as secretary together with M. Dantes Bellegarde and Miss Jessie Fauset etc., took this resolution in person and laid it before M. Albert Thomas Director of the International Bureau of Labor. At the same time, M. Bellegarde on the floor of the assembly, brought this and other matters publicly to the attention of the League.

M. Thomas laid the question of setting up a section to deal with native labor before his Board of Control. Much opposition was manifested, partly on account of the alleged radicalism of Dr. Du Bois and others and partly for other reasons. Fihally, however, on January 1st, 1923, the matter bore fruit and the Director was authorized to appoint a special official in the Diplomatic Branch of the Bureau of Labor. This official is to have special charge of matters affecting native labor in protectorate mandated areas and other places and to collect information and make reports.

We are especially glad to announce this small but significant beginning and we regard it as one of the triumphs of the Pan-African Congress.

38-12-128

undated

# The Ninth Crusade

A movement against lynching organized by the Anti-Lynching Crusaders, owes its origin to Mrs. Helen Curtis who was inspired by a public statement of congressman L. C. Dyer made at the Newark Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in June, 1922.

A small committee met and organized a campaign. The basic thought in the minds of the organizers, was to help a cause. They, therefore organized for a temporary campaign beginning October 1st and ending December 31st; and secondly, they sought so to safeguard the collection of monies, and no part of the funds contributed for lynching should go toward the expenses of the campaign. Nobody received any salaries and the committee started upon its work with the slogan, "A Million Women United To Stop Lynching".

The first milestone of these Anti-Lynching Crusaders has been reached, and in this number of The Crisis, we present a nearly complete report of the actual amount of money raised. Naturally, the greatest and most far-reaching result of a moral battle of this sort is not in money but in the effect which the money has had upon the nation. Never before in the history of the United States have so many people been made acquainted with the horrors of the lynching habit. In one day's advertising, at least five million men and women read the facts and thousands of them read them for the first time. Letters are still coming daily to the Crusaders, to the N. A. A. C. P., to The Crisis, to express horror at lynching and a new sense of personal responsibility.

Active work of the Crusaders stopped December 31st except in the case of one state, West Virginia. Since that, the work of the Crusaders has been to gathering the collected funds and wind up their service. They will disband as soon as the last fund has been received. This financial report covers only money given directly to stop lynching. This money was

38-12-112

sent in the form of checks payable to the Guaranty Trust Company of New York; and the funds which these checks represented paid to that institution and in no case were they handled by the officers in charge of the crusade. Outside of this anyi-lynching money, a small amount was raised for the expense of the campaign. This expense included the making and distribution of 78,000 anti-lynching buttons, the printing of 10,000 receipt books, and the printing and distribution of 161,000 pieces of printed matter. In all, the central office sent out 25,117 letters. The money to meet these expenses was raised by the sale of anti-lynching buttons, by special local entertainments and by donations. These donations included following sums of One Hundred ($100) Dollars each from Mrs. Marion Quick, Mrs. Bethia Fleming and the group of Brooklyn Crusaders. Fifty ($50) Dollars each from Mrs. Helen Curtis, Mrs. Hannah Lochon Foutte, Lillian Alexander, Grace Fenderson, Genevieve Cannon, Mary E. Talbert, and the Tyler Circle of Newark ~~xxxx

| State | State Director | Amount Received |
|---|---|---|
| Minnesota | Mrs. M. M. Donovan | $577.50 |
| Mississippi | Mrs. Lawrence Jones | 25.00 |
| Missouri | Mrs. M. L. Crosthwaite | 27.00 |
| Montana | Mrs. J. W. Duncan | 38.00 |
| New Jersey | Mrs. Genevieve Cannon | 675.00 |
| New York | Mrs. Helen Curtis | 2152.02 |
| South Carolina | Mrs. Maggie H. Levy | 168.65 |
| Ohio | Mrs. Johnye H. Barnett | 1926.57 |
| Oklahoma | Mrs. Anna H. Cooper | 76.00 |
| Oregon | Mrs. E. D. Cannady | 10.00 |
| Pennsylvania | Mrs. Daisy H. Lampkin | 986.30 |
| Rhode Island | Mrs. Amey Harry | 227.50 |
| Tennessee | Mrs. Nettie L. Napier | 25.71 |
| Washington | Mrs. John E. Mapps | 11.25 |
| Wisconsin | Mrs. Clara C. Montgomery | 95.14 |
| | Total amount received | 10682.20 |
| Amount in Guaranty Trust Co. | of New York City | 10772.53 |
| Amount withdrawn and paid to | Treasurer of N.A.A.C.P. | 7000.00 |
| | On hand | 3772.53 |

38-12-119

38-12-233

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# The Negro and the American Stage

We all know what the Negro, for the most part, has meant hitherto on the American stage. He has been a ~~little~~ say figure whose business it was usually to be funny and sometimes pathetic. He has never, with very few exceptions, been human or credible. This, of course, cannot last. The most dramatic group of people in the history of the United States is the American Negro. It would be very easy for a great artist ~~so~~ to interpret the history of our country as to make the plot turn entirely upon the black man. Thus two classes of dramatic situations of tremendous import arise. The inner life of this black group and the contact of black and white. It is going to be difficult to get at these facts for the drama and treat ~~it~~ them sincerely and artisticly because ~~it is~~ they are covered by a shell, or shall I say a series of concentric shells? In the first place ~~the little~~ comes the shell of what most people think the Negro ought to be and ~~mean~~ thus makes everyone a self appointed and preordained judge to ~~see~~ say without further thought or inquiry ~~if~~ whether this is untrue or ~~if this~~ that is wrong. Then secondly there comes the great problem of the future relations of groups and races not only in the United States but throughout the world. To some people this seems to be a tremendous and imminent problem and in their wild anxiety to settle it in the only way which seems to them the right way they ~~are~~ are determined to destroy art, religion and good common sense in an effort to make everything that is said or shown propaganda for their ideas. These two protective shells most of us recognize; but there is a third shell that we do not so often recognize and whose sudden presence fills us with astonishment, and that is the attitude of the Negro world itself.

This Negro world which is growing in selfconsciousness, economic power and literary expression is tremendously sensitive. It has sore

toes, nerve filled teeth, delicate eyes andquivering ears. And it has these because during its whole conscious life it has been maligned ~~its~~ caricatured and lied about to an extent inconceivable to those who do not know. Any mention of Negro blood or Negro life in America for a century has been occasion for an ugly picture, a dirty allusion, a nasty comment or a pessimistic forecast. The result is that the Negro today fears any attempt of the artist to paint Negroes. He is not satisfied unless everything is perfect and proper and beautiful and joyful and hopeful. He is afraid to be painted as he is lest his human foibles and shortcomings be seized by his enemies for the purposes of the ancient and hateful propaganda.

38-12-234

Happy is the artist that breaks through any of these shells for his is the kingdom of eternal beauty. He will come through scarred and perhaps a little embittered, certainly astonished at the almost universal misinterpretation of his motives and aims. Eugene O'Neill is bursting through. He has my sympathy for his soul must be ~~full~~ lame with the enthusiasm of the blows rained upon him. But it is work that must be done. No ~~such~~ greater mine of dramatic material ever lay ready for the great artist's hands as the situation of men of Negro blood in modern America.

## Where We Are

The campaign is on and where are we? For the Republicans, Mr. Coolidge has greeted the Business League, defended by letter the right of a Negro to run for office, appointed a Negro bureau; Hell-and-Maria Dawes has defended the Ku Klux Klan.

For the Democrats, Mr. Davis has attacked the Klan and established a Negro bureau; also he has gained the support of William H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney General under Taft and college mate of President Coolidge.

For the independents Mr. LaFollette has attacked the Klan and quoted Abraham Lincoln in defense of the Negro. He has also established a Negro bureau.

And that's that. But, brother, the thing that should interest you is the Congressman from your district. Who are the candidates and what is their record? Get extremely busy and find out. Congressmen is the main issue.

Meantime who are "we". There were the following Negroes of voting age in 1920:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| New England..... | 52,315 | | |
| Middle Atlantic..... | 409,441 | | |
| East North Central..... | 356,341 | | |
| West North Central..... | 187,865 | | |
| Mountain..... | 23,881 | | |
| Pacific..... | 34,367 | | |
| | Total 1,064,210 | 1,064,210 | |
| South Atlantic..... | 2,111,952 | | |
| East South Central..... | 1,284,069 | | |
| West South Central..... | 1,062,244 | | |
| | Total 4,458,265 | 4,458,265 | |
| | | Total--5,522,475 | 5,522,475 |

In the second group, the Negroes of Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee vote pretty freely and those of Virginia are partially enfranchised. Adding this population to that of the North we have 2,015,966 Negro voters in 1920 and 3,506,509 Negroes disfranchised in the Southern South. But in the last four

49-32-3

years some of these disfranchised Negroes have moved North. It would be safe to say then that we have about two and a quarter million votes to cast next November.

AN INTERVIEW Undated

I have just had an interview with a young gentleman who desires to remain anonymous. In fact, he was at first rather loathe to grant an interview, alleging that he was quite unused to the process. Still, when I spoke of his career he acknowledged that he was "quite a man now. In fact, I will be ten years old next Thursday." After I had solemnly promised, cross-my-heart, not to divulge his identity he consented to talk.

I told him that I understood that he had some success in teaching parents. He said that he had, but that it was a tough job. I appealed to him that there were numbers of little kids and babies coming along who needed the benefit of his wisdom. He said that that was probably true.

32-12-267

He impressed it upon me that he thought a great deal of his parents and woudn't change them for anything. "You see, they aint really to blame. They just don't know. They've been away from Heaven so long that they've forgotten all about it. Now I'm sort of new and fresh so I could tell them a few things. But, gee! It was some work to make them understand!"

He said that the first lesson that he had to teach his parents was about night and day and that everybody knows that night is for sleep and day for keeping awake. Well, when he was hardly a week old he found that his folks wanted him apparently to sleep all the time. Of course, he admitted, he was a bit drowsy what with travelling thousands and thousands and thousands of miles with none too much to eat but now that he had arrived and was looking around, to get acquainted with things, he wanted to see all that he could while there was daylight. Especially he liked the early morning when the sun was getting out of its crib of clouds and little drops of water glistened on the flowers and there was a nice, chilly, cuddly feeling in the world. Always the little

birdies called him about that time and he called back as loud as he could and, "What do you think?" he said, "Dad would growl and snort and thrash about and Mumsy would cry, 'Hush, hush' and try to smother me and sing me to sleep at five o'clock in the morning. Could you beat it?" He just got mad and yelled and kept up the yelling. He told his parents in as plain English as he could master, that it was time to be up and asked them what they supposed God made day for anyway. This first lesson to his parents took some time but after a few months they consented to serve breakfast at five and to let him lie and sing to himself. Of course, he was really singing to the angels and they were singing back and he would have liked to have his parents hear and talk to them about it but they were always drunk with sleep.

38-12-268

The next big lesson that he remembered was about meals. His parents seemed to have the idea that eating was not very important except when they happened to think of it. Of course he knew better. He knew that the first duty of babies is to eat and eat often and eat on time; so that when meals were late he proceeded to raise Ned and it didn't make any difference to him whether visitors were present or Mother was busy or Mrs. Jones was on the phone. It was eating time and he had to eat. He said he knew it was selfish but that you had just got to be selfish if you were ever going to grow up. "My stomach hurts something awful when it's empty and I am liable to get sick and weak and dead if I don't eat on time." It took him about a year to teach this lesson to his parents.

He said that the next lesson was more difficult, perhaps because it was more indefinite. It was being let alone. He didn't mind one of Mother's soft little kisses now and then or a short hug from Dad if it wasn't too hard but he did seriously object to being continually pulled and jabbed and squeezed. He didn't like to have strangers sticking their wet mouths all over him. He didn't want to be rolled and tossed and

tumbled. He didn't always want to be fixed up and dressed. Sometimes he would almost go wild with too much attention. Just as he was having a pretty dream or a big thought or just as he was trying to remember dimly how the archangel's wing shown by the great white throne, suddenly it would be "Darling this and Darling that" and he would be half smothered and so angered that it drove the dream and thought all away. Visitors were especially objectionable on this account. They always wanted to see the baby; they always declared he was cute; they kept him in most uncomfortable positions while they decided whom he resembled. He said that he learned to crawl, walk and run just to escape these ogres. Sometimes he scratched and bit them; but it was a hard lesson that he tried to teach his parents in the world.

28-12-269

He got very much interested when I took up the matter of play. "First eat and then play, that's what a baby's for" he asserted. He declared that parents did not take play seriously except it was their own play. They forgot about it or they lectured him about it. They didn't mend his toys or didn't buy them. They didn't get the right toys or toys at the right time. They always thought they knew what you wanted to do better than you knew and above all they expected you to play and not get dirty. Now this young gentleman was very dogmatic on the subject of dirt. He affirmed that dirt was natural. "I love mud" was the way he put it. He asserted that the last five years of his life had been given to a struggle to be allowed to be reasonably dirty; that in this terrific battle he had first achieved rompers, then gotten rid of lace and curls and finally got the right to play with other children and get as dirty as they did.

"It's funny 'bout other children," he said reflectively. "'course I know I'm better than all other children that ever was but why swank about it?" He asserted that there were other children and they were the best possible toys to play with and that it was the business of mot

mothers and fathers to furnish such playmates. Brothers and sisters were best because they were always home and ready but failing these, children ought to be borrowed and borrowed often and in sufficient quantities. All this took a long time to teach his parents but, said he, "I've got 'em taught. You ought to see the gang in our block."

On the next subject my young gentleman got very solemn. "Why do my parents keep trying to fool me?" he asked. His first indignation on this point came when they gave him rubber things instead of food; when they hid away from him, promising to be right back; and especially when they tried to take away the fairies. That was the worst. He appealed to me as witness that everybody that knows anything knows that there are angels and fairies. Of course he knew it better than most folks because he had so recently come from the place where they live. But it seems that his mother and father were so old that they had forgotten that they had ever seen such things and really thought they were make-believe. So instead of letting the real fairies help them they tried to make up fairies and fairy tales and our young gentleman had faith in this make-believe until he caught his father playing Santa Claus. That made him really mad.

38-12-270

And this brought out another phase of his parents' peculiar ignorance which called for all his ingenuity as a teacher. They refused to take him seriously. Just because he was a little man they seemed to think he was a joke. He was always supposed to be funny and to be laughed at. Some great fat stranger would heave into sight and explode into gales of laughter when our young hero appeared. On the other hand if he laughed at the grown ups (and they were awful funny at times), My! what a serious thing it was! It took long years and a series of tantrums interspersed by whippings before his parents began to take him seriously.

Just about this time, also, they began to talk English to him. Before that and at the very time when he was trying to learn English, ~~they per~~

they persisted in talking an extraordinary jargon to him that he couldn't understand and didn't want to understand.

Finally, and with considerable finesse, I mentioned the subject of whippings. The young gentleman did not want to talk on this matter as it seemed to bring up painful memories. Indeed, he told me confidentially, that he had probably received "more'n a million" whippings. I rather doubted that but I did not dispute him. He acknowledged that some of these whippings were deserved; that he had been bad and knew it and needed a severe reminder. But most of the times, he asserted, he had been whipped primarily because Dad was mad and Mother was tired and he happened to get in the way. A few times he had been whipped when he was not guilty and this had seriously outraged his feelings. He also asserted that "oodles of other times" he deserved a whipping and did not get it because his parents forgot about it or had eaten a good dinner. He asserted that this was all wrong. "If Dad is going to be God, he must always be right and if he aint he shouldn't play at it." He was of opinion that now that he had reached the age of ten, this whipping business would better stop. It was too uncertain and messy. "I don't mind it so much but it's awful hard on Dad and Mumsy."

38-12-271

So that is how I got the distinct idea from this young gentleman that the business of teaching parents is pretty difficult and that we ought not to leave it entirely to the children. As he said, he didn't mind going on with the business. "In fact, he'd probably have to, but he had got a lot of things to do for himself in the next ten years and he hated to be bothered with teaching his parents. On the whole, I ventured to suggest a school for parents, especially a school for parents of children from 0 to 10 years of age.

FISK

I have long faced a most unpleasant dilemma and at last I have chosen my path. I have long known the unfortunate condition of Negro colleges; importunate because of small funds, inadequate teaching force and poor equipment. But behind all this I have sensed in certain leading Negro colleges a spirit of treachery to the great and necessary ideals of the American Negro.

For years I have hesitated before this certainty of belief, seeking excuse from a duty of protest that seemed to face me. All my life has been protest and I confess I weary of it. But what may one do in the face of truth and stark duty?

Especially is my relation to Fisk University singularly difficult. It is my college - the shrine of my young years of high idealism and infinite . One turns upon one's foster mother with a certain sense of desolation. And too, that Alma Mater had its hard path. I had known it in the great day of its greatest leaders - Cravath, Spence, Morgan - firm, fine, splendid souls; souls to whom compromise with evil was death; souls to whom love and sympathy was life.

I grew under these men and women. I think I drew something of inspiration fromtthem. And then as years flew I saw Fisk change. But I sought excuse. The old guard was dead. The new alliance of Northern Philanthropy and Southern white domination was in control. Fisk needed money. Fisk must have money. The old church missionary sources were dried up. If the new philanthropy gave Fisk money it must be on condition that the policy of Fisk suited the newest South.

What did the newest South demand of a Negro college? Long I watched and waited, hoping that the demand of the South, long advertised as seeing and recognizing inter-racial light and peace, might be such as men could agree on, as colored men could accept. In these years of my waiting Fayette McKenzie became president of Fisk. I knew him. I called him friend. I saw in him a new type of young, scientific

49-32-5

philanthropist come to help and re-establish training among Negroes.

I was disappointed. My disappointment has continued as story after story and charge after charge against the policy at Fisk reaches me. I hesitated. Was I asking too much? Was I impatient with progress? I formulated slowly in my own mind what the higher training of Negro youth at Fisk and elsewhere must demand to live. After thought these seemed to me the essential things:

1. Colored youth must be given a broad vision of truth, encouraged in self expression and incited to ambition according to their best ability.
2. Colored youth must not be taught to regard themselves as inferior.
3. The efforts to use the colored college for bringing the races nearer each other in the South must never sacrifice the self-respect of young men and women and their legitimate ambition.
4. Colored youth must be taught by colored and white teachers. Colored teachers alone will intensify racial cleavage; white teachers alone would be drawing the color line in a fatal and all too obvious place. Better colored teachers alone than that. Some
5. Colored college youth must never be asked to seek racial discrimination voluntarily and without protest.

I went to Fisk University last commencement. I saw clearly that in every one of these essentials Fisk was failing. I firmly believe:

1. The vision of Fisk students is being deliberately curtailed by propaganda and discouraging of ambition.
2. They are being humiliated and insulted in order to attract the sympathy of Southern whites.
3. Colored teachers are being dismissed and white teachers of mediocre ability employed.
4. Student activities are being discouraged, self expression given no scope, discipline is unduly severe and the roll of those sent away

and expelled is almost a roll of honor.

Are these things true? If they are, Fisk University needs a new president, a reformed Board of Trustees and a re-constitution of its faculty.

49-32-7

1924-25?

# The Fight at Fisk

Since certain of the alumni launched charges of mis-management at the authorities of Fisk University, extraordinary effort has been made to divert attention from the main issue. The question as to whether Fayette McKenzie is or is not fit to remain at the head of this leading Negro college has been given no fair hearing or discussion.

On the other hand the attention of the public has been led to questions like these:

1. Should Fisk Have a colored president.
2. Did W. E. B. DuBois instigate a riot among Fisk students.
3. Shall white folk have no voice in the control of Fisk University.

The answers to these questions are beside the point.

1. The question of color has never been raised by the protesting alumni.
2. Dr. DuBois has neither instigated student action nor advised them what to do or known of their proceedings before-hand. His speech of criticism was before the annual public meeting of the alumni. His whole agitation of the question has been among the trustees, alumni and the general public.
3. It has never been suggested that white folk have no voice in the control of Fisk. The growing preponderance of unfriendly white Southern opinion and practices have been resented and it has been laid down as an axiom that in the long run the final source of authority in guiding Fisk policies must be the alumni.

But after these red herring have been cleared from the trail there remains the plain and pressing question.

Is Fayette McKenzie the proper man to lead Negro youth in their higher training?

47-1-106

The alumni who say that he is not, stand ready and have offered to go before the trustees or any other judicial body and prove their charges by documentary evidence and sworn testimony.

They have been given no opportunity. On the contrary, the Board of Trustees, without hearing them, have hastened repeatedly to give President McKenzie their "full confidence" and "entire support", while at the same time individual trustees have defended this action by explaining that they were "compelled" to support their own appointee. In October the trustees proceeded to Nashville to celebrate the million dollar endowment. Thereupon the students, taking matters into their own hands and uninstigated and unadvised by any body of graduates, struck, "rioted" with tin pans and songs and refused to attend classes until these thick-and-thin supporters of the president heard their complaints. The trustees capitulated, heard a committee of students and commended them for their manly bearing; and over the protest of the president, the trustees ordered:

1. A change in the dress uniform rules,
2. A beginning of student government,
3. An advisory committee of alumni

This was early last October. The president delayed five months in carrying out these orders. He made some changes in the dress rules. He has done nothing yet for student government and instead of calling the alumni committee together he sent them four type-written pages of quotations commending his own administration. Finally, after consulting Northern trustees, he returned to Fisk, announced that he and the trustees would "ignore" all charges and began his old talk and tactics — "If you don't like Fisk, get out!"

Again and for a second time, and with no advice nor instigation from without, the students "rioted" and struck. They pounded ash

. . . cans, they sang, they yelled and they broke windows.

I thank God they did. I thank God that the younger generation of black students have the guts to yell and fight when they're insulted, mocked and oppressed. I would not give a whoop for such a demonstration engineered from outside the college walls, in New York or Nashville. But a spontaneous rebellion of young and hurt souls, a refusal to submit to calculated and remorseless tyranny is a splendid and a heartening thing.

They paid for it. The president sent eighty policemen with riot guns to arrest eighty-six boys and he ordered especially for them to jail six of the very student committee who had appeared against him before the trustees five months earlier and who won the trustees approval. So eager was McKenzie to "get" these rebels that he even included in his order two of the student committee who were not even on the campus at the time of the demonstration. Could self conviction go further? Yes, one step; after he got his students in court he had no witnesses to sustain his charge of felony. He therefore changed the charge to disorder. He had no witnesses to prove these particular students disorderly but the Southern white judge came to his rescue and imposed suspended fines. Even then when threatened with damage suits, the president had the court record expunged, the decrees of expulsion reversed and the students granted honorable dismissal.

This is not the end. It is the beginning. Hollingsworth Wood, Vice-president of the board of trustees, rushed to Nashville. He scolded the students, upheld the president in the public press and agreed with white Nashville opinion in condemning the Negroes. There is no doubt as to what this means. McKenzie is going to be held in his place just as long as money, influence and propaganda can hold him. This Fisk case is going to be made an example. Negroes are going to be taught that they have no right to demand——when they

want anything they must drop to their knees and beg. These boys and all who uphold them are marked men. Mr. Wood and his associates and friends have positions, scholarships and openings of all sorts at their command and they will know how to use them in the future as in the past to reward servility and silence and punish bravery and honesty.

I am uplifted by the student martyrs at Fisk. At last we have real radicalism of the young - radicalism that costs, that is not mere words and foam. Hitherto so much of what we called radicalism has been simply internal jealousy. We struck and jibed at our own brothers and felt brave. This was the case with Garveyism which from start to finish was simply a scurulous attack of Negroes on Negroes. This was the case with the young black Socialists who started out ten years ago to attack capitalism and ended by attacking every Negro whose head appeared above the mired mass. But here is the real radical, the man who hits power in high place while power, power backed by unlimited wealth hits it and hits it openly and between the eyes; talks face to face and not down "at the big gate". God speed the breed.

Never mind Napier and Sumlin. They are not causes - they are affects. Oppression makes men like them cringe and crawl. It makes real men fight. Suppose we do lose Fisk; suppose we lose every cent that the entrenched millionaires have set aside to buy our freedom and shut our complaining mouths. They have the power, they have the wealth, but glory to God we still own our own souls and led by young men like these, let us neither flinch nor falter but fight and fight and fight again. Let us never forget that the arch enemy of the Negro race is the false philanthropist who rubs our noses in the mud and kicks us in the mouth when we cry out in bitter protest.

# NEGRO PHYSICIANS GAIN ADMISSION STAFF HARLEM HOSPITAL

As a result of ten years of effort and agitation, the Board of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals of New York City appointed in June five colored physicians of New York City to the regular staff of Harlem Hospital located at 136th Street and Lenox Avenue. Harlem Hospital is one of the chain of the Bellevue and Allied Hospitals which includes Bellevue, Harlem, and Fordham Hospitals in New York City and King's County Hospital in Brooklyn. The physicians appointed to the staff are Drs. Louis T. Wright, Douglas B. Johnson, Ralph H. Young, James T. W. Granady, and Lucien Brown. Ten colored Internes will be appointed after passing the required examinations to begin their services July 1, 1926.

The agitation for admission of qualified colored physicians to the staff has been led by Former Alderman George W. Harris, Editor of The New York News, Ferdinand Q. Morton, Democratic leader of Harlem, The North Harlem Medical Association, the N.A.A.C.P., and numerous other organizations and individuals.

47-3-28

Harlem Hospital is located in the heart of Harlem and with the rapid increase of the Negro population in that section of the city, a large majority of the patients are colored. There has been a steadfast refusal to admit qualified colored physicians but after a hearing before Mayor Hylan, it was decided to appoint the above named five men on the indoor staff, and a number of other colored physicians on the Out Patient Department Staff.

There has been great enthusiasm in Harlem as a result of this step. The success of these five men will in large measure determine the question of admitting other physicians to Harlem and other New York hospitals and will profoundly affect the hospital situation in other cities of the country. This is the first time in the histpry of America that Negroes have been admitted to the regular staff of a metropolitan hospital, as a part of the institution's policy.

47-3-27

Harlem Hospital
Lenox Avenue at 136th - 137th Street
— New York City.

1 39

One of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals which include Bellevue, Harlem, and Fordham Hospitals in New York City and Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn.

magnificent with the morning sun; One hundred and twenty eight marble columns ~~-~~ little, lithe columns of white marble lifting sixty eight arches swift and slow ~~-~~ curving arches, ~~-~~ each arch ~~-~~ an arch of arches ~~-~~ an endless line of endless lines, and endless flowers and endless vines and spaces and forms and things that droop and may not fall; and over all and in all the word of Almighty God.

32-3-65

At either end two temples; fragile, complete, finely magnificent, old with eternal youth. At the corners the columns cluster in the creamy ~~F~~aintiness of their beauty, ~~-~~ then stand aside and hand their arches one to another ~~-~~ arches that dream ~~eternal~~ beauty to the stars ~~-~~ ~~arches that stand,~~ that stand like virgins in immaculate ~~conception~~ but ~~conception,~~ passionate conception of unending forms of love.

I can conceive from out the arches of that eastern temple and from the Hall of Kings ~~-~~ a splendid cortege ~~-~~ golden and crimson and silver in robe and sceptre; ~~-~~ cream and black and brown and yellow of face; ~~-~~ conquerors of worlds and rulers of men, tall and broad and splendid. They come to the Lions Fountain with its twelve sides and twelve bronze lions and from the arched galleries round and about look out the faces of the world's great women, Candace and Samiramis and even Cleopatra

Opposite, from the dainty temple (whose top a Spaniard ruined) ~~-~~ Out of this still heaven-protected beauty may walk a waiting world of evil and sin to be baptized in this sincere and simple beauty, in this beauty of unending pains.

Above and at the side, from the sheen of towered windows ~~-~~ north and south, look down on lion and woman and man and beautiful work of man fair faces of the dead and of them who yet may live, beyond the shadow of the Sisters' Hall and the world beyond.

There is nothing left unfinished not even the brown lintels of the roofs that lean above the court. And everywhere the heaven is translated into roof, ~~Here~~ a roof of hanging holes, of faintly colored lights and creams.

~~Alhambra~~ Granada, Spain 37-3-64

The Court of Lions

Worthy of the heaven above it and that heaven without cloud or mist,

The arches—the glory of that arch of the Hall of Kings that gives upon the Lion's Court. The suggestion of a point and then a curve so splendid it cannot stop on the capitals but swerves toward a hail and a kiss. And on the arch eighty-eight little points of blue, each with four curves, and back of that seven other little curves in brown and then an inset border and then a wreath of flowers and then eighty curves with blue figures, and then line and curve in black and brown and white and a raving inset, border and square and flower and word of God--and then--ah, who can tell it all of this one arch!

32-3-66

~~The Hall of the Two Sisters~~

The procession from the Temple turns to the right and enters the Sisters Hall--where formerly Sultanas black and white paused their eager feet, a hall that rises like some great thought of God up and up--lingering to touch and paint the points of its infinite altitude—a thing of line and point and angle with every sweetness of curve and with a ceiling that is like the high Alps ~~in~~ at Berne brought down and made human and complete.

One goes by the jewelled Mirador de Daraxa—a jewelled jewel—with glimpse of cypress, orange and myrtle.

~~The Hall of the Ambassadors~~

Then comes a great square hall with a roof of dark and silver stars and constellations and nine arches through which the white walls of Grenada and the green mountains of Spain look in on faintly colored walls ~~of endless beauty~~.

It is all white and cream now but once it blazed in gold and crimson, blue and black—so delicately as to leave a sense of living color ~~nothing~~ more.

3-3-68

All is different - all is new - no pattern is repeated - yet it is the same, always one in style, in impression, in meaning. This afternoon the waters are surging in the Court of Lions, soft, sweet, symphonies - the last sun is kissing the top of the arabesques.

3-3-69

Waters and cypress and hedges of box and the sound of water and great green trees and secret gardens and the splash and roar and drip of water and beyond fields and hills and mountains and rivers and the white houses of men and above and yet beneath high perched ride the great snow Mountain - the ermine of the high Sierra Nevada; and olives and cacti and below the cream-brown-red of the Alhambra aloft where the high Sierras-ermine mantled ride with God.

3-3-69

I saw the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella today and of the Beautiful Phillip and his wife the Fool; I saw their tombs in Carrara marble and their coffins in ugly little iron boxes — poor, narrow fanatics to whom Columbus gave a world; religion-mad, bloodthirsty, cruel and yet pitifully, terribly in earnest. O this mad world!

# THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL.

It has long been a commonplace saying among those discussing the Negro problem in the United States that education would solve it. It has also been an assumption that the work of education among Negroes was in a pretty satisfactory condition. On the other hand, when one turns to find the facts concerning Negro education and particularly education in the three elementary public schools, one finds it extremely difficult to get exact data. The United States Bureau of Education can only furnish very general figures. They do not know what moneys are appropriated for the Negro public schools of the South or how it is expended. In the study of Negro education made by Thomas Jessie Jones between 1912 and 1915 can only be presented incomplete figures from a limited number of states. This is because the states refuse or neglect to report details of Negro public schools to the Bureau of Education. If we go through the reports on education issued by the states we find it almost impossible to separate from the totals the items which refer to the educ tion of Negroes. Nevertheless, each one of the Southern states has a separate system of Negro schools conducted by Negro teachers and in many cases there are special supervising officers for these schools. It would be a very easy matter if the authorities wish to publish from year to year complete details as to the working, income, and expenditure of these schools. Since this is not done it has seemed necessary that a special inquiry into the condition of Negro schools in certain states should be made. The CRISIS MAGAZINE laid a plan for such a study before the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service and a grant of $5,000 for this study was made in 1925. We have tried to use this sum as economically as possible

36-2-142

and with it we have employed experts to study school conditions in a half dozen typical states. We have endeavored to pick out not all of the worse states and some of the best, but for the most part we have confined ourselves to the Southern South. It is, of course, difficult in a study of this sort to maintain always the traditional attitude. We have tried in this study, on the one hand, to recognize certain historical and social difficulties which the Southern states have in administering to sets of schools for the children of the South. And on the other hand, we could not naturally forget the tremendous disadvantages under which the Negroes have labored and are laboring because of poor public schools.

36-2-143

We are publishing this month the first study which covers the State of Georgia and is based upon a study of the school reports issued by the state and municipality and by personal visits and inspection of men trained in school work and in social investigation. It goes without saying that this study is incomplete and fragmentary, but we do think that it gives a fair picture of Negro school conditions in Georgia.

Crisis

# THE WIDE WIDE WORLD

There is revolution again in Portugal. The Portuguese are mortgaged, bound hand and foot to England. England owns her industries, exploits her lands, does her shipping, controls her railways, monopolizes her wine and threatens her vast African colonies. The Portuguese aristocracy, by birth and commerce are thus pensioners of a foreign power. The peasants are poor and ignorant. Between this upper and nether millstone, the frantic nation writhes.—None can judge Mexico who has not known the combination of a dominant state church, a stricken ignorant peasantry and a rich, ruthless neighbor, with a thousand millions invested in rich natural resources and government loans. To beat back entrenched superstition, educate and endow labor and simultaneously to escape the tyranny of New York Banks and the Hearst monarchy is a task for giants.—Piteous Poland! For a thousand years she has had the same fell disease; a land monopolizing aristocracy which loves its privilege of birth far more than its privilege of national independence. Down beneath this intolerable tyranny welter the Jews who are the backbone of commerce, the peasants who sow and never reap, the laborers who reap for others and never sow. And the apex struts Pilsudski, a swaggering swashbuckler toying with a worn-out crown and acting as Europe's cat's paw against Russia.—Germany has now a government with the Socialists excluded and with the open enemies of the Republic in the saddle linked with the Catholic center. The Royalists have yielded reluctant lip service to the Republic but they despise it and they are buttressed by a psychology of the rank and file of Germans which couples all past German greatness with the Kaiser and all recent humiliation with the Republic. Muddle of Man!—While white Europe grins hopefully at China. They have brought to pass there the Great White Way of pitting the weak and oppressed and improverished

34-2-76

against the oppressed and impoverished and weak and letting them fight it out until they are too helpless to resist white "civilization" and "Christianity". But today instead of a dozen warring war-lords, there are but two parties: (1) The venal puppets of Pekin and Manchuria-China and (2) Canton backed by Russia. Softly, softly, Europe, there may be no pickings after all.—"Let the world disarm" cries Calvin Coolidge, "Why doesn't the world disarm? Armies, navies, airforce, poison-gas, young cannon-fodder are piling up over all Europe and here in America at frightful cost. Millions for war and pennies for health, education, public service. Why? Because Britain must protect her empire over black and brown and yellow against America, Germany and France; and France, hers, against England, Germany and Italy; and Italy, hers, against France and England; and Germany must get her empire back; and America must beat Europe to black oil and red rubber and all must watch the writhing slaves lest they wake from their opium of religion and fear of White Folk. Disarm? Like Hell—precisely like Hell! they'll disarm!

34-2-77

# FARMERS

Let us understand this agitation for farm relief. We Negroes who take our thinking from provincial New York and who in darkest Mississippi and environs are dumb and blind perforce to the great movements of the world are being led to think that the Western demand for the protection and financial relief of farmers is nonsense,-- the Bloc devil raised against the Great God Party. But wait: Remember that the tillers of the soil have always been exploited; always the dumb, driven cattle who filled the fat bellies of the rich merchants, kept the artisans from starvation and starved themselves. Well we the black peasants of sugar, rice, tobacco, corn and cotton know that. Why are we poor? Because the things we raise are filched from us for a song or a kick and sold at prices which enrich everybody but the farmer. When as in Germany and Austria great Agrarian parties have arisen to wreck a part of the loot from Commerce and Industry, it has been the land monopolists--and not the ragged peasants who have gained. But because of the land policy of the United States in the West during the 19th Century a New Farmer has arisen: A farmer who owns his 160 acres, can read and write and think and who knows that in the past every human endeavor has received government aid except farming; toward farming we have the primitive pschology which is determined to exploit the man who raises food and clothes ~~to the limit~~ to the limit for the sake of the man who eats and dresses. "No," says the Western American farmer. "This profit which makes millionaires of manufacturers and bankers is hereafter going to be divided in some part with us who feed and shelter them. Stand by us, Labor, and don't let them subtract our just share from your all too low wages."

The only rift in the lute is that the Southern Farmer cannot stand shoulder to shoulder with the West, for he is a land monopolist

and slave driver whose history makes him the tool of Commerce and Industry.

But let the black peasants and laborers lift up their ears to the meaning of the Farm Bloc and the McNary-Haugen Bill.

34-2-75

Chicago

Chicago

Thompson did not run in 1923, but was a candidate for a third time in 1927. Chicago was aroused. A million votes were to be cast and the Negro was a central issue. Dever, the Mayor, had appointed some Negroes to office, and bid for the Negro vote. Suddenly, as the election came on, he switched. Thompson was attacked as a Negro candidate. A scurrilous propaganda was set up; "Bye-bye Blackbird" was played on calliopes; Thompson was represented as pilot of the great train of Negroes. Riots were planned. The Negroes were stampeded to Thompson. He won by a plurality of 83,000 votes. Negroes furnished 59,000 votes of his plurality. The Negro issue was dropped. Negroes have shared in the appointments. Bishop Cary was made member of the Civil Service Commission. This Commission has three members, two Republicans and a Democrat, who supervise the appointment of 30,000 city employees, including the Policeman and Fireman. A Negro was appointed Legal Advisor to the City in matters of state legislation pertaining to Chicago. Six well-trained young lawyers were made Assistant Corporation Counsels, and an Assistant City Attorney was appointed. Two Assistant Attorneys were put on the Board of Local Improvements. Five were made Assistant City Prosecutors. One Negro became a member of the Library Board without salary, but the Board has jurisdiction over 3,000 employees. Many of these Negro lawyers have important duties: One is Trial lawyer in property damage litigations with suits amounting to millions of dollars each year. There are twenty Negro investigators in various Legal Departments. There are hundreds of teachers, clerks, policemen. Not all of these appointments are from the Negro wards. Two Negroes have been elected to the Board of Aldermen. One has been elected Municipal Court Judge. Four Negroes have been

elected to the Lower House of the Illinois State Legislature, and one as State Senator. There are a number of state appointments; one on the Illinois Industrial Board; another, State Commerce Commissioner. This Commission controls all public utilities. One Negro is Assistant Attorney-General on a special commission to purge Chicago politics of vice and corruption. One Negro has been elected to Congress.

On the other hand, open gambling and bootlegging were a part of the political plan. The Negro had no choice between law enforcement and crime. His only chance was alliance with crime, together with office-holding and employment, or total exclusion from political influence. There was no question. He had to vote for Thompson. He had to accept office under Thompson. He had to enter into this alliance with bootlegging, prostitution and gambling. The choice was not his; it was forced upon him. But, on the other hand, he went in with his eyes open. Thus, we have the situation. No colored man who wants public office in Chicago could oppose the Thompson machine, and at the same time, no one who wants to gamble, sell liquor, or run a house of prostitution, must not be at odds with the Thompson machine.

32-4-33

AS THE CROW FLIES.

The world acclaims Lindbergh but forgets Langley. Langley's imperfect plane fell into the Potomac and the world laughed; but Langley made Lindbergh possible.—The Supreme Court has taken a backward step in upholding the conviction of Anita Whitney, under the California law which makes mere membership in certain radical organizations a crime. Thus do we try to dam the waters of progress.—The self-made Governor of Massachusetts is kow-towing before the wisdom of his Maker and refusing the aid of competent and large-minded men to determine the guilt or innocence of two condemned Italians. For seven years they have been punished and their punishment still continues and not yet have they been proven guilty. Justice in the United States is indeed blind.—The Government is gathering in taxes more money than it has planned to spend. It is going to reduce taxation, but not the taxation of the poor; only the taxation of the rich and of the rich corporations. The great wealth of the United States has escaped and does escape taxation. Meantime, we need not less but more funds for health, for education, for social uplift. We ought to get this by taxing the rich and by spending less for silly and dangerous battleships and for the salaries of impudent army officers.—We are still messing around in China. We have been assured by English correspondents that the Chinese Nationalists movement was split into impotent factions. Nevertheless, it is sweeping on its triumphant way and we follow with army and navy to make trouble in a foreign land where we have no business to be and no excuse to stay.—We have settled matters in Nicaragua by telling the dirty "dagoes" that if they do not do as we say, we will proceed to "knock their blocks off". At the same time, we have assured South America and the world of our disinterestness in Latin America.

—Lynching can be stopped; surely it can be stopped. We just stopped a lynching in Tampa, Florida by killing four would-be murderers and wounding thirty-three others. But the only reason we did this was because the man they proposed to lynch was a white man. When Negroes get courage enough to shoot back at mobs the lynching of Negroes will cease and probably not until then.—The mountains were in labor. Every tradition of international decency was violated by England in its raid upon the Russian business house in London. The scrap of paper which they were hunting for was not found; but the war which the Tories wished in order to drive Russia out of China and to save Egypt and India was brought perceptibly nearer.

36-2-137

Coffeeville, Kansas.

Here is the ~~awful~~ story:

Two white high school girls in a Kansas city of 20,000 inhabitants claim & have been raped by Negroes on March 17. Blood hounds are brought in. They lead & the Negro quarter and three Negroes are arrested. Two of them are discharged and the other is held. On March 18 a mob of 2000 attacked the city hall in order to lynch this black trio. The mob damages the city hall, tools stones and chases Negroes. ~~The Negroes~~ Nearly all male Negroes, ~~in a~~ armed themselves & gathered in the district and stoned it. Two of their leaders, Gibson and Ford, ~~shot shelled at~~ ~~wounded~~, and with the mob ~~stoned~~ checked it, although themselves deserted, wounded. They are still under arrest and on trial for "insulting" girls. Eighteen white persons were arrested for rioting, and all were discharged ~~except one~~. Meantime the colored man arrested was released when the girls declared he was not guilty. Then the city armed for the night. Colored people offered rewards aggregating $423 & find the rapists. Afterward the white people offered $2200 in rewards. Forty thousand dollars in damage suits have been filed against the city and others are all known.

Then the trial began & took on. The white people tried & found the murder and the Negroes returned for a grand jury. The Coffeeville Daily Journal acknowledges May 30 that white men and not Negroes were the ~~cause~~ perpetrators of the two girls and

Finally the National Guard of the State had to be called and 3 companies of Negroes were

30-23-24

1927
1928

1. One white man ~~charged~~ is dying in jail charged with the murder of one of the girls is also in jail as accessory. The RACE is depending Anderson and Ford.

And now remember:

1. In hundreds of such cases blood must have been expected and demanded before they shall any chance to have Race innocence

2. In hundred of other cases ~~such as against~~ the lynchings of white criminals has been deliberately concealed and Negroes done to death at the word of lewd white women in order to save the race honor of white folks.

3 In hundreds of instances any attempt ~~of~~ by Negroes to defend themselves against a white mob leads to them being ~~shot~~ murdered by the police or militia and often murdered in cold blood ~~as~~ or sent to the penitentiary for "inciting to riot." 2

4. Finally in 300 years there has not been a single instance where a white man has been hanged for deliberately murder of a Negro, although in the last years Negroes have been murdered by mobs.

Finally we are pleased to record that effectively Ku Klux has contributed several hundred dollars last year to support the defense in China and Central Africa.

Postscript [CRISIS, JULY 1927]

FLOOD

We hope that every Negro that can escape from the slave camps guarded by the National Red Cross for the benefit of the big planters of Mississippi and Louisiana and the lynchers of Arkansas will leave this land of deviltry at the first opportunity. Let them ride, run and crawl out of this hell. There is no hope for the black man there today. Red Cross relief is being used to pamper white folk and in some cases is actually being sold to black folk as the basis of contracts for their compulsory services in the future. Fully 75% of the refugees have been Negroes and if they have received 25% of the relief funds the fact would greatly astonish us. This flood relief for black folk has been one of the most contemptible swindles that America has seen. We do not know where the refugees from the Mississippi bottoms can go, but we are frank to say it would be better for them to starve in Memphis and Chicago than to be slaves in Arkansas and Mississippi. Even if eventually they have to return, they can make better terms than by staying.

And they can expect no help from Coolidge or Hoover. Mr. Hoover is too busy having his picture taken and Mr. Coolidge, when the Arkansas mob burns the body of an imbecile, feeding the bonfire with lumber torn from a Negro church, while the Mayor of the city keeps the Negro leaders imprisoned in their own business block,—Mr. Coolidge tells the world of the privileges of American civilization.

36-2-134

[CRISIS, JULY 1927]

36-2-135

## THE BISHOPS

Bishop Archibald Cary of Chicago has brought a grave question before the Board of Bishops of the African A. M. E. Church. Bishop Cary has accepted a position as Civil Service Commissioner of the City of Chicago with salary and duties that call for full time service. Bishop Cary at the same time is a bishop of the African M. E. Church with salary and work which calls for every ounce of his efforts. Previous to this, the question as to how far such a bishop can divide his services or give up his episcopal duties has come up before for discussion. Bishop Gregg was elected President of Howard University. It was a great and attractive duty; but the Board of Bishops did not feel that they could excuse him from his work and he did not feel that he ought to give up the hard service which calls him to South Africa. He therefore declined the position at Howard. But Bishop Cary apparently proposes to hold and to attempt to fill these two positions and to receive both salaries. What will the Board of Bishops of the A. M. E. Church do? They are fronted by a grave problem and the colored world is watching.

Many colored people have undertaken to answer Mr. Mencken's remarks about Negro artists. Most of them apparently make the mistake of questioning his attitude rather than his facts. There can be no question of J. L. Mencken's attitude toward Negroes. It is calmly and judiciously fair. He neither loves nor hates them. He has a predilection for men. But he, like many other Americans, does not understand just where the shoe pinches. When the American artist of Negro descent will do his work, he believes that Negro writers are not barred by magazines or publishers. Of course not. But the point is that the themes on which Negro writers naturally write best, with deepest knowledge and clearest understanding, are precisely the themes which most editors do not want treated. They are afraid that such matter will not sell, and the point is that they are usually right. White Americans are willing to read about Negroes but they prefer to read about Negroes who are fools, clowns, prostitutes, or at any rate, in dispair and contemplating suicide. Other sorts of Negroes do not interest them because, as they say, they are "just like white folks". But their interest in white folks, we notice, continues. There is a real and tremendous handicap and yet despite this Mr. Mencken does not realize what has been done. Nathaniel Dett has given the Negro spiritual without form and Harry Burleigh has done more than reproduce it. Coleridge Taylor, if we may be permitted a journey overseas, stands manifested with his Bambula. There may, of course, be difference of opinion about Negro poets, but in our opinion Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Countee Cullen stand far above "second rate". We are not inclined to think that Chesnutt's novels are far above "the level of white Hacks", and if the really first rate books written by Negroes since the Civil War make a shelf a foot long, that is a matter of congratuation. Similar works by white Americans would be a good deal less than ten feet long.

37-4-88

Occasional Papers, 23 and 24, of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, are "five letters of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions", and "Native African Races and Culture" by James Weldon Johnson. The letters show what the advocates of the new interracial reconstruction in the South have dared to say since 1912. They take up lynching, education, migration, interracial co-operation and law enforcement. Its central spirit is perhaps this sentence: "It is my firm belief that it is entirely possible for the two races in the South to live together harmoniously on terms of co-operation and friendship with a satisfactory adjustment of the differences on both sides".

Mr. Johnson's brochure is an excellent compilation of well-known facts of African culture not hereto available in so handy a form.

36-1-24

Crow Flies

AS THE CROW FLIES

We who are dark are no saints, God wot! but what with Albert Fall and Harry Sinclair, Edward Doheny and Florence Knapp, we are distinctly uplifted and hopeful.—New York and the East are having a fine time with Thompson of Chicago and yet pro-English propaganda in the United States is today the greatest single influence for war and race hatred.—And so we learn it was American recognition that made the Spanish dictatorship of Rivera possible. Ambassador Moore got a green ribbon for pay.—Motion pictures have hit and hurt the Irish. Since the "Birth of a Nation" we are immune.—Hindenburg is eighty and the Republic on the Spree still lives. Hurrah for the red, black and what?—The first duty of Congress will be to reduce the taxes of millionaire corporations and the next to deliver the government of the United States into the hands of Super-Power.—Mexico, China and the United States are all fighting militarism. Mexico is most successful and the United States least.—Isadora Duncan, a great free genius, has flown beyond the stars.—Our peace mission to Nicaragua is most successful. We have only killed five hundred of the dagoes.—The country is still drunk with Coolidge prosperity.—We cannot protect black Americans in Africa but we can throw a sacred cordon around American dollars in China.—France and Italy are drifting toward war in Africa with England egging them on.—One thousand attend the first Parliament of Women. Benighted Moscow!—The murderer of Pogrom-leading Petlura has been acquitted. Suppose some American Negro should slap the Grand Dragon!—The Sacred Navey of sanctified movie fame has been attacked by Magruder. Faithless traitor to Wilbur!—Italian steamships are now being steered by Mossolini personally. Let all rocks and ships beware!—France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czecho-Slavakia and Poland in alliance make strange bedfellows.—Maximilian Harden,

96-3-190

critic of the Hohenzollerns is dead.—Turkey is counting all the Turks. Page Bishop Manning!—The annual attempts of the United States to govern itself took place November eighth. Success was quite moderate.—Vicksburg has a new statue of Jefferson Davis, the great Apostle of Freedom.—The Moors still believe that France has not conquered them; for proof they refer to Governor.—English reactionary conservatives and hereditary aristocrats still rule England because proletariat Labor and middle class liberalism cannot agree.

16-8-91

[CRISIS, FEB, 1928]

Editorial

Feb. — 1927

ALBERT RICE

The blow that Albert Rice of Washington has dealt the younger literary movement is a severe one. Deliberately and without excuse he sent into Countee Cullen's anthology of Negro verse ("Caroling Dusk") a poem which he had stolen from the work of a white man published years ago. The colored world and the Washington group in particular should drive this young thief out from the congregation of the decent.

36-1-34

Crow flies

AS THE CROW FLIES.

The world fights for oil to fight the world. Idiots!—How soon is po sible? Mr. Hughes has promised that the United States will leave Nicaragua and Haiti as soon as possible.—The Havana Pan American Conference has been cut, dried and hung on Mr. Coolidge's belt.—Tom Mooney is still in a California jail for a crime which he never committed.—Malines and Lausanne and the Eppes in Intransgaent word have put an end to dreams of Christian unity, in faith. There is now a practical chance to achieve it in practice.—Do not for a moment think that our high morals scruples against trade with Russia is based either on fear of -- of the Bolsheviks. Simply the bondholders who loaned money to the Czar want to make the Russian Revolution pay them for the cost of making their Revolution costly.—Goethals, father of the Gold Line in Panama, and builder of the Canal with black hands is dead.—Simple Simon has gone to India.—Our raised hats to the Ameer of the Afghans and Queen Thuraya.—Also, to Mr. Thomas Heflin, the finest product of the nullification of the 14th Amendment.—Disillusions and new elections in Japan and the reactionary Lanaka Government watching the dangerous growth of Democracy.—By a vote of 61 to 23 the United States Senate has declared that it can bar a member because of a fraudulent primary election. Careful, Mr. Swanson, do not talk too loud and long.—Women will suffer from the deeds of the first woman Secretary of the State. Almost as much as Negroes suffered from the first poor cook.—Hail to Sandino! Brave patriot of Nicaragua.—Two and one-half billion dollars will give us either the biggest navy in the world or the finest system of eduction in brain, body and soul. It would be easy for a

46-2-143

great statesman to choose. It is not easy for Wilber.—The farmers have a candidate for President. Big business is Hoovering near. Stand Pat Coolidge is still on the siding. The mass of Americans have no candidate.—10 thousand more French troops leave the Rhine. 50 thousand remain to prepare for the next war.— The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse have whirled his soul into Our Sea.—Haig of Haig and Haig and also of the World War is dead.—Bruce Flowers as usual had to fight both his opponent and the referees.—The war between Rome and Mexico is still waging.—China still bleeds and Europe is complacent.—Mr. Boah would like to know if presidential candidates will support the 18th Amendment? We would like to know if Mr. Boah will support the 15th?

[CRISIS, MARCH 1928]

(BURCH AND PATTERSON) "American Social Problems", MacMillan, 1922. Used in the public schools of Asbury Park. Chapter 11, "The American Race Problem".

30-2-148

The natural selection of a tropical environment, operating for thousands of years, has produced in the Negro qualities which cannot be overcome by a few centuries of civilization.

The gallant sea rovers who sailed the Spanish Main were merchantmen or pirates, slavers of men of war, as the occasion demanded.

Most of the slaves accepted their fate stoically, for their moral ideals were low and their conceptions of family life undeveloped.

We have seen the effects of a tropical environment upon the racial heredity of the Negro. Some of these slavery accentuated as, for example, irresponsibility and an undeveloped moral sense. Under these circumstances may we expect the family ideals of the Negro to compare favorably with our own?

Prohibition has established itself in the South to make negro labor more efficient and to diminish crime. The negro's ignorance and superstition are proverbial, while his uncleanliness exacts a terrible toll.

The negro represents a nature people, unmoral rather than immoral.

That the negro is not adapted to the environment of the northern states is shown by the fact that his race would die in the North were it not recruited by fresh migrations from the South.

A similar sad fate has awaited them here, for the negro does not seem adapted to city life.

Colored legislators sat in the proud halls of southern capitals, while illiterate ex-slaves wasted the public funds in a wave of corrupt and foolish extravagance.

36-2-149

The laws of many states forbid the inter-marriage of negroes and whites. This is regarded by intelligent men of both races as a wise prohibition.

Born and surrounded by a bad social environment, his tendency toward crime is natural. The ambitious and forward mulatto is often regarded with suspicion by both races, to neither of which is he able to adjust himself. On the other hand, this mixed group has produced many of the great leaders of the colored race.

In some places a system closely resembling peonage has been uncovered. The planter, however, often finds it difficult to secure negroes for steady work.

In his present stage of economic development, it is difficult to see how the negro could properly support himself. He might even lapse into a state of barbarism..

c 1928

# THE POSSIBILITY OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

In the presidential campaign just beginning one question transcends all others. It is, as the editors of a great organ of public opinion declare, "enormous" and of "vast importance". But these editors dare not take it up "at present". This question which transcends, in its importance and immediacy, the questions of farm relief, flood control, national control of super-power, liquor and the tariff, is the question as to how far the policies of this government are going to be controlled by the vote of its citizens.

In other words, we cannot take up the various pressing questions confronting us until we settle this matter of ultimate democratic control. Despite tradition and assumption, this question is not settled. The proportion of actual voters among the voting population of the United States is between twenty-five and thirty-three per cent out of sixty million citizens twenty-one years of age and over.

The loss of interest in voting or the prevention by various means and methods of allowing citizens to exercise the right to vote, is a national phenomenon. Nowhere in the United States is there a voting population of seventy per cent of ~~the adult population~~ those qualified as in Eastern Canada, or seventy to eighty per cent as in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. We do not even reach the sixty-four per cent of Italy and South America and, of course, the eighty or ninety per cent of Australia is apparently beyond our dreams.

Or, to put it another way: in 1920 we had both a presidential election and a decennial census; so that for the first time in twenty years we knew the population at the time of an election. In that

election, the following percentage of citizens twenty-one years of age and over did not vote in the several states:

| | Per Cent | | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 92 | Wyoming | 46 |
| Mississippi | 91 | Nebraska | 46 |
| Georgia | 89 | Michigan | 45 |
| Louisiana | 86 | South Dakota | 44 |
| Texas | 82 | New York | 44 |
| Virginia | 81 | Colorado | 44 |
| Arkansas | 79 | Kansas | 43 |
| Alabama | 79 | Connecticut | 43 |
| Florida | 72 | Rhode Island | 42 |
| Tennessee | 65 | New Jersey | 41 |
| Pennsylvania | 58 | West Virginia | 39 |
| North Carolina | 56 | Idaho | 39 |
| Vermont | 55 | Montana | 39 |
| Maine | 53 | New Mexico | 38 |
| Arizona | 53 | Nevada | 38 |
| California | 52 | Ohio | 38 |
| Oklahoma | 52 | Iowa | 35 |
| Illinois | 50 | New Hampshire | 33 |
| Minnesota | 49 | Missouri | 33 |
| Maryland | 48 | Utah | 30 |
| Washington | 48 | North Dakota | 30 |
| Wisconsin | 48 | Kentucky | 29 |
| Oregon | 48 | Indiana | 26 |
| Massachusetts | 47 | Delaware | 25 |

36-2-2

The largest percentage of voluntary and involuntary disfranchisement is in the South; but it is not confined to the South. Over one-half the ~~voters~~ adults of Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine and California staid from the poles and nearly one-half the voting population of Illinois, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, Oregon, Massachusetts, Wyoming, Nebraska and Michigan. In only one state in the United States did three-fourths of the voters go to the poles and in only eight states did two-thirds go.

This is a serious thing. The theory of democracy does not call for equality of gift, universal college education or absolute individual integrity; but it does depend upon the widest possible consultation with the mass of citizens on the theory that only in this way can you consult ultimate authority and ultimate sovereignty. This theory may be wrong. Possibly the United States is ready to adopt a restricted ballot and base sovereignty upon an electorate limited by education, occupation, ability,

Possibly we are ready for Italian Syndicalism oligarchy or Chinese dictatorship

birth, wealth, race, or some combination of these factors. But if this is true we must face the change frankly and adopt it logically. We must not drift further as we are doing. For a generation the possibility of any rational consultation of the public will in this country has been fading.

Today, the difference in the relative political power of the various states and groups of states is so enormous in the United States that no American has any right to sneer at Old Sarum or at the conditions that brought the first English Reform Bill. This can be illustrated by a table which shows the number of votes cast in the various states for the election of each of that state's representatives in Congress:

36-2-3

1920

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 9,449 | Idaho | 67,471 |
| Mississippi | 10,312 | North Dakota | 68,592 |
| Georgia | 12,394 | Maryland | 71,211 |
| Louisiana | 15,733 | Kansas | 71,278 |
| Texas | 22,973 | Connecticut | 72,802 |
| Virginia | 23,100 | Utah | 72,914 |
| Alabama | 24,107 | Colorado | 73,013 |
| Arkansas | 25,801 | Minnesota | 73,584 |
| Nevada | 27,194 | New Jersey | 75,333 |
| Florida | 33,703 | Oregon | 76,174 |
| Tennessee | 42,863 | Illinois | 77,425 |
| Vermont | 44,965 | Washington | 78,720 |
| Maine | 49,383 | New Hampshire | 70,372 |
| Pennsylvania | 51,380 | Michigan | 70,403 |
| North Carolina | 53,874 | Iowa | 81,281 |
| Rhode Island | 55,795 | Missouri | 83,165 |
| Wyoming | 56,199 | Kentucky | 83,519 |
| South Dakota | 60,373 | West Virginia | 84,990 |
| Oklahoma | 60,572 | California | 85,759 |
| Massachusetts | 62,507 | Montana | 89,502 |
| Wisconsin | 63,753 | Ohio | 91,795 |
| Nebraska | 63,776 | Delaware | 94,756 |
| Arizona | 66,387 | Indiana | 97,108 |
| New York | 67,338 | New Mexico | 105,131 |

The stranger from Mars looking at this table would immediately ask: "Why is it that the citizens from South Carolina should have eleven times as much political power as the citizens of New Mexico?" Or: "How can a voter in Massachusetts have fifty per cent more power than the voter in Indiana?"

If we group the states geographically,

we find that in 1920 the Pacific and Northwestern States cast 1,945,504 votes for 24 representatives in Congress, or 81,067 votes per congressman. The Middle West States cast 10,088,606 votes for 127 representatives, or 79,439 votes per representative. The Border States cast 4,194,509 votes for 58 representatives, or 72,319 votes per representative. The Southwest States cast 636,393 votes for 9 representatives, or 70,766 votes per representative. The Middle Atlantic States cast 5,649,213 votes for 91 representatives or 61,079 votes per representative. The New England States cast 1,967,711 votes for 32 representatives, or 61,492 votes per representative. Contrast this with the South, which cast only 2,175,007 votes and yet with them elected 94 representatives, or only 23,138 votes per representative.

New England has an enormous advantage over the Northwest and considerable over the Middle West, while the political advantage of the South is so extraordinary as to force consideration of its peculiar situation.

When one gets thus far in the argument, there arises in the mind of the average American reader the fact that the whole argument involves, at least in large part, the South; and brings back the almost forgotten question of Negro suffrage. This is true; but the object of this paper is to impress the fact that the question at issue is much larger than this and that no matter what the discussion involves, it must be discussed, or else democratic government in the United States is impossible.

Senator Swanson of Virginia has just said in the Senate:

"The South has exercised her constitutional rights to eliminate a class of ignorant, shiftless and corrupt voters." Other states like Massachusetts have disfranchised the illiterate and, of course, the un-naturalized foreigners.

There is no doubt that any modern democratic community faced by a large amount of ignorance, unusual poverty and political corruption must in some way defend itself. In the defense which the South attempted to make against ignorance, poverty and corruption, she had the moral support of the majority of citizens of the United States. But it is over a half century since the 15th Amendment was proclaimed and a full generation since the new Southern disfranchisement ~~laws were passed~~ was begun. At that time to disfranchise the poor and ignorant automatically excluded the great mass of the black men from the ballot. Today, a large number are still poor and illiterate. But today it is also true that large numbers of black men are disfranchised not because of ignorance or thriftlessness but simply and frankly because they are black. A critical time of consideration is approaching. Any day a case like the Texas primary may appear in the Supreme Court which will gravely challenge present methods and it is doubtful if any mere appeal to mob law against any such decision will be tolerated even in the South. Surely Then the time has come for a careful, dispassionate consideration— not so much of the political condition of the South as of the effect which the political legislation of the South from 1890 to 1909 has had upon the politics of the nation.

First and foremost, it is necessary for the nation to ask the Southern States what it is they wish today to disfranchise—race or condition? ~~Do they propose to exclude the ignorant, the poor and the criminal~~. If the first is what they propose, that is illegal and can only be ~~legally~~ done by constitutional amendment. There may be reasons which appeal to ~~most~~ Americans why disfranchisement by race is desirable. If so, such a campaign should be inaugurated.

There has been a demand for this from a few persons North and South. But the reason that such a campaign has not been ~~inaugurated~~ seriously suggested, is,

of course, clear: the nation would logically demand first and foremost that if Negroes as such, are legally excluded from the right of suffrage, they ~~must~~ should not be counted as a basis of representation either in Congress or the state legislatures. In the founding of the American republic, New England demanded that representation in Congress be based on the ~~white~~ free population. Its stand was logically impregnable, and the only real, albeit unspoken argument that led to compromise, was the feeling that eventually the slave population was going to disappear, either by emancipation into freedmen or by deportation. Until this time, slaves were to count two-fifths of the white population in determining representation. With the 13th Amendment, Negroes, although still ~~partially~~ economically enslaved, counted as five-fifths. With the new disfranchising laws, they still count~~ed~~ just as fully as the white population. But this again was permitted on the tacit assumption that these laws were temporary in their application—that when the freedmen learned to read and write, accumulated property and established a modern, cultural life, they would be allowed to vote on the same terms as other Americans. Not only was this a former assumption of the North,—it was the plain statement and repeated promise of the South.

It is, then, but reasonable that if the South wishes now to change the constitution and laws of the United States and make it possible to exclude men from voting on account of race and color—that the test of its sincerity is its willingness in that case not to count the colored population as a basis for representation.

If on the other hand the South merely wishes to get rid of an electorate too ignorant, too poverty stricken and corrupt to vote honestly, it has already a multiplicity of laws on the subject. But laws of this sort ought so to be drawn and administered as to encourage education and thrift and honesty, (and their proper test is the gradual disappearance of illiteracy and the gradually enfranchisement of Negroes) otherwise, they are ineffective and dangerous. Just ~~what laws~~ whom does the South disfranchise? As a matter of fact,

It is difficult to get an official record of voting in the United States and especially difficult in the South with regard to the voting of Negroes.

In Louisiana the state furnishes a fairly accurate official record. In the election for President in 1924, there were 274,592 white persons registered and 980 Negroes. The white population of the state in 1920 was 1,096,611: the Negro population was 700,257. Of these, 564,933 whites were 21 years of age and over, and 359,251 Negroes. Of the adult Negroes 229,980 were reported as illiterate. This leaves 129,271 who can read and write. The statistics of illiteracy are ~~however grossly~~ inaccurate. Still, it would seem reasonable to suppose that at least 100 ~~2~~,000 Louisiana Negroes were men of average intelligence, able to read and write. Nearly eighty percent of the Negro population, 10 years of age and over, is engaged in gainful occupations, and includes 134,109 farmers, 52,687 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 21,802 working in transportation, 6,700 engaged in trade, 1,983 in the public service, 3,385 in professional service, 1,308 clerks and 54,370 servants. Moreover, among the Negroes there were more than 10,000 persons who owned their farms, and in addition to these farmers, 28,905 Negroes owned their homes. The total property owned by Negroes of Louisiana is unknown, but it amounts to a good sum.

Yet out of all these people, only 980 were allowed to register and vote. And the number of Negro registered voters has decreased almost by half in the last 15 years, as there were 1,743 registered in 1908. Manifestly Louisiana is disfranchising mainly by race and not simply for illiteracy or shiftlessness.

In Alabama, there were reported 269,847 Negroes 21 years of age and over who could read and write in 1920. Careful inquiry shows that "there are not more than 3,500 Negroes voting in the state of Alabama and less than 1,000 in the city of Birmingham".

In Macon County, for instance, where Tuskegee Institute is situated, there are 4,927 Negroes 21 years of age and over who can read and write, and of these 22 are registered voters.

In Montgomery County, containing the capital of the State, out of 13,973 literate Negroes 21 years of age and over, 41 are registered.

In Mobile County, out of 17,375 literate Negroes 21 years of age and over, 958 are registered.

In the city of Birmingham, among the most progressive of the industrialized Negro group, out of 35,355 Negroes 21 years of age and over who can read and write, less than 1,000 are registered voters.

36-2-8

In Mississippi, according to a careful inquiry made in 1927, there are at present 850 Negroes registered, out of a total literate Negro population, 21 years of age and over, of (1920) 200,782. A resident of the state writes:

"The requirements for registration in this state are that the applicants must be able to 'read and write', or understand the Constitution when read to them" and must have paid their poll tax for the past two years prior to the time at which they offer for registration.

"The Clerk of the Circuit Court in each county, or his deputy, is the sole judge of every one's ability to qualify for registration and he is invariably a Democrat and adamant. All white folk are 'qualified'. If a white person cannot read or write, such person is always able to 'understand the constitution when read'. Hence, all white folk vote.

"When a colored man comes up to register, as a rule, he is either unceremoneously ordered out of the office with an oath before a question even has been asked; or is told by the clerk that he is busy and hasn't time to register him; or is given something to read or asked a question, only to have the registration book closed, slammed to and be told that he cannot qualify."

'The Negro vote is smaller now than a year ago, since the last legislature called for a new registration and it appears that it is a most difficult matter to get as many on the rolls as were registered before. For example, in Hinds, the largest county in the State, there were 98 Negroes registered a year ago, but only 60 now'."

In the state of Georgia, out of 369,511 Negroes, 21 years of age and over who can read and write, no one knows or is able to find out, apparently, how many Negroes are registered. During the year 1926, 90,000 Negroes paid poll taxes and should have been entitled to vote. It is doubtful, however, if as many as 10,000 actually voted.

From Chatham County, where 22,678 Negroes, 21 years of age and over can read and write, there were 2,200 registered Negro voters in 1922 and 900 in 1927.

36-2-9

In Floyd County, where there are 2,488 Negroes, 21 years of age and over who can read and write, there are 120 colored women and 154 colored men who are registered.

In Texas the difficulties are illustrated by one incident brought to my attention 1913. Marion County, Texas, has a population of 10,886, of which 6,367 are Negroes. There are 2,146 whites 21 years of age and over, and 2,937 Negroes. Forty-three of the whites are illiterate and 855 of the Negroes. It would look as though at least 1,500 of the Negroes were persons of intelligence and thrift, because they owned, in 1918, 85% of the cultivated land and paid, outside the corporation taxes, over 50% of the taxes. Many Negroes owned farms of 1,000 acres and more,—one owning 3,200 acres. The Negroes owned 23 cotton gins, 25 grist mills, 32 saw mills and 17 shingle mills. There were 25 small merchants and one colored physician whose practice was 50% white. The six months Colored County School was "fairly good". The

town school in Jefferson ran nine months and had ten grades. And yet, in the face of that, the following election notice was issued Tuesday, September 3rd, 1918.

TO THE PEOPLE OF JEFFERSON

THE ELECTION TO BE HELD TUESDAY, SEPT. 3RD. IS FOR THE PURPOSE OF VOTING TO REPEAL THE STOCK LAW OR ALLOWING IT TO STAND AS IT IS.

It was unanimously voted by the Council to allow all White Citizens, Men and Women in the City of Jefferson, 21 years of age to vote on this question as the Council wants to know how the people stand on it. The people who are in favor of Repealing this law are willing that an Ordinance be passed allowing stock to run at large from 6 a.m. until 7 p.m. from 1st day of April until 1st day of December which would be 8 months in the year and put them up the remaining 4 months. You are all interested.

SO COME OUT AND VOTE.

THE COMMITTEE

36-2-10

It must be remembered that a Stock Law, which regulates the fencing of crops and the running at large of stock, ~~anad~~ is of *great* ~~fatal~~ importance, both to the farmer and the small ~~city~~ *town* worker.

~~In Florida and Arkansas the situation is similar.~~

It might be assumed that this practical disfranchisement of the Negro chiefly by race and not by condition had no effect upon the state and nation, but simply upon him; but the singular thing is and the ~~thing~~ point which this paper is seeking to emphasize, that this disfranchisement of the Negro has had an astonishing effect on the voting of other persons in the states concerned and in the whole nation so far as the mass of voters ~~are~~ is concerned.

First, in the Southern states it encourages oligarchy. Secondly, it enables cliques to nullify, not simply the 14th and 15th Amendments but the 19th Amendment, giving the right vote to women. And finally, it entirely vitiates the normal distribution of voting power throughout the nation. Let us take these points up in order.

36-2-11

One of the most interesting statements on clique government in the South comes from Henry W. Anderson, a rich white Virginia politician, who spoke at the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of Virginia, August 19, 1927: ~~Mr. Anderson is a white Virginian.~~

"The Negroes were disfranchised. The Negro vote has since been so small that it is no longer a material factor in the political situation. But the process of disfranchisement did not stop there. The machinery of discrimination, devised primarily for this purpose, was then employed by the dominant party organization to effect a disqualification of a large proportion of the white population opposed to that organization, while unchallenged control of one political group permitted or encouraged political corruption. As a result of these measures the vote qualified or cast in the Southern States has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population. So small is this vote that the State and local office-holders constitute or easily control a majority. Governors and other State officers are sometimes elected by less than 10 per cent of the population of voting age."

Let us see how far we can illustrate this state of affairs by figures: we will take eleven Southern states—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas. We have the following facts as to the increase of population and of voting population in the presidential elections.

36-2-12

Population

| | 1870 | 1880 | 1890 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Virginia | 1,225,163 | 1,512,565 | 1,655,890 |
| North Carolina | 1,071,361 | 1,399,750 | 1,617,949 |
| South Carolina | 705,606 | 995,577 | 1,151,149 |
| Georgia | 1,184,109 | 1,542,180 | 1,837,353 |
| Florida | 187,748 | 269,493 | 391,422 |
| Alabama | 996,992 | 1,262,505 | 1,513,401 |
| Mississippi | 827,922 | 1,131,597 | 1,289,600 |
| Arkansas | 484,471 | 802,525 | 1,128,211 |
| Louisiana | 726,915 | 939,946 | 1,118,588 |
| Oklahoma | | | 258,657 |
| Texas | 818,579 | 1,591,740 | 2,335,527 |
| Total — | 8,228,826 | 11,457,878 | 14,197,747 |

| | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Virginia | 1,854,565 | 2,061,612 | 2,309,187 |
| North Carolina | 1,893,810 | 2,206,287 | 2,559,123 |
| South Carolina | 1,340,316 | 1,515,400 | 1,683,724 |
| Georgia | 2,216,331 | 2,609,121 | 2,895,832 |
| Florida | 528,542 | 752,619 | 968,470 |
| Alabama | 1,828,697 | 2,138,093 | 2,348,174 |
| Mississippi | 1,551,270 | 1,797,114 | 1,790,618 |
| Arkansas | 1,311,564 | 1,574,449 | 1,752,204 |
| Louisiana | 1,381,625 | 1,656,388 | 1,798,509 |
| Oklahoma | 790,391 | 1,657,155 | 2,028,293 |
| Texas | 3,048,710 | 3,896,542 | 4,663,228 |
| Total — | 17,745,821 | 21,884,778 | 24,797,353 |

The presidential vote during this time has been as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1872 | 1,238,141 | 1900 | 1,572,414 |
| 1876 | 1,606,230 | 1904 | 1,091,679 |
| 1880 | 1,555,534 | 1908 | 1,302,664 |
| 1884 | 1,682,314 | 1912 | 1,538,386 |
| 1888 | 1,808,964 | 1916 | 1,857,240 |
| 1892 | 1,870,948 | 1920 | 2,662,588 |
| 1896 | 1,945,463 | 1924 | 2,865,747 |

The population in these states increased over 200 per cent, but the voting population has increased only ~~50% over 1888, and~~ 131% over 1872, despite woman suffrage. In other words, ~~no larger number of persons are voting today in the South than would have been voting if we had had woman suffrage right after the war.~~ we have in the South today not only a nullification of the 15th but also of the 19th amendment

Moreover, the increase of voting from 1904 to 1924 is mainly in North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas. If we take the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, we have this result:

| | Population | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1870 | 1880 | 1890 |
| Alabama | 996,992 | 1,262,505 | 1,513,401 |
| Georgia | 1,184,109 | 1,542,180 | 1,837,353 |
| Louisiana | 726,915 | 939,946 | 1,118,588 |
| Mississippi | 827,922 | 1,131,597 | 1,289,600 |
| South Carolina | 705,606 | 995,577 | 1,151,149 |
| Total - | 4,441,544 | 5,871,805 | 6,910,091 |

| | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 1,828,697 | 2,138,093 | 2,348,174 |
| Georgia | 2,216,331 | 2,609,121 | 2,895,832 |
| Louisiana | 1,381,625 | 1,656,388 | 1,798,509 |
| Mississippi | 1,551,270 | 1,797,114 | 1,790,618 |
| South Carolina | 1,340,316 | 1,515,400 | 1,683,724 |
| Total - | 8,318,239 | 9,716,116 | 10,517,057 |

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

| | 1872 | 1876 | 1880 | 1884 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 159,716 | 170,252 | 152,048 | 155,027 |
| Georgia | 138,906 | 180,534 | 157,525 | 143,610 |
| Louisiana | 128,692 | 145,771 | 104,143 | 108,887 |
| Mississippi | 129,463 | 164,778 | 116,401 | 120,019 |
| South Carolina | 94,993 | 182,776 | 170,949 | 91,623 |
| | 661,770 | 844,091 | 701,066 | 619,166 |

| | 1888 | 1892 | 1896 | 1900 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 175,510 | 232,757 | 194,373 | 154,764 |
| Georgia | 142,703 | 221,586 | 163,285 | 118,152 |
| Louisiana | 115,890 | 115,565 | 101,046 | 87,904 |
| Mississippi | 116,007 | 52,727 | 70,472 | 57,459 |
| South Carolina | 79,565 | 70,492 | 68,958 | 50,862 |
| | 629,675 | 693,127 | 598,092 | 449,141 |

| | 1904 | 1908 | 1912 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 103,794 | 101,743 | 117,879 | 125,077 |
| Georgia | 108,357 | 115,748 | 121,273 | 138,057 |
| Louisiana | 52,908 | 74,849 | 79,377 | 86,333 |
| Mississippi | 56,953 | 65,628 | 64,528 | 86,156 |
| South Carolina | 55,139 | 66,355 | 50,340 | 63,531 |
| | 377,151 | 424,323 | 433,797 | 499,454 |

| | 1920 | 1924 |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 241,070 | 136,055 |
| Georgia | 151,347 | 136,087 |
| Louisisna | 126,057 | 121,951 |
| Mississippi | 82,492 | 112,463 |
| South Carolina | 66,440 | 50,751 |
| | 667,406 | 617,377 |

36-2-14

We can see here the enfranchisement of the Negro (1872-75). His disfranchisement first by intimidation (1880-84) and then by law (1892-1904); then a slow increase of the white vote, accelerated by the 19th Amendment in 1920 but checked in 1924.

The effect of the 19th Amendment is interesting: Not only Negroes but white men of these states gradually stopped voting after Negro disfranchisement; the million voters of 1892 falling to less than 400,000 in 1904. A hundred thousand were added to the polls, 1904-16, although a million and a half had been added to the population. A hundred and fifty thousand women came to the polls right after the adoption of the woman's suffrage amendment out of a possible two million and 50,000 of these disappeared four years later inspite of a million increase in population.

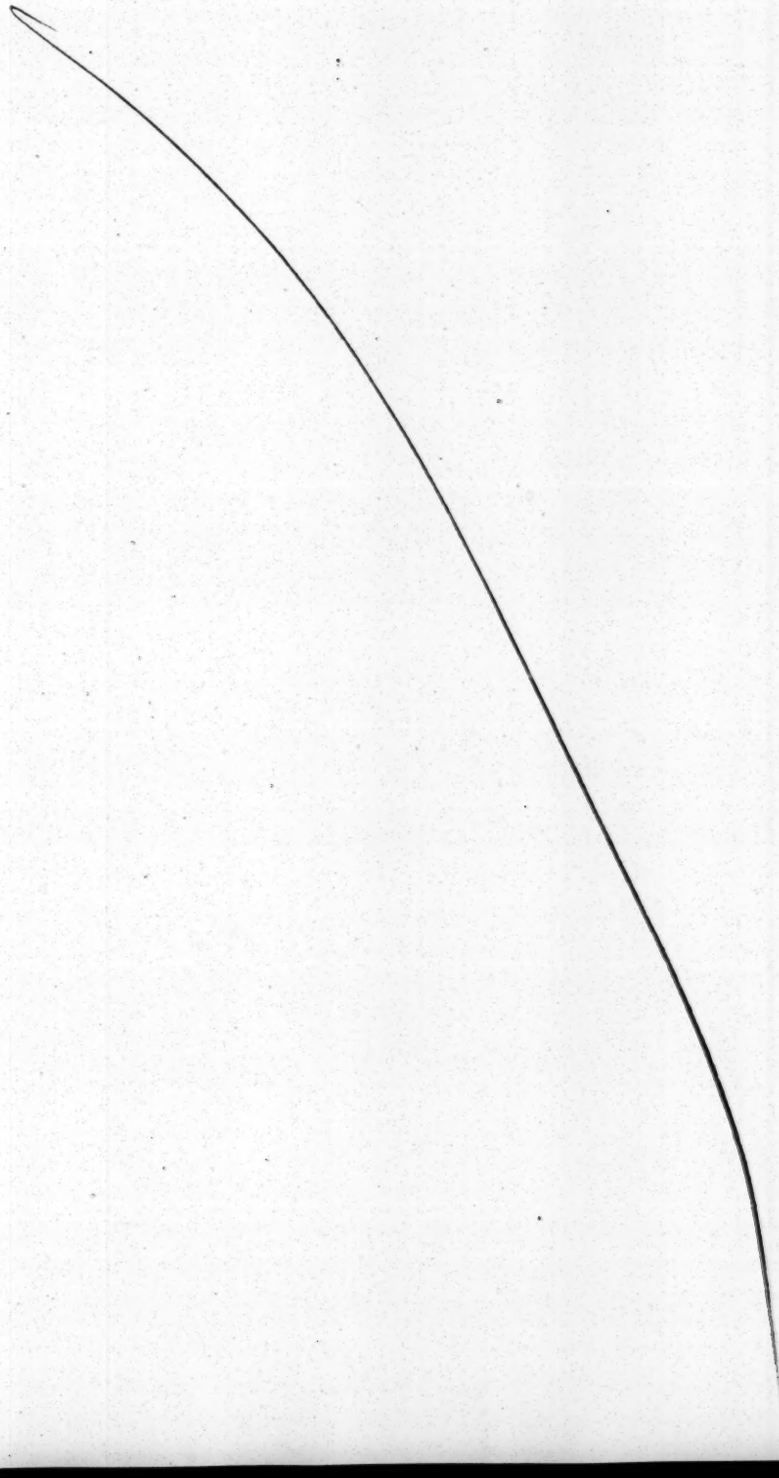
In other words, in these five states, out of a total of 5,145,882 persons 21 years of age and over, there were 635,512 votes cast in 1920. There were in this election, therefore, disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily, 4,489,770 persons. Subtracting 19,000 Negroes as actually voting from the total number of Negroes 21 years of age and over, we have 2,215,991 Negroes disfranchised. But we also have 2,297,799 whites disfranchised, which is a fair indication of the cost of Negro disfranchisement in these five states.

VOTERS—SOUTH—1920.

| | White | Negro | Total | Votes | Disfranchised 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 405,031 | 373,950 | 779,991 | 66,150 | 713,841 |
| Georgia | 841,276 | 575,330 | 1,421,606 | 148,716 | 1,272,890 |
| Alabama | 702,255 | 441,150 | 1,143,395 | 241,070 | 902,325 |
| Mississippi | 422,443 | 453,663 | 876,106 | 82,492 | 793,614 |
| Louisiana | 514,296 | 359,251 | 924,184 | 117,084 | 807,100 |
| | 2,919,038 | 2,206,304 | 5,145,282 | 635,512 | 4,489,770 |

| | Estimated Negroes Voting | Negroes Disfranchised. | Whites Disfranchised. |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 2,000 | 374,930 | 327,711 |
| Georgia | 10,000 | 535,370 | 705,530 |
| Alabama | 5,000 | 456,150 | 464,195 |
| Mississippi | 1,000 | 451,150 | 342,484 |
| Louisiana | 1,000 | 358,251 | 449,349 |
| | 19,000 | 2,315,771 | 2,294,799 |

36-2-16



There is one consideration which, in the opinion of some, modifies these figures.

In each one of these states there is practically but one party and a "white primary". Ostensibly to make the exclusion of the Negro voter doubly sure a system ~~is in~~ came into vogue by which only white voters are admitted to the dominant party primary and the ~~main~~ condition of admittance is a promise to abide by the decision of the primary. Also, effort is made to discourage any minority party from holding a primary. In the five states mentioned above the voting in the primary greatly exceeds that in the regular election.

This means that in order to vote at all the white voter must first disfranchise himself so far as having any voice as to the major principles which form the chief matters of difference between parties. Practically his vote is confined to choosing between individuals who will carry out principles which he must accept before voting at all.

Giving, however, this initial and fatal difficulty, we have the following votes in the primary election and in the regular election of 1928 as reported by the National Get-Out-The-Vote Club.* [* Note No figures are available for Mississippi which illustrates another difficulty: the primary election is conceived usually as a private affair and the returns are not certified to the Federal Government. State official reports are required, but the party managers are alone responsible for the accuracy and even for the full publicity of these reports. Here is every temptation for concealing and even falsifing facts.]

In ~~the~~ four of the states mentioned, 229,619 people voted in the regular election, while 722,271 voted in the primary election, ~~or an increase of 214%~~. If it is assumed that participation in the primary is some index

36-2-17

of political interest, then the vote of the five states that we are studying ought to be quoted as 1 1/3 million rather than 600,000. Even this is not more than a third the number of voters that a normal population of 10 1/2 millions should furnish under universal suffrage. It shows, not simply the disfranchisement of practically all of the Negro voters, forming 40% of the population in these states, but that, also nearly two million white voters were simultaneously disfranchised.

In other words, the effort to disfranchise a million and a half Negro voters has cost the disfranchisement of nearly two million white voters, even if one assumes that the primary election is a fair example of the exercise of political power.

Outside these five states with a single effective party and the disfranchisement of the Negro as such, there are other parts of the South where the Negro votes to some extent and two parties exist. Virginia, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas represent such states. North Carolina has gained recently a new social leadership, with the result that education has expanded, both in University and common school, and mob violence curbed. New attention has been given to health and the prevention of crime. With this has come, both as cause and affect, a small but increasing participation of the Negro in voting.

Out of a population amounting to 1,210,727 in 1920, men and women, there voted in the Presidential Election of 1924, 482,327. These voters came from 857,971 white adults and 342,756 colored adults. It is probable, from what I can learn, that at least 20,000 Negroes voted in that election and the number of Negro voters has since increased. This has been made possible because the minority party is a real opposition and both parties bid for the Negro vote. Also, as a consequence the regular election records 100,000 more votes than the primary elections.

This does not mean by any means that Negro disfranchisement is at an end or anywhere near it in North Carolina. Over 300,000 Negroes and an equal number of whites are disfranchised voluntarily and involuntarily in North Carolina.

Oklahoma and Texas also represent cases where the attempt to disfranchise the Negro is made with a two party system. One party seeks to keep the Negro from voting at all in its primary while the other seeks his vote but attempts to deprive him of any voice in the party councils and any chance to hold office. The results in Texas are as follows:

"In the Democratic Primary elections, the full vote of white Democrats and Republicans men and women are cast, or in other words, 750,000 to 800,000 turn out and vote on Primary election days. Nine per cent of these 800,000 voters are Negro Democrats, who always vote the Democratic ticket in all elections. There are 300,000 both Negro men and women voters in Texas. They are Republicans; but have not voted for and with the 'Lily White' Republican Party since the date it was organized and given absolute control of the Republican Party Organization in Texas. The 'Lily White' Party was organized 1920, backed by the Harding Administration."

"Ordinarily, in presidential election years approximately 100,000 Negroes qualify in Texas, but under the existing political and partisan systems in vogue in the state, less than 10,000 voted in the election of 1928 (gubernatorial)."

There are in Texas over 2½ millions of persons 21 years of age and over, of whom 400,000 are black. Over a million persons are disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily even in the primary election.

There is a similar situation in Oklahoma, with over 400,000 adult whites not voting.

Virginia has a situation similar to Texas. White Republicans held their conventions in hotels where Negroes were not admitted. The Negroes tried to retaliate by voting for the Democrats, but after all the Democrats

were as bad as the Republicans.

"In the State election of 1921 when the 'lily white' Republicans nominated Mr. H. W. Anderson for governor, and again Negroes had been barred from the State convention, as well as the city and district conventions, ~~It was then~~ we issued an official call for a State Convention of Republicans of Virginia, which was held in the city of Richmond, Monday, September 5, 1921; ~~at which time~~ here we nominated a State ticket naming a candidate for ~~any~~ every office from governor down. The white papers took it up and called us the 'lily blacks'. At this convention every district in the State was represented, and with a good strong pull and the women voting, we polled more than twenty-five thousand votes for the 'lily black' ticket."

36-2-20

So far in this discussion I have said nothing about the border states. In such former slave states as Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, the Negro is a recognized voter. His political importance varies, but in most of these states it is beginning to be used with some efficiency. He is securing with his votes better public schools in Delaware, equalized teachers' salaries and better schoolhouses in Maryland and a new university in Missouri. His general political power has given him excellent schools in the District of Columbia and some social legislation. In Tennessee he has gained a State Normal School and especially he is renewing and consolidating his political power in western Tennessee, in spite of much bitter opposition.

It is not too much to say that almost in exact proportion as fear of Negro participation in politics has been eliminated in these states, there has been a new growth of democracy both among whites and Negroes and an effective interest in social reform.

Many have assumed that this slow but evident enfranchisement of the Negro in the border states is destined to invade the Southern South.

This is probably true but the danger lies in waiting and that danger is ~~so~~ great, not simply to the Negro but to the Nation. In other words, the distortion of the public will which the ~~five~~ nine states of the Worst South, added to the influence of ~~five~~ several other Southern states, has had upon voting throughout the United States, is such that worse, far worse evils than Negro disfranchisement are already upon us.

36-2-21

. It is continually assumed that disfranchisement in the South is a local problem with which the other people in the United States have no right or interest to interfere. There is indeed something of the atmosphere of a gentlemen's agreement in the nullification in the 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments in the South.

This, however, is far from true; and the facts are shown by the number of persons necessary for the election of Congressmen. In the great middle West, for instance, ten million voters elected 127 Congressmen. In New England, seven and a half million voters elected 123 Congressmen. In the border states four million voters elected 58 Congressmen. In the Pacific and Northwestern states, two million voters elected 24 Congressmen; while in the Southwest, six hundred thousand voters elected 9 Congressmen. Contrst this with the fact that in the Southern states 2,175,007 voters elected 94 Congressmen.

If instead of taking the Presidential votes in that year we take the primary votes, we find for the whole South it was 50 per cent larger. But even in that case, something over 3 million voters in the South had as much political power as 4 million voters in the Middle West, 7 for every million voters in New England, 18 Congressmen

**A million voters can elect 45 Congressmen in the South, but only 16 in New England, 13 in the Middle West and 12 on the Pacific coast.**

South, 46 Congressmen are elected if we count the regular election, or perhaps 30 if we count the primary election. For each representative it takes 73,000 voters in the Middle West; in New England 54,000; in the South 21,000.

~~in the regular elections and perhaps 40,000 in the primaries.~~

This makes the distortion of public political power so great that it is interesting to note efforts to counteract it in certain places where it would be least expected.

36-2-22

If, for instance, you consider the national conventions of the two great parties, you will remember that theoretically there should be in these conventions a number of delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives in Congress. But this would give the South an exaggerated representation in either Convention. Consequently in the National Republican Convention of 1924:

Alabama 13 instead of 24
Arkansas 14 " of 18
Florida 10 " of 12
Georgia 18 " of 28
Louisiana 13 " of 20
Mississippi 12 " of 20
North Carolina 22 "of 24
South Carolina 11 "of 18
Texas 23 " of 40
Virginia 17 " of 24

Oklahoma alone has 25 delegates when her vote is 20. This makes a net loss of 57 delegates.

And it was even proposed that this number be cut down; because, in this convention, the black delegates from the South being subject to the control of no free electorate, tend to be composed mainly of venal politicians white + black who can to be traded in by the highest bidders. Every effort of black folk to escape this incubus and reform the situation is blocked by their own disfranchisement. Thus men may buy presidencies.

On the other hand, turning to the Democratic Convention and to the helpless annoyance of the North, we find each Southern state with its full

quota. This, together with the two-thirds voting rule, makes the South political dictator of the nation.

At the eve then, of a presidential election, singular compilations are made. The Democrats can start out assuming the votes of 11 Southern states, with, at present 124 or the 531 electoral votes. They need to fight, therefore, only 142 electoral votes to have the majority of the electoral college. On the other hand, the Republicans must leave out of account 124 electoral votes at the start and of the other 407 electoral votes they can afford to lose only 141.

But if this is the plight of the Republicans, what can be said of any Third Party? It simply has no chance at all. All the fine political theory of the restoring and reforming effect of the Third Party has gone glimmering at the present United States, because any third Party movement must first absolutely concede the 124 electoral votes of the South and then must dislodge the Republicans and Democrats from 142 of their 307 votes in the North. In other words, a third party movement in the United States must have an overwhelming majority in the rock-ribbed centers of organized industry and conservative capitalism. At present this pleases conservative public opinion but it is the old method of sitting on the safety valve and rendering inactive the orderly processes of social growth and reform.

All this is true, and the United States knows it. But it does not discuss it. Discussions are taboo in Congress, on the public platform, in magazines and newspapers; so that the various facts which make democracy impossible of accomplishment in the United States are not generally apprehended.

We all know that if the most of the people in the United States could vote with freedom and on terms of equality, that even then the problem of effectual democratic control and the triumph of right ideas led by

There a third party ever arose
in addition to the South. The dominant
single party there has disfranchised
all 3rd party movements. It owns all
legislatures, governors & congressmen &
Senators & Governors, so it is not a question
of overthrowing these parties. No issues
short of which can come to the polls
unless the Democrats wish to vote for any
party but the party in power.

The party in power in those states may
make gestures toward liberalism & reform
but they remain gestures. No matter whom
the Democratic party nominates they must
vote for him or threaten their own political
annihilation. Thus the South disfranchises itself as a national
factor.

On the other hand ~~the South~~ if the
revolt arises from the Republican dominated
the ultimate it can accomplish is to put
the Democrats in power and then effect a reform
and revolution

proper public officials would just begin. As it is now, we cannot even ~~gain~~ democratic control and we only realize this in a crisis. Two events have forced some discussion in this matter: the primary elections in Pennsylvania and Illinois and the 18th Amendment. The Middle West is especially incensed and many daily papers have suddenly discovered the undue political power of the South. Threatening editorials and recrimination over the Illinois and Pennsylvania senators and over the 18th Amendment are appearing. These are but symptoms and the present controversy may die down. But as sure as fate some day there is coming in the United States a political controversy with social and economic roots which is going to open suddenly the question as to why the South has 3 times the political power of the west and why New England with its disfranchised foreign workers has more political voice than the west. The protest is not coming simply from Northerners or "friends" of the Negro. It is even coming from the South itself.

So far as the Negro is concerned, his attitude is changing. He is gradually ceasing to plead and prove. He is simply pointing to the known facts: out of a hundred thousand black folk and a hundred thousand whites there will be more blacks who are poor, ignorant, sick and silly than whites. Why this is true he will have his opinion and others theirs. The Negro only insists that in his group there will be thirty, twenty or ten thousand just as intelligent, thrifty and healthy as the majority of whites. He maintains that to treat these men as idiots and criminals is an attack on civilization.

I have no right, of course, to speak for the whole Negro race in America, but speaking for myself and many others, I am tired of the hypocrisy and double-dealing in this country. If race hatred is still so strong in this country that large numbers of Americans would rather overthrow democratic government than to let me vote, then I am willing to acquiese in disfranchisement and not be counted as a basis of representa-

tion rather than to see this great experiment in democracy fail.

While most of this study deals with the South because there the effect of disfranchisement is most striking and far reaching, there are other parts of the United States, like New England and certain large cities, where the question of Democratic control by popular vote is acute. Surely it is time for open discussions and careful collection of facts. Americans, let us look the situation squarely in the face. This is no mere question of parish or section or race. It is a vast and pressing problem of Democracy and civilization. Today, and in the United States, Justice is for sale. Laws are bought and paid for. The highest offices are put up at public barter. News and facts are suppressed and twisted by monopoly. Great aggregations of wealth invested in capital and controlled not by their owners but by men who have secured the power of control by every known device, legal and illegal, honest and dishonest, efficient and inefficient, are ruling and increasingly complicated industrial machine in such a way that only intelligent public opinion can secure the best interests of the nation. Today we cannot even consult this public opinion. We must, therefore, decide and decide soon: First, the public opinion of what persons in the United States shall rule? Shall it be the public opinion of a small select group of persons of Nordic descent? Shall it be the public opinion of the main owners of capital? Shall it be the public opinion of college graduates? Shall it be the public opinion of all adult Americans except Negroes, Asiatics and Latins? Or shall we try to make it the public opinion of all intelligent adults? Whatever public opinion rules in the United States it must rule freely and clearly without a system of rotten boroughs and without ~~decision~~ and cheating. The clearing up and settling of this great question is the vastest problem that faces America today and we must begin its solution now. If we do not, we face sooner or later, chaos and revolution.

52-2-2E

Education is controlled by few and press has monopolies which

# THE POSSIBILITY OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

In the presidential campaign just beginning one question transcends all others. It is, as the editors of a great organ of public opinion declare, "enormous" and of "vast importance". But these editors dare not take it up "at present". This question which transcends, in its importance and immediacy, the questions of farm relief, flood control, national control of super-power, liquor and the tariff, is the question as to how far the policies of this government are going to be controlled by the vote of its citizens.

In other words, we cannot take up the various pressing questions confronting us until we settle this matter of ultimate democratic control. Despite tradition and assumption, this question is not settled. The proportion of actual voters among the voting population of the United States is between twenty-five and thirty-three per cent out of sixty million citizens twenty-one years of age and over.

The loss of interest in voting or the prevention by various means and methods of allowing citizens to exercise the right to vote, is a national phenomenon. Nowhere in the United States is there a voting population of seventy per cent of those qualified as in Eastern Canada, or seventy to eighty per cent as in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. We do not even reach the sixty-four per cent of Italy and South America and, of course, the eighty or ninety per cent of Australia is apparently beyond our dreams.

Or, to put it another way; in 1920 we had both a presidential election and a decennial census; so that for the first time in twenty years we knew the population at the time of an election. In that election, the following percentage of citizens twenty-one years of age

42-2-179

and over did not vote in the several states:

| | Per Cent | | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 92 | Wyoming | 46 |
| Mississippi | 91 | Nebraska | 46 |
| Georgia | 89 | Michigan | 45 |
| Louisiana | 86 | South Dakota | 44 |
| Texas | 82 | New York | 44 |
| Virginia | 81 | Colorado | 44 |
| Arkansas | 79 | Kansas | 43 |
| Alabama | 79 | Connecticut | 43 |
| Florida | 72 | Rhode Island | 42 |
| Tennessee | 65 | New Jersey | 41 |
| Pennsylvania | 58 | West Virginia | 39 |
| North Carolina | 56 | Idaho | 39 |
| Vermont | 55 | Montana | 39 |
| Maine | 53 | New Mexico | 38 |
| Arizona | 53 | Nevada | 38 |
| California | 52 | Ohio | 38 |
| Oklahoma | 52 | Iowa | 35 |
| Illinois | 50 | New Hampshire | 33 |
| Minnesota | 49 | Missouri | 33 |
| Maryland | 48 | Utah | 30 |
| Washington | 48 | North Dakota | 30 |
| Wisconsin | 48 | Kentucky | 29 |
| Oregon | 48 | Indiana | 26 |
| Massachusetts | 47 | Delaware | 25 |

The largest percentage of voluntary and involuntary disfranchisement is in the South; but it is not confined to the South. Over one-half the adults of Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine and California staid from the poles and nearly one-half the voting population of Illinois, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, Oregon, Massachusetts, Wyoming, Nebraska and Michigan. In only one state in the United States did three-fourths of the voters go to the poles and in only eight states did two-thirds go.

This is a serious thing. The theory of democracy does not call for equality of gift, universal college education or absolute individual integrity; but it does depend upon the widest possible consultation with the mass of citizens on the theory that only in this way can you consult ultimate authority and ultimate sovereignty. This theory may be wrong. Possibly the United States is ready to adopt a restricted ballot and base sovereignty upon an electorate

limited by education, occupation, ability, birth, wealth, race, or some combination of these factors. Possibly we are ready for Italian syndicalistic oligarchy or Spanish dictatorship. But if this is true we must face the change frankly and adopt it logically. We must not drift further as we are doing. For a generation the possibility of any rational consultation of the public will in this country has been fading.

Today, the difference in the relative political power of the various states and groups of states is so enormous in the United States that no American has any right to sneer at Old Sarum or at the conditions that brought the first English Reform Bill. This can be illustrated by a table which shows the number of votes cast in the various states for the election of each of that state's representatives in Congress:

1920

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 9,449 | Idaho | 67,471 |
| Mississippi | 10,312 | North Dakota | 68,592 |
| Georgia | 12,394 | Maryland | 71,211 |
| Louisiana | 15,733 | Kansas | 71,278 |
| Texas | 22,973 | Connecticut | 72,802 |
| Virginia | 23,100 | Utah | 72,914 |
| Alabama | 24,107 | Colorado | 73,013 |
| Arkansas | 25,801 | Minnesota | 73,584 |
| Nevada | 27,194 | New Jersey | 75,333 |
| Florida | 36,706 | Oregon | 76,174 |
| Tennessee | 42,863 | Illinois | 77,425 |
| Vermont | 44,965 | Washington | 78,720 |
| Maine | 49,383 | New Hampshire | 70,372 |
| Pennsylvania | 51,380 | Michigan | 70,406 |
| North Carolina | 53,874 | Iowa | 81,281 |
| Rhode Island | 55,795 | Missouri | 83,165 |
| Wyoming | 56,199 | Kentucky | 83,519 |
| South Dakota | 60,373 | West Virginia | 84,990 |
| Oklahoma | 60,572 | California | 85,759 |
| Massachusetts | 62,507 | Montana | 89,502 |
| Wisconsin | 63,753 | Ohio | 91,795 |
| Nebraska | 63,776 | Delaware | 94,756 |
| Arizona | 66,687 | Indiana | 97,108 |
| New York | 67,338 | New Mexico | 105,131 |

The stranger from Mars looking at this table would immediately ask: "Why is it that the citizens from South Carolina should have

181-2-24

eleven times as much political power as the citizens of New Mexico?" Or: "How can a voter in Massachusetts have fifty per cent more power than the voter in Indiana?"

If we group the states geographically we find that in 1920 the Pacific and Northwestern States cast 1,945,504 votes for 24 representatives in Congress, or 81,067 votes per congressman. The Middle West States cast 10,088,606 votes for 127 representatives, or 79,439 votes per representative. The Border States cast 4,194,509 votes for 58 representatives, or 72,319 votes per representative. The Southwest States cast 636,893 votes for 9 representatives, or 70,766 votes per representative. The Middle Atlantic States cast 5,649,216 votes for 91 representatives or 61,079 votes per representative. The New England States cast 967,711 votes for 32 representatives, or 61,492 votes per representative. Contrast this with the South, which cast only 2, 175,007 votes and yet with them elected 94 representatives, or only 23,138 votes per representative.

46-3-122

New England has an enormous advantage over the Northwest and considerable over the Middle West, while the political advantage of the South is so extraordinary as to force consideration of its peculiar situation.

When one gets thus far in the argument, there arises in the mind of the average American reader the fact that the whole argument involves, at least in large part, the South; and brings back the almost forgotten question of Negro suffrange. This is true; but the object of this paper is to impress the fact that the question at issue is much larger than this and that no matter what the discussion involves, it must be discussed, or else democratic government in the United States is impossible.

Senator Swanson of Virginia has just said in the Senate:

"The South has exercised her constitutional rights to eliminate a class of ignorant, shiftless and corrupt voters." Other states like Massachusetts have disfranchised the illiterate and, of course, the un-naturalized foreigners.

There is no doubt that any modern democratic community faced by a large amount of ignorance, unusual poverty and political corruption must in some way defend itself. In the defense which the South attempted to make against ignorance, poverty and corruption, she had the moral support of the majority of citizens of the United States. But it is over a half century since the 15th Amendment was proclaimed and a full generation since the new Southern disfranchisement was begun. At that time to disfranchise the poor and ignorant automatically excluded the great mass of the black men from the ballot. Today, a large number are still poor and illiterate. But today it is also true that large numbers of black men are disfranchised not because of ignorance or thriftlessness but simply and frankly because they are black. A critical time of consideration is approaching. Any day a case like the Texas primary may appear in the Supreme Court which will gravely challenge present methods and it is doubtful if any mere appeal to mob law against any such decision will be tolerated even in the South. Surely then the time has come for a careful, dispassionate consideration—not so much of the political condition of the South as of the effect which the political legislation of the South from 1890 to 1909 has had upon the politics of the nation.

46-2-183

First and foremost, it is necessary for the nation to ask the Southern States what it is they wish today to disfranchise—race or condition? If the first is what they propose, that is illegal and can only be done by constitutional amendment. There may be reasons which appeal to Americans why disfranchisement by race is desirable. If so, such a campaign should be inaugurated.

There has been a demand for this from a few persons North and South. But the reason that such a campaign has not been seriously suggested, is, of course, clear: the nation would logically demand first and foremost that if Negroes as such, are legally excluded from the right of suffrage, they should not be counted as a basis of representation either in Congress or the state legislatures. In the founding of the American republic, New England demanded that representation in Congress be based on the free population. Its stand was logically impregnable, and the only real, albeit unspoken argument that led to compromise, was the feeling that eventually the slave population was going to disappear, either by emancipation into freedmen or by deportation. Until this time, slaves were to count two-fifths of the white population in determining representation.

With the 13th Amendment, Negroes, although still economically enslaved, counted as five-fifths. With the new disfranchising laws, they still count just as fully as the white population. But this again was permitted on the tacit assumption that these laws were temporary in their application—that when the freedmen learned to read and write, accumulated property and established a modern, cultural life, they would be allowed to vote on the same terms as other Americans. Not only was this a former assumption of the North,—it was the plain statement and repeated promise of the South.

It is, then, but reasonable that if the South wishes now to change the constitution and laws of the United States and make it possible to exclude men from voting on account of race and color—that the test of its sincerity is its willingness in that case not to count the colored population as a basis for representation.

If on the other hand the South merely wishes to get rid of an electorate too ignorant, too poverty stricken and corrupt to vote honestly, it has already a multiplicity of laws on the subject. But

laws of this sort ought so to be drawn and administered as to encourage education and thrift and honesty and their proper test is the gradual disappearance of illiteracy and the gradual enfranchisement of Negroes, otherwise, they are ineffective and dangerous.

As a matter of fact, just when does the South disfranchise? It is difficult to get an official record of voting in the United States and especially difficult in the South with regard to the voting of Negroes.

In Louisiana the state furnishes a fairly accurate official record. In the election for President in 1924, there were 274,592 white persons registered and 980 Negroes. The white population of the state in 1920 was 1,096,611; the Negro population was 700,257. Of these, 564,933 whites were 21 years of age and over, and 359,251 Negroes. Of the adult Negroes 229,980 were reported as illiterate. This leaves 129,271 who can read and write. The statistics of illiteracy are inaccurate. Still, it would seem reasonable to suppose that at least 100,000 Louisiana Negroes were men of average intelligence, able to read and write. Nearly eighty percent of the Negro population, 10 years of age and over, is engaged in gainful occupations, and includes 164,109 farmers, 52,687 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 21,802 working in transportation, 6,700 engaged in trade, 1,983 in the public service, 3,385 in professional service, 1,308 clerks and 54,370 servants. Moreover, among the Negroes there were more than 10,000 persons who owned their farms, and in addition to these farmers, 28,906 Negroes owned their homes. The total property owned by Negroes of Louisiana is unknown, but it amounts to a good sum.

Yet out of all these people, only 980 were allowed to register and vote. And the number of Negro registered voters has decreased almost by half in the last 16 years, as there were 1,743 registered in 1908. Manifestly Louisiana is disfranchising mainly by race and not

42-3-185

simply for illiteracy or shiftlessness.

In Alabama, there were reported 269,847 Negroes 21 years of age and over who could read and write in 1920. Careful inquiry shows that "there are not more than 3,500 Negroes voting in the state of Alabama and less than 1,000 in the city of Birmingham".

In Macon County, for instance, where Tuskegee Institute is situated, there are 4,927 Negroes 21 years of age and over who can read and write, and of these 22 are registered voters.

In Montgomery County, containing the capital of the state, out of 13,973 literate Negroes, 21 years of age and over, 41 are registered.

In Mobile County, out of 17,375 literate Negroes 21 years of age and over, 958 are registered.

In the city of Birmingham, among the most progressive of the industrialized Negro group, out of 33,655 Negroes 21 years of age and over who can read and write, less than 1,000 are registered voters.

In Mississippi, according to a careful inquiry made in 1927, there are at present 850 Negroes registered, out of a total literate Negro population 21 years of age and over, of (1920), 290,782. A resident of the state writes:

"The requirements for registration in this state are that the applicants must be able to 'read and write', or understand the Constitution when read to them" and must have paid their poll tax for the past two years prior to the time at which they offer for registration.

"The Clerk of the Circuit Court in each county, or his deputy, is the sole judge of every one's ability to qualify for registration and he is invariably a Democrat and adamant. All white folk are 'qualified'. If a white person cannot read or write, such person is always able to 'understand the constitution when read'. Hence, all white folk vote.

"When a colored man comes up to register, as a rule, he is either unceremoneously ordered out of the office with an oath before a question even has been asked; or is told by the clerk that he is busy and hasn't time to register him; or is given something to read or asked a question, only to have the registration book closed, slammed to, and be told that he cannot qualify."

"'The Negro vote is smaller now than a year ago, since the last legislature called for a new registration and it appears that it is a most difficult matter, to get as many on the rolls as were registered before. For example, in Hinds, the largest county in the State, there were 98 Negroes registered a year ago, but only 60 now'."

In the state of Georgia, out of 369,511 Negroes 21 years of age and over, who can read and write, no one knows or is able to find out, apparently, how many Negroes are registered. During the year 1926, 90,000 Negroes paid poll taxes and should have been entitled to vote. It is doubtful, however, if as many as 10,000 actually voted.

From Chatham County, where 22,678 Negroes 21 years of age and over can read and write, there were 2,200 registered Negro voters in 1922 and 900 in 1927.

In Floyd County, where there are 2,488 Negroes, 21 years of age and over who can read and write, there are 120 colored women and 154 colored men who are registered.

In Texas the difficulties are illustrated by one incident brought to my attention in 1918. Marion County, Texas, has a population of 10,886, of which 6,667 are Negroes. There are 2,146 whites 21 years of age and over, and 2,937 Negroes. Forty-three of the whites are illiterate and 855 of the Negroes. It would look as though at least 1,500 of the Negroes were persons of intelligence and thrift, because they owned, in 1918, 85% of the cultivated land and paid, outside the

42-2-184

is and the point which this paper is seeking to emphasize, that this disfranchisement of the Negro has had an astonishing effect on the voting of other persons in the states concerned and in the whole nation so far as the mass of voters is concerned.

First, in the Southern states it encourages oligarchy. Secondly, it enables cliques to nullify, not simply the 14th and 15th Amendments, but the 19th Amendment, giving the right vote to women. And finally, it entirely vitiates the normal distribution of voting power throughout the nation. Let us take these points up in order.

One of the most interesting statements on clique government in the South comes from Henry W. Anderson, a rich white Virginia politician, who spoke at the Institute of Public Affairs held at the University of Virginia, August 19, 1927:

46-2-281-24

"The Negroes were disfranchised. The Negro vote has since been so small that it is no longer a material factor in the political situation. But the process of disfranchisement did not stop there. The machinery of discrimination, devised primarily for this purpose, was then employed by the dominant party organization to effect a disqualification of a large proportion of the white population opposed to that organization, while unchallenged control of one political group permitted or encouraged political corruption. As a result of these measures the vote qualified or cast in the Southern States has been so reduced that it includes only a small minority of the population. So small is this vote that the State and local office-holders constitute or easily control a majority. Governors and other state officers are sometimes elected by less than 10 per cent of the population of voting age."

Let us see how far we can illustrate this state of affairs by figures: we will take eleven Southern states—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas. We have the following facts as to the increase of population and of voting population in the presidential

elections.

Population

1870——8,228,826
1880——11,457,878
1890——14,197,747
1900——17,745,821
1910——21,884,778
1920——24,797,353

The presidential vote during this time has been as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1872 | 1,238,141 | 1900 | 1,572,414 |
| 1876 | 1,606,230 | 1904 | 1,091,679 |
| 1880 | 1,555,534 | 1908 | 1,302,664 |
| 1884 | 1,682,314 | 1912 | 1,538,386 |
| 1888 | 1,808,964 | 1916 | 1,857,240 |
| 1892 | 1,870,948 | 1920 | 2,662,588 |
| 1896 | 1,945,463 | 1924 | 2,865,747 |

The population in these states increased over 200 per cent since 1870, but the voting population has increased only 131% over 1872, despite woman suffrage. If we compare the population 1890-1920 and the voters 1892-1920, we find the population has increased 75% and the voters 42% dispite the doubling of the electorate by woman suffrage. In other words, we have in the South today not only a nullification of the 15th but also of the 19th Amendment.

46-2-184

Moreover, the increase of voting from 1904 to 1924 is mainly in North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas. If we take the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, we have this result:

Population

1870—— 4,441,544
1880—— 5,871,805
1890—— 6,910,091
1900—— 8,318,239
1910—— 9,716,116
1920——10,517,057

Presidential Vote

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1872 | 661,770 | 1892 | 693,127 | 1912 | 433,797 |
| 1876 | 844,091 | 1896 | 598,092 | 1916 | 499,434 |
| 1880 | 701,066 | 1900 | 449,141 | 1920 | 667,406 |
| 1884 | 619,166 | 1904 | 377,151 | 1924 | 617,377 |
| 1888 | 629,675 | 1908 | 424,526 | | |

46-2-140

We can see here the enfranchisement of the Negro (1872-76). His disfranchisement first by intimidation (1880-84) and then by law (1892-1904); then a slow increase of the white vote, accelerated by the 19th Amendment in 1920 but checked in 1924.

The effect of the 19th Amendment is interesting: Not only Negroes but white men of these states gradually stopped voting after Negro disfranchisement; the million voters of 1892 falling to less than 400,000 in 1904. A hundred thousand were added to the polls, 104-16, although a million and a half had been added to the population. A hundred and fifty thousand women came to the polls right after the adoption of the woman's suffrage amendment but of a possible two million and 50,000 of these disappeared four years later in spite of a million increase in population.

In other words, in these five states, out of a total of 5,145,282 persons 21 years of age and over, there were 635,512 votes cast in 1920. There were in this election, therefore, disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily, 4,489,770 persons. Subtracting 19,000 Negroes actually voting from the total number of Negroes 21 years of age and over, we have 2,215,991 Negroes disfranchised. But we also have 2,297,799 whites disfranchised, which is a fair indication of the cost of Negro disfranchisement in these five states.

Voters--South--1920

| | White | Negro | Total | Votes | Disfranchised 1920 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 403,061 | 376,930 | 779,991 | 66,150 | 713,841 |
| Georgia | 846,276 | 575,330 | 1,421,606 | 148,716 | 1,272,890 |
| Alabama | 702,265 | 441,130 | 1,143,395 | 241,070 | 902,325 |
| Mississippi | 422,443 | 453,663 | 876,106 | 82,492 | 793,614 |
| Louisiana | 564,993 | 359,251 | 924,184 | 117,084 | 807,100 |
| | 2,919,038 | 2,206,304 | 5,145,282 | 635,512 | 4,489,770 |

46-2-191

| | Estimated Negroes Voting | Negroes Disfranchised. | Whites Disfranchised. |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Carolina | 2,000 | 374,930 | 337,711 |
| Georgia | 10,000 | 535,330 | 703,530 |
| Alabama | 5,000 | 436,130 | 464,195 |
| Mississippi | 1,000 | 451,130 | 342,484 |
| Louisiana | 1,000 | 358,251 | 449,849 |
| | 19,000 | 2,215,771 | 2,294,799 |

There is one consideration which, in the opinion of some, modifies these figures. In each one of these states there is practically but one party and a "white primary". Ostensibly to make the exclusion of the Negro voter doubly sure a system came into vogue by which only white voters are admitted to the dominant party primary and the condition of admittance was a promise to abide by the decision of the primary.

This means that in order to vote at all the white voter must first disfranchise himself so far as having any voice as to the major principles which form the chief matters of difference between parties. Practically his vote is confined to choosing between individuals who will carry out principles which he must accept before voting at all.

In four of the states mentioned, 229,619 people voted in the regular election, while 722,271 voted in the primary election. If it is assumed that participation in the primary is some index of political interest, then the vote of the five states that we are studying ought to be quoted as 1 1/3 million rather than 600,000. But even this is not more than a third the number of voters that a normal population of 10 1/2 millions should furnish under universal suffrage. It shows, not simply the disfranchisement of practically all of the Negro voters, forming 40% of the population in these states, but that even if we give some weight to the "white primary" nearly two million

white voters were simultaneously disfranchised.

In other words, the effort to disfranchise a million and a half Negro voters has cost the disfranchisement of nearly two million white voters, even if one assumes that the primary election is a fair example of the exercise of political power, which, of course, it is not.

Outside these five states with a single effective party and the disfranchisement of the Negro as such, there are other parts of the South where the Negro votes to some extent and where two parties exist. Virginia, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas represent such states. North Carolina has gained recently a new social leadership, with the result that education has expanded, both in University and common schoo, and mob violence curbed. New attention has been given to health and the prevention of crime. With this has come, both as cause and affect, a small but increasing participation of the Negro in voting.

Out of a population amounting to 1,210,727 in 1920, men and women, there voted in the Presidential Election of 1824, 482,627. These voters came from 867,971 white adults and 342,756 colored adults. It is probable, from what I can learn, that at least 20,000 Negroes voted in that election and the number of Negro voters has since increased. This has been made possible because the minority party is a real opposition and both parties bid for the Negro vote. Also, as a consequence the regular election records 100,000 more votes than the primary elections.

This does not mean by any means that Negro disfranchisement is at an end or anywhere near it in North Carolina. Over 300,000 Negroes and an equal number of whites are disfranchised voluntarily and involuntarily in North Carolina.

Oklahoma and Texas also represent cases where the attempt to dis-

42-2-193

franchise the Negro is made with a two party system. One party seeks to keep the Negro from voting at all in its primary while the other seeks his vote but attempts to deprive him of any voice in the party councils and any chance to hold office. The results in Texas are as follows:

"In the Democratic Primary elections, the full vote of white Democrats and Republicans men and women are cast, or in other words, 750,000 to 800,000 turn out and vote on Primary election days. Five per cent of these 800,000 voters are Negro Democrats, who always vote the Democratic ticket in all elections. Ther are 300,000 both Negro men and women voters in Texas. They are Republicans; but have not voted for and with the 'Lily White' Republican Party since the date it was organized and given absolute control of the Republican Party Organization in Texas. The 'Lily White' Party was organized 1920, backed by the Harding Administration.

"Ordinarily, in presidential election years approximately 100,000 Negroes qualify in Texas, but under the existing political and partisan systems in vogue in the state, less than 10,000 voted in the election of 1926 (gubernatorial)."

There are in Texas over 2½ millions of persons 21 years of age and over, of whom 400,000 are black. Over a million persons are disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily even in the primary election.

There is a similar situation in Oklahoma, with over 400,000 adult whites not voting.

Virginia has a situation similar to Texas. White Republicans held their conventions in hotels where Negroes were not admitted. The Negroes tried to retaliate by voting for the Democrats, but after all the Democrats were as bad as the Republicans.

"In the State election of 1921 when the 'Lily White' Republicans

nominated Mr. H. W. Anderson for governor, and again Negroes had been barred from the State convention, as well as the city and district conventions, we issued an official call for a State Convention of Republicans of Virginia, which was held in the city of Richmond, Monday, September 5, 1921; here we nominated a State ticket naming a candidate for every office from governor down. The white papers took it up and called us the 'Lily Blacks'. At this convention every district in the State was represented, and with a good strong pull and the women voting, we polled more than twenty-five thousand votes for the 'Lily Blacks', ticket."

So far in this discussion I have said nothing about the Border States. In such former slave states as Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, the Negro is a recognized voter. His political importance varies, but in most of these states it is beginning to be used with some efficiency. He is securing with his votes better public schools in Delaware, equalized teachers' salaries and better schoolhouses in Maryland and a new university in Missouri. His general political power has given him excellent schools in the District of Columbia and some social legislation. In Tennessee he has gained a State Normal School and especially he is renewing and consolidating his political power in western Tennessee, in spite of much bitter opposition.

It is not too much to say that almost in exact proportion as fear of Negro participation in politics has been eliminated in these states, there has been a new growth of democracy both among whites and Negroes and an effective interest in social reform.

Many have assumed that this slow but evident enfranchisement of the Negro in the Border States is destined to invade the Southern South. This is probably true but the danger lies in waiting and that danger is great, not simply to the Negro but to the Nation. In other

42-3-195

words, the distortion of the public will which the five states of the worst South, added to the influence of several other Southern states, has had upon voting throughout the United States, is such that worse, far worse evils than Negro disfranchisement are already upon us.

It is continually assumed that disfranchisement in the South is a local problem with which the other people in the United States have no right or interest to interfere. There is indeed something of the atmosphere of a gentlemen's agreement in the nullification in the 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments in the South.

This, however, is far from true; and the facts are shown by the number of persons necessary for the election of Congressmen. In the great Middle West, for instance, ten million voters elected 127 Congressmen. In New England, seven and a half million voters elected 12[illegible] Congressmen. In the Border States four million voters elected 58 Congressmen. In the Pacific and Northwestern states, two million voters elected 24 Congressmen; while in the Southwest, six hundred thousand voters elected 9 Congressmen. Contrast this with the fact that in the Southern states 2,175,007 voters elected 94 Congressmen.

If instead of taking the presidential votes in that year we take the primary votes, we find for the whole South it was 50 per cent larger. But even in that case, something over 3 million voters in the South had as much political power as 4 million voters in the Middle West. For each representative it takes 73,000 voters in the Middle West; in New England 54,000; in the South 21,000.

This makes the distortion of public political power so great that it is interesting to note efforts to counteract it in certain places where it would be least expected.

If, for instance, you consider the national conventions of the two great parties, you will remember that theoretically there should be in these conventions a number of delegates equal to twice the number of

Senators and Representatives in Congress. But this would give the South an exaggerated representation in either Convention. Consequently, in the National Republican Convention of 1924:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 16 | instead of | 24 |
| Arkansas | 14 | " | of 18 |
| Florida | 10 | " | of 12 |
| Georgia | 18 | " | of 28 |
| Louisiana | 13 | " | of 20 |
| Mississippi | 12 | " | of 20 |
| North Carolina | 22 | instead | of 24 |
| South Carolina | 11 | " | of 18 |
| Texas | 23 | " | of 40 |
| Virginia | 17 | " | of 24 |

Oklahoma alone has 23 delegates when her quota is 20. This makes a net loss of 67 delegates.

And it was even proposed that this number be cut down; because, in this convention, the black delegates from the South being subject to the control of no free electorate, tend to be composed mainly of venal politicians, white and black, who can be traded in by the highest bidders. Every effort of black folk to escape this incubus and reform the situation is blocked by their own disfranchisement. Thus men may buy presidencies.

On the other hand, turning to the Democratic Convention and to the helpless annoyance of the North, we find each Southern state with its full quota. This, together with the two-thirds voting rule, makes the South political dictator of the nation.

At the eve then, of a presidential election, singular compilations are made. The Democrats can start out assuming the votes of 11 Southern states, with, at present 124 or the 531 electoral votes. They need to fight, therefore, for only 142 electoral votes to have the majority of

the electoral college. On the other hand, the Republicans must leave out of account 124 electoral votes at the start and of the other 407 electoral votes they can afford to lose only 141.

But if this is the plight of the Republicans, what can be said of any Third Party? It simply has no chance at all. All the fine political theory of the restoring and reforming effect of the Third Party has gone glimmering at the present United States, because any Third Party movement must first absolutely concede the 124 electoral votes of the South and then must dislodge the Republicans and Democrats from 143 of their 307 votes in the North.

Now a Third Party can make no appeal to the South. The dominant single party there has disfranchised all three party movements. It crushed Populists, Socialists, Progressives and Farmer Laborites. It is not a matter of outvoting these parties. No man, black or white, can come to the polls unless he promises not to vote for any party but the party in power.

The party in power in these states may make gestures toward liberalism and reform but they remain gestures. No matter whom the Democratic Party nominates the South must vote for him or threaten their own political monopoly. Thus, the South disfranchises itself in natural politics. On the other hand, if the North revolts from the Republican domination, the utmost it can accomplish is to put the South in power and that spells not reform but reaction. In other words, a Third Party movement in the United States to be successful must have such an overwhelming majority in the rock-ribbed centers of organized industry and conservative capitalism as to outvote North and South. The utter impossibility of a Third Party accomplishing this at present pleases conservative public opinion but it is the old method of sitting on the safety valve and rendering inactive the orderly processes of social growth and reform.

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All this is true, and the United States knows it. But it does not discuss it. Discussions are taboo in Congress, on the public platform, in magazines and newspapers; so that the various facts which make democracy impossible of accomplishment in the United States are not generally apprehended.

We all know that if the most of the people in the United States could vote with freedom and on terms of equality, that even then the problem of effectual democratic control and the triumph of right ideas led by proper public officials would just begin. As it is now, we have no democratic control and we only realize this in a crisis.

As sure as fate some day there is coming in the United States a political controversy with social and economic roots which is going to open suddenly the question as to why the South has 3 times the political power of the West and why New England, with its disfranchised foreign workers, has more political voice than the West. The protest is not coming simply from Northerners or "friends" of the Negro. It is even coming from the South itself.

So far as the Negro is concerned, his attitude is changing. He is gradually ceasing to plead and prove. He is simply pointing to the known facts: out of a hundred thousand black folk and a hundred thousand whites there will be more blacks who are poor, ignorant, sick and silly than whites. Why this is true he will have his opinion and others theirs. The Negro only insists that in his group there will be thirty, twenty or ten thousand just as intelligent, thrifty and healthy as the majority of whites. He maintains that to treat these men as idiots and criminals is an attack on civilization.

I have no right, of course, to speak for the whole Negro race in America, but speaking for myself and many others, I am tired of the hypocrisy and double-dealing in this country. If race hatred is still so strong in this country that large numbers of Americans would rather

46-2-196

over-throw democratic government than to let me vote, then I am willing to acquiesce in disfranchisement and not be counted as a basis of representation rather than to see this great experiment in democracy fail.

While most of this study deals with the South because there the effect of disfranchisement is most striking and far-reaching, there are other parts of the United States, like New England and certain large cities, where the question of Democratic control by popular vote is acute. Surely it is time for open discussions and careful collection of facts. Americans, let us look the situation squarely in the face. This is no mere question of parish or section or race. It is a vast and pressing problem of Democracy and civilization. Today, and in the United States, Justic is for sale. Laws are bought and paid for. The highest offices are put up at public barter. News and facts are suppressed and twisted by monopoly. Education is controlled by the same forces that monopolize water power. Great aggregations of wealth invested in capital and controlled, not by their owners but my men who have secured the power of control by every know device, legal and illegal, honest and dishonest, efficient and inefficient, are ruling an increasingly complicated industrial machine in such a way that only intelligent public opinion can secure the best interests of the nation. Today we cannot even consult this public opinion.

We must, therefore, decide and decide soon: first, the public opinion of what persons in the United States shall rule? Shall it be the public opinion of a small select group of persons of Nordic descent? Shall it be the public opinion of the rich controllers of capital? Shall it be the public opinion of college graduates? Shall it be the public opinion of all adult Americans except Negroes, Asiatics and Latins? Or shall we try to make it the public opinion of all intelligent adults? Whatever public opinion rules in the United States it must rule

46-2-293

freely and clearly without a system of rotten boroughs and without discrimination and cheating. The clearing up and settling of this great question is the vastest problem that faces America today and we must begin its solution now. If we do not, we fact sooner or later, chaos and revolution.

46-2-201

# VOTES FOR PRESIDENT BY STATES

## 1856

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 46,739 | 21,910 | 6,358 |
| 28,910 | 10,787 | 4,833 |
| 75,649 | 32,697 | 11,191 |
| **Georgia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 56,578 | 22,164 | 35,446 |
| 42,228 | 20,709 | 24,195 |
| 98,806 | 42,873 | 59,641 |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 48,246 | | 31,169 |
| 36,886 | | 15,639 |
| 85,132 | | 46,808 |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 89,826 | |
| | 291 | |
| | 60,278 | |
| | 150,395 | |

## 1860

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 13,651 | 5,228 | 367 |
| 48,831 | 28,732 | 8,543 |
| 27,825 | 20,094 | 5,437 |
| 90,307 | 54,054 | 14,337 |
| **Goergia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 11,590 | 7,625 | 3,283 |
| 51,889 | 22,681 | 40,797 |
| 42,886 | 20,204 | 25,040 |
| 106,365 | 50,510 | 69,120 |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 2,701 | | 47,548 |
| 48,339 | | 15,438 |
| 44,990 | | 62,986 |
| 96,030 | | |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 1,929 | |
| | 16,290 | |
| | 74,323 | |
| | 74,681 | |
| | 167,223 | |

46-3-124

1864

46-2-133

1868

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 76,366 | 22,112 | |
| 72,088 | 19,078 | |
| 148,454 | 41,190 | |
| **Georgia** | Louisiana | Mississippi |
| 57,134 | 33,263 | |
| 102,722 | 88,225 | |
| 159,856 | 121,488 | |
| North Carolina | South Carolina | Texas |
| 96,769 | 62,301 | |
| 84,601 | 45,237 | |
| 171,370 | 107,538 | |

Virginia

1872

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 90,272 | 41,373 | 17,763 |
| 79,444 | 37,927 | 15,427 |
| 169,716 | 79,290 | 33,190 |
| **Georgia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 62,550 | 71,663 | 82,175 |
| 76,356 | 57,029 | 47,288 |
| 138,906 | 128,692 | 129,463 |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 94,769 | 72,290 | 47,406 |
| 70,094 | 22,703 | 66,500 |
| 164,863 | 94,993 | 113,906 |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 93,468 | |
| | 91,654 | |
| | 185,122 | |

HC-2-194

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1876

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 68,230 | 38,669 | 23,849 |
| 102,002 | 58,071 | 22,923 |
| 170,232 | 96,740 | 46,772 |
| **Georgia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 50,446 | | |
| 130,088 | 75,135 | 52,605 |
| 180,534 | 70,636 | 112,173 |
| | 145,771 | 164,778 |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 108,417 | 91,870 | 44,800 |
| 125,427 | 90,906 | 104,755 |
| 233,844 | 182,776 | 149,555 |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 95,558 | |
| | 139,670 | |
| | 235,228 | |

1880

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 56,221 | 42,436 | 23,654 |
| 91,185 | 60,775 | 27,964 |
| 4,642 | 4,079 | 51,638 |
| 152,048 | 107,290 | |
| **Georgia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 54,086 | 38,637 | 34,854 |
| 102,470 | 65,067 | 75,750 |
| 969 | 439 | 5,797 |
| 157,525 | 104,143 | 116,401 |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 115,874 | 58,071 | 57,893 |
| 124,208 | 112,312 | 156,428 |
| 1,126 | 566 | 27,405 |
| 241,208 | 170,949 | 241,726 |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 84,020 | |
| | 128,586 | |
| | 212,606 | |

541-2-94

1884

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 93,951 | 72,927 | 31,766 |
| 59,591 | 50,895 | 28,031 |
| 612 | 1,847 | 72 |
| 873 | 125,669 | 59,869 |
| 155,027 | | |
| **Georgia** | **Louisiana** | **Mississippi** |
| 145 | | |
| 94,667 | 62,540 | 76,510 |
| 48,603 | 46,347 | 43,509 |
| 195 | 108,887 | 120,019 |
| 143,610 | | |
| **North Carolina** | **South Carolina** | **Texas** |
| 142,592 | 69,890 | 225,309 |
| 125,068 | 21,733 | 93,141 |
| 454 | | 3,534 |
| 268,114 | 91,623 | 3,321 |
| | | 325,305 |
| | **Virginia** | |
| | 145,497 | |
| | 139,356 | |
| | 138 | |
| | 284,991 | |

1888

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 57,597 | 58,752 | 26,659 |
| 117,320 | 85,692 | 39,561 |
| 593 | 614 | 403 |
| 175,510 | 10,613 | 66,623 |
| | 155,671 | |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 40,446 | 30,701 | 30,096 |
| 100,449 | 85,026 | 85,471 |
| 1,808 | 127 | 218 |
| 142,703 | 39 | 222 |
| | 115,890 | 116,007 |

| North Carolina | South Carolina | Texas |
|---|---|---|
| 134,784 | 13,740 | 88,280 |
| 147,902 | 65,825 | 234,883 |
| 2,789 | 79,565 | 4,749 |
| 47 | | 29,459 |
| 285,522 | | 357,371 |

| Virginia |
|---|
| 150,438 |
| 151,977 |
| 1,687 |
| 304,102 |

47-2-176

1892

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 138,138 | 87,834 | 30,143 |
| 9,197 | 46,974 | 4,843 |
| 85,181 | 11,831 | 570 |
| 241 | 120 | 35,556 |
| 232,757 | 146,759 | |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 129,386 | 87,662 | 40,288 |
| 48,305 | 27,903 | 1,342 |
| 42,937 | 115,565 | 10,102 |
| 988 | | 995 |
| 221,586 | | 52,727 |

| North Carolina | South Carolina | Texas |
|---|---|---|
| 133,098 | 54,698 | 239,148 |
| 100,565 | 13,384 | 81,444 |
| 44,732 | 2,410 | 99,418 |
| 2,630 | 70,492 | 2,165 |
| 281,025 | | 422,175 |

1892 (continued)

Virginia

163,977
113,256
12,275
2,798
292,306

---

1896

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 54,737 | 37,512 | 11,288 |
| 131,226 | 110,103 | 32,736 |
| 6,464 | 893 | 1,778 |
| 2,146 | 148,508 | 654 |
| 194,373 | | 46,536 |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 60,107 | 22,037 | 5,123 |
| 94,733 | 77,175 | 63,793 |
| 2,809 | 1,834 | 1,071 |
| 5,613 | 101,046 | 485 |
| 163,263 | | 70,472 |

| North Carolina | South Carolina | Texas |
|---|---|---|
| 155,243 | 9,313 | 158,894 |
| 174,488 | 58,801 | 361,224 |
| 578 | 824 | 4,853 |
| 681 | 68,938 | 1,722 |
| 330,990 | | 526,693 |

Virginia

135,388
154,985
2,127
2,344
294,844

---

1900

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 55,634 | | |
| 96,368 | 44,770 | 7,314 |
| 2,762 | 81,091 | 28,007 |
| 154,764 | 584 | 2,234 |
| | 27 | 601 |
| | 126,472 | 38,156 |

Georgia

1900 (continued)

Georgia

35,056
81,700
1,396
118,152

Louisiana

14,233
53,671
67,904

Mississippi

5,753
51,706
57,459

North Carolina

133,081
157,752
1,009
291,842

South Carolina

3,579
47,283
50,862

Texas

130,641
267,432
2,644
1,846
402,563

Virginia

115,865
146,080
2,150
145
264,240

---

1904

Alabama

22,472
79,857
612
853
103,794

Arkansas

46,860
64,434
993
1,816
114,103

Florida

8,314
27,046
5
2,337
37,702

Georgia

24,003
83,472
685
197
108,357

Louisiana

5,205
46,708
995
52,908

Mississippi

3,187
53,374
392
56,953

North Carolina

82,625
124,121
361
124
207,231

South Carolina

2,554
52,563
22
55,139

Texas

51,242
167,200
4,292
2,791
225,525

Virginia

47,880
80,648
1,383
56
129,967

46-2-178

1908

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 25,308 | 87,015 | 10,654 |
| 74,374 | 56,760 | 31,104 |
| 665 | 1,194 | 553 |
| 1,399 | 5,842 | 3,747 |
| 101,746 | 150,811 | 46,058 |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 41,692 | 8,958 | 4,363 |
| 72,413 | 63,568 | 60,287 |
| 1,059 | 2,323 | 978 |
| 584 | 74,849 | 65,628 |
| 115,748 | | |

| North Carolina | Oklahoma | South Carolina |
|---|---|---|
| 114,937 | 110,474 | 3,965 |
| 136,995 | 122,363 | 62,290 |
| 378 | 31,734 | 100 |
| 252,310 | 264,571 | 66,355 |

| Texas | Virginia |
|---|---|
| 65,666 | 52,573 |
| 217,302 | 82,946 |
| 1,634 | 1,111 |
| 7,870 | 255 |
| 292,474 | 136,885 |

---

1912

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| 9,732 | 24,467 | 4,279 |
| 82,438 | 68,838 | 36,417 |
| 22,680 | 21,673 | 4,535 |
| 3,029 | 8,153 | 4,806 |
| 117,879 | 123,031 | 50,035 |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 5,191 | 3,834 | 1,595 |
| 93,076 | 60,971 | 57,227 |
| 21,980 | 9,323 | 3,645 |
| 1,026 | 5,249 | 2,061 |
| 121,273 | 79,377 | 64,528 |

| North Carolina | Oklahoma | South Carolina |
|---|---|---|
| | 90,786 | 536 |
| 29,139 | 119,156 | 48,357 |
| 144,507 | 41,674 | 1,293 |
| 69,667 | 251,616 | 164 |
| 117 | | 50,340 |
| 243,430 | | |

1912 (Continued)

| Texas | Virginia |
|---|---|
| 26,745 | 23,288 |
| 219,489 | 90,332 |
| 28,530 | 21,777 |
| 24,896 | 820 |
| 299,660 | 136,217 |

1916

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| | 47,148 | |
| 22,809 | 112,148 | 14,611 |
| 99,409 | 2,015 | 55,984 |
| 1,034 | 6,999 | 4,855, |
| 1,925 | 168,300 | 5,353 |
| 125,077 | | 80,808 |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 11,225 | 6,466 | 4,253 |
| 125,845 | 79,875 | 80,422 |
| 967 | 292 | 1,481 |
| 138,037 | 86,633 | 86,156 |

| North Carolina | Oklahoma | South Carolina |
|---|---|---|
| 120,988 | 97,233 | 1,550 |
| 168,383 | 148,113 | 61,846 |
| 51 | 1,646 | 135 |
| 490 | 45,190 | 63,531 |
| 289,912 | 292,182 | |

| Texas | Virginia |
|---|---|
| 64,999 | 49,356 |
| 286,514 | 102,824 |
| 1,985 | 783 |
| 18,963 | 1,060 |
| 372,461 | 154,023 |

1920

| Alabama | Arkansas | Florida |
|---|---|---|
| | 71,117 | |
| 74,690 | 107,408 | 44,853 |
| 163,254 | 5,111 | 90,515 |
| 757 | 183,636 | 5,124 |
| 2,369 | | 5,189 |
| 241,070 | | 145,681 |

| Georgia | Louisiana | Mississippi |
|---|---|---|
| 43,720 | 38,538 | 11,576 |
| 107,162 | 87,519 | 69,277 |
| 465 | | 1,639 |
| 151,347 | 126,057 | 82,492 |

46-2-153

1920 (Continued)

North Carolina

232,848
305,447
17
446
538,758

Oklahoma

243,464
215,808
25,679
484,951

South Carolina

2,244
64,170
26
66,440

Texas

114,269
288,767
8,121
411,157

Virginia

87,456
141,670
826
807
240
230,999

---

1924

Alabama

45,005
112,966
8,084
166,055

Arkansas

40,036
84,793
13,159
137,988

Florida

30,633
62,083
92,716

Georgia

30,300
123,200
12,687
166,187

Louisiana

24,670
93,218
4,063
121,951

Mississippi

8,494
100,475
3,494
112,463

North Carolina

191,753
284,270
6,651
482,674

Oklahoma

225,947
260,815
40,607
527,369

South Carolina

1,123
49,008
620
50,751

Texas

129,472
621,528
23,172
774,172

Virginia

73,328
139,716
10,377
223,421

(2)

AGE FOR DIVISIONS 1920

| Age Period | All Classes | | | Negro | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Male | Female | Tatal | Male | Female |
| | | NEW ENGLAND DIVISION | | | | |
| 21 & over | 4,591,477 | 2,269,655 | 2,321,822 | 52,315 | 27,128 | 25,187 |
| | 62.0 | 61.8 | 62.2 | 66.2 | 67.3 | 65.1 |
| | | MIDDLE ATLANTIC DIVISION | | | | |
| 21 & over | 13,451,656 | 6,802,663 | 6,648,993 | 409,441 | 209,907 | 199,534 |
| | 59.7 | 60.3 | 59.0 | 83.0 | 67.2 | 66.3 |
| | | WEST SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION | | | | |
| 21 & over | 5,243,779 | 2,756,430 | 2,487,349 | 1,062,244 | 538,727 | 523,517 |
| | 48.4 | 49.8 | 46.9 | 48.2 | 49.2 | 47.2 |
| | | MOUNTAIN DIVISION | | | | |
| 21 & over | 1,888,921 | 1,057,368 | 831,553 | 23,881 | 16,072 | 7,809 |
| | 58.0 | 61.8 | 53.2 | 73.0 | 76.4 | 68.9 |
| | | PACIFIC DIVISION | | | | |
| 21 & over | 3,670,077 | 2,003,970 | 1,666,107 | 34,367 | 18,435 | 15,932 |
| | 65.3 | 68.4 | 61.2 | 72.3 | 75.4 | 68.5 |

add other divisions.

551-E-94

| | | 1924 | | 19 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| State | Elec. Votes | Rep. Majority | Dem. Maj. | Rep. Ma |
| Del. | 3 | 18,997 | | 12,947 |
| Md. | 8 | 14,342 | | 55,491 |
| Ky. | 13 | 24,111 | | |
| Tenn. | 12 | | 27,655 | 13,21 |
| Mo. | 18 | 75,733 | | 152,363 |
| N. J. | 14 | 378,234 | | 363,441 |
| Ind. | 15 | 210,797 | | 185,006 |
| Ohio. | 24 | 698,242 | | 401,985 |
| Ill. | 29 | 876,346 | | 886,085 |
| W. Va. | 8 | 31,403 | | 61,218 |
| N. Y. | 45 | 869,262 | | 1,139,929 |
| Mass. | 18 | 422,658 | | 404,463 |
| R. I. | 5 | 48,680 | | 52,401 |
| Conn. | 7 | 136,138 | | 108,517 |
| Va. | 12 | | 66,438 | |
| N. C. | 12 | | 93,117 | |
| Kans. | 10 | 251,352 | | 183,804 |

| 20 | | 1916 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| j. | Dem. Maj. | Rep. Maj. | Dem. Maj. | Estimated Number Negro Voters, 1928 |
| | | 1,258 | | 15,000 |
| | | | 21,012 | 140,000 |
| | 4,017 | | 28,136 | 125,000 |
| | | | 37,059 | |
| | | | 28,686 | 125,000 |
| | | 57,707 | | 75,000 |
| | | 6,942 | | 70,000 |
| | | | 89,408 | 125,000 |
| | | 202,320 | | 180,000 |
| | | 2,721 | | 45,000 |
| | | 109,689 | | 150,000 |
| | | 20,899 | | 21,000 |
| | | 4,464 | | 6,000 |
| | | 6,728 | | 15,000 |
| | 54,214 | | 53,468 | 22,000 |
| | 78,599 | | 47,395 | |
| | | | 36,930 | 35,000 |

95-2-156

C ~~B~~ A

POPULATION

FORMER SLAVE STATES — 1870-1920

200% increase.

VOTES, 1872-1920 — 131%

instead of 400%

---

ALA., GA., LA., MISS., S.C.

POP.— 4,500,000 — 10,500,000

VOTES- 660,000 — ~~660,000~~ 640,000

1920

5,150,000, 21+

640 000

~~19,000 =~~

— 20,000 = 620,000 WHITE V

2,215,991 - Negroes
2,297,799 - WHITES
} DISFRANCHISED

2,200,000 N

2,300 000 W

46-2-154

B

# SWANSON

SOUTH "Excercised CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT" to Eliminate "IGNORANT, Shiftless Corrupt VOTERS.

## RESULTS

B

LA. 1920 — LITERATE 21 { W. 400,000 / N-130,000 — 980 V.

80% GAINFUL OC.

164,000 FARMERS
53,000 MFG., MECH.
22,800 TRANP.
6,700 TRADE
2,000 Pub. SERVICE
3,500 PROFESS.
1300 CLERKS.

$25,000,000

10,000 OWNED FARMS - 30,000 OWN HOMES

MACON Co., ALA (TUSKEGEE) 4,927 LIT. NEGROES
22 VOTERS.

MISS. - 290,000 LIT 21. — 850 VOTERS

NEGRO PROBLEM?

B51-E-94

A

# DEMOCRACY

## CAMPAIGN

FARMS — POWER
LIQUOR — TARIF
WEALTH — LABOR
IMPERIAL — PEACE

## POPULAR CONTROL

DISFRANCHISED

MISS., S.C. — 90% +
GA., LA., TEX., VA — 80-90%
ARK., ALA., FLA., TENN., N.C., OKL.
PA., VT., ME., ILL., ARIZ., CAL } 50-80%

(1 in 3)

H6-2-59

## WHO — MUDDLE.

RESPONSIBILITY

DON'T DISCUSS

NATION

E

13-14-15-18-19

REPRESENTATION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MISS. — | 10,000 | MICH- | 70,000 |
| VA - | 23,000 | ILL. - | 77,000 |
| ME - | 50,000 | MO - | 83,000 |
| OKL - | 60,000 | CAL- | 86,000 |
| | | IND- | 97,000 |

1 MILLION VOTERS

- PACIFIC C. - 12
- MIDDLE W - 13
- NEW ENG - 16
- SOUTH - 45

BASIS of REPRENTATION

IGNORANT

FOREIGN BORN

NEGRO

Voters - South - 1920

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Va - | 855,843 | - 351,231 | - 1,207,074 |
| N.C. - | 867,971 | - 342,756 | - 1,210,727 |
| S.C. - | 403,061 | - 376,930 | - 779,991 |
| GA - | 846,276 | - 575,330 | - 1,421,606 |
| Fla - | 355,606 | - 181,008 | - 536,614 |
| Ala - | 702,265 | - 441,130 | - 1,143,395 |
| Miss - | 422,443 | - 453,663 | - 876,106 |
| Ark - | 625,058 | - 242 234 | - 867,292 |
| La - | 564,933 | - 359 251 | - 924,184 |
| Okl - | 945,257 | - 76,331 | - 1,021,588 |
| Tex - | 2,046,287 | - 384,428 | - 2,430,715 |

46-2-191

# PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

## in the South

## 1856--1916--1924

| | 1856 | 1860 | 1864 | 1868 | 1872 | 1876 | 1880 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 75,649 | 90,307 | | 148,454 | 169,716 | 170,232 | 152,048 |
| Arkansas | 32,697 | 54,054 | | 41,190 | 79,290 | 96,740 | 107,290 |
| Florida | 11,191 | 14,337 | | | 33,190 | 46,772 | 51,638 |
| Georgia | 98,806 | 106,365 | | 159,856 | 138,906 | 180,534 | 157,525 |
| Louisiana | 42,873 | 50,510 | | 121,488 | 128,692 | 185,771 | 104,143 |
| Mississippi | 59,641 | 69,120 | | | 129,463 | 164,778 | 116,401 |
| North Carolina | 85,132 | 96,030 | | 171,370 | 164,863 | 233,844 | 241,208 |
| South Carolina | | | | 107,538 | 94,993 | 182,776 | 170,849 |
| Texas | 46,808 | 62,986 | | | 113,906 | 149,555 | 241,726 |
| Virginia | 150,395 | 167,223 | | | 185,122 | 235,228 | 212,606 |

46-2-168

| | 1884 | 1888 | 1892 | 1896 | 1900 | 1904 | 1908 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 155,027 | 175,510 | 232,757 | 194,373 | 154,764 | 103,794 | 101,746 |
| Arkansas | 125,689 | 155,673 | 146,759 | 148,508 | 126,472 | 114,105 | 150,811 |
| Florida | 59,889 | 66,623 | 35,556 | 46,536 | 38,156 | 37,702 | 46,058 |
| Georgia | 143,610 | 142,703 | 221,586 | 163,863 | 118,152 | 108,357 | 115,748 |
| Louisiana | 108,887 | 115,890 | 115,565 | 101,046 | 67,904 | 52,902 | 74,849 |
| Mississippi | 120,019 | 116,007 | 52,727 | 70,672 | 57,459 | 56,953 | 65,628 |
| North Carolina | 268,114 | 285,522 | 281,025 | 330,990 | 291,842 | 207,231 | 252,310 |
| South Carolina | 91,623 | 79,565 | 70,492 | 68,938 | 50,862 | 55,139 | 66,355 |
| T exas | 325,305 | 357,371 | 422,175 | 526,693 | 402,563 | 225,525 | 292,474 |
| Virginia | 284,991 | 304,102 | 292,306 | 294,844 | 264,240 | 129,967 | 136,885 |

46-2-163

| | 1912 | 1916 | 1920 | 1924 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 117,879 | 125,077 | 241,070 | 166,055 |
| Arkansas | 123,031 | 168,300 | 183,636 | 137,988 |
| Florida | 50,035 | 80,808 | 145,681 | 92,716 |
| Georgia | 122,278 | 138,057 | 151,367 | 166,187 |
| Louisiana | 79,577 | 86,633 | 126,057 | 121,951 |
| Mississippi | 64,528 | 86,156 | 82,492 | 112,463 |
| North Carolina | 243,430 | 289,912 | 538,758 | 482,674 |
| Oklahoma | 251,616 | 292,182 | 484,951 | 527,369 |
| South Carolina | 50,340 | 63,551 | 66,440 | 50,751 |
| Texas | 299,680 | 372,461 | 411,157 | 774,172 |
| Virginia | 136,217 | 154,023 | 230,999 | 223,421 |

46-2-164

Population

| | VIRGINIA | NORTH CAROLINA | SOUTH CAROLINA | GEORGIA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 1,421,661 | 869,039 | 668,507 | 906,185 |
| 1860 | 1,596,318 | 992,622 | 705,708 | 1,057,286 |
| 1870 | 1,225,163 | 1,071,361 | 705,606 | 1,184,109 |
| 1880 | 1,512,565 | 1,399,750 | 995,577 | 1,542,180 |
| 1890 | 1,655,980 | 1,617,949 | 1,151,149 | 1,837,353 |
| 1900 | 1,854,184 | 1,893,810 | 1,340,316 | 2,216,331 |
| 1910 | 2,061,612 | 2,206,287 | 1,515,400 | 2,609,121 |
| 1920 | 2,309,187 | 2,559,123 | 1,683,724 | 2,895,832 |

| | FLORIDA | ALABAMA | MISSISSIPPI | ARKANSAS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 87,445 | 771,623 | 606,526 | 209,897 |
| 1860 | 140,424 | 964,201 | 791,305 | 435,450 |
| 1870 | 187,748 | 996,992 | 827,922 | 484,471 |
| 1880 | 269,493 | 1,262,505 | 1,131,597 | 802,525 |
| 1890 | 391,422 | 1,513,401 | 1,289,600 | 1,128,211 |
| 1900 | 528,542 | 1,828,697 | 1,551,270 | 1,311,564 |
| 1910 | 752,619 | 2,138,093 | 1,797,114 | 1,574,449 |
| 1920 | 968,470 | 2,348,174 | 1,790,618 | 1,752,204 |

| | LOUISIANA | OKLAHOMA | TEXAS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 517,762 | | 212,592 |
| 1860 | 708,002 | | 604,215 |
| 1870 | 726,915 | | 818,579 |
| 1880 | 939,946 | | 1,591,740 |
| 1890 | 1,118,588 | 258,657 | 2,235,527 |
| 1900 | 1,381,625 | 790,391 | 3,048,710 |
| 1910 | 1,656,388 | 1,657,155 | 3,896,542 |
| 1920 | 1,798,509 | 2,028,293 | 4,663,228 |

46-2-165

| | VIRGINIA | NORTH CAROLINA | SOUTH CAROLINA | GEORGIA |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850-60 | 12.3% | 14.2% | 5.3% | 16.7% |
| 1860-70 | — 23.3% | 7.9% | .3% | 12% |
| 1870-80 | 23.5% | 30.7% | 41.1% | 30.2% |
| 1880-90 | 90.5% | 15.6% | 15.6% | 19.1% |
| 1890-1900 | 12% | 17.1% | 16.4% | 20.6% |
| 1900-10 | 11.2% | 16.5% | 13.1% | 17.7% |
| 1910-20 | 12% | 16% | 11.1% | 11% |

| | FLORIDA | ALABAMA | MISSISSIPPI | ARKANSAS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850-60 | 60.6% | 25% | 30.5% | 107.5% |
| 1860-70 | 33.7% | 3.4% | 4.6% | 11.3% |
| 1870-80 | 43.5% | 26.6% | 36.7% | 35.6% |
| 1880-90 | 45.2% | 19.9% | 14% | 40.6% |
| 1890-1900 | 35% | 20.8% | 20.3% | 16.3% |
| 1900-10 | 42.4% | 16.9% | 15.8% | 20% |
| 1910-20 | 27.8% | 9.3% | —.4% | 11.3% |

| | LOUISIANA | OKLAHOMA | TEXAS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1850-60 | 36.7% | | 184.2% |
| 1860-70 | 2.7% | | 35.5% |
| 1870-80 | 29.3% | | 94.5% |
| 1880-90 | 19% | | 40.4% |
| 1890-1900 | 23.5% | 205.6% | 36.4% |
| 1900-10 | 19.9% | 109.7% | 27.8% |
| 1910-20 | 8.6% | 22.4% | 19.7% |

44 1-2-46

VOTERS----SOUTH----1920

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Virginia | 855,843 | 351,231 | 1,207,074 |
| North Carolina | 867,971 | 342,756 | 1,210,727 |
| South Carolina | 403,061 | 376,930 | 779,991 |
| Georgia | 846,276 | 575,330 | 1,421,606 |
| Florida | 355,606 | 181,008 | 536,614 |
| Alabama | 702,265 | 441,130 | 1,143,395 |
| Mississippi | 422,443 | 453,663 | 876,106 |
| Arkansas | 625,058 | 242,234 | 867,292 |
| Louisiana | 584,993 | 339,251 | 924,184 |
| Oklahoma | 945,257 | 76,331 | 1,021,588 |
| Texas | 2,046,287 | 384,428 | 2,430,715 |

46-2-194

| Votes 1920 | Disfranchised 1920 | Negroes Voting |
|---|---|---|
| 231,029 | 976,045 | (2000) |
| 548,741 | 661,986 | 5000 |
| 66,150 | 713,841 | (1000) |
| 148,716 | 1,272,890 | 6000 |
| 149,392 | 387,217 | (2000) |
| 241,070 | 902,325 | 3000 |
| 82,492 | 793,614 | 1000 |
| 183,637 | 683,655 | (2000) |
| 117,084 | 807,100 | 2000 |
| 486,405 | 535,183 | (5000) |
| 441,037 | 1,989,678 | 1000 |

46-2-168

| Negroes Disfranchised | Whites Disfranchised |
|---|---|
| 349,231 | 626,614 |
| 337,756 | 324,[illegible] |
| 375,930 | 357,711 |
| 589,330 | 703,580 |
| 178,006 | 208,209 |
| 458,150 | 464,195 |
| 451,130 | 342,484 |
| 240,234 | 443,421 |
| 337,251, | 449,849 |
| 71,338 | 463,852 |
| 374,428 | 1,615,250 |

691-2-169

Disfranchised (000)

| | Negroes | Whites |
|---|---|---|
| Va | 350 | 625 |
| NC | 340 | 325 |
| SC | 375 | 340 |
| Ga | 570 | 700 |
| Fla | 180 | 208 |
| Ala | 440 | 465 |
| Miss | 450 | 340 |
| Ark | 240 | 440 |
| La | 360 | 450 |
| OKL | 71 | 460 |
| Tex | 375 | 1600 |

46-2-170

1. Illiteracy
2. Property
3. Poll tax
4. Employment
5. Army service
6. Reputation
7. Grandfather" clause
8. Understanding clause

1890--Mississippi (1 or 8) plus 3.
1895--South Carolina 1 or 2 or 8.
1898--Louisiana (1 plus 2) or 7.
1901--North Carolina (1 plus 3) or 7.
1902--Alabama (1 plus 4) or 2 or 5 or 6.
1902--Virginia (1 plus 3 or 5) or 6 or 2.
1908--Georgia 1 or 2 or 5 or 6.

121-C-94

corporation taxes, over 50% of the taxes. Many Negroes owned farms of 1,000 acres and more,—one owning 3,200 acres. The Negroes owned 23 cotton gins, 25 grist mills, 32 saw mills and 17 shingle mills. There were 25 small merchants and one colored physician whose practice was 50% white. The six months colored county school was "fairly good". The town school in Jefferson ran nine months and had ten grades. And yet, in the face of that, the following election notice was issued Tuesday, September 3rd, 1918:

36-2-166

TO THE PEOPLE OF JEFFERSON

THE ELECTION TO BE HELD TUESDAY, SEPT. 3RD.
IS FOR THE PURPOSE OF VOTING TO REPEAL THE STOCK LAW OR ALLOWING IT TO STAND AS IT IS.

It was unanimously voted by the Council to allow all White Citizens, Men and Women in the City of Jefferson, 21 years of age to vote on this question as the Council wants to know how the people stand on it. The people who are in favor of Repealing this law are willing that an Ordinance be passed allowing stock to run at large from 6 a.m. from 1st day of April until 1st day of December which would be 8 months in the year and put them up the remaining 4 months. You are all interested.

SO COME OUT AND VOTE.

THE COMMITTEE

It must be remembered that a Stock Law, which regulates the fencing of crops and the running at large of stock, is of great importance, both to the farmer and the small town worker.

# Chicago

We may measure intelligence and count the number of homes owned and go over the list of Negro graduates, and yet be somewhat in doubt as to the advancement of the Negro race. But now and then there comes to our notice some sudden indication of progress that is "The voice without reply".

I rode down the South Parkway of Chicago the other day. It was once Grand Boulevard. And there were this great and newly redesigned artery of the greatest city of the West swerves and widens to a park, men are building a statue. At night the statue is guarded. A black policeman to the left and a white one to the right. And the statue is one built to the black soldiers of the great War with a Negro face and figure in its midst. Perhaps in itself it is not the greatest work of art but it is artistic; it is beautiful, and above all, it is tremendously significant.

Here in the midst of one of the most typical of American cities stands in stone a black soldier. Why? Not because Chicago loves her Negroes so well, but because with their work, their education, their prosperity, and their political power, she does not dare to flout them.

36-23-21

Outside these five states with a single effective party and the disfranchisement of the Negro as such, there are other parts of the South where the Negro votes to some extent and where two parties exist. Virginia, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Texas represent such states. North Carolina has gained recently a new social leadership, with the result that education has expanded, both in University and common schoo, and mob violence curbed. New attention has been given to health and the prevention of crime. With this has come, both as cause and affect, a small but increasing participation of the Negro in voting.

Out of a population amounting to 1,210,727 in 1920, men and women, there voted in the Presidential Election of 1824, 482,627. These voters came from 867,971 white adults and 342,756 colored adults. It is probable, from what I can learn, that at least 20,000 Negroes voted in that election and the number of Negro voters has since increased. This has been made possible because the minority party is a real opposition and both parties bid for the Negro vote. Also, as a consequence the regular election records 100,000 more votes than the primary elections.

This does not mean by any means that Negro disfranchisement is at an end or anywhere near it in North Carolina. Over 300,000 Negroes and an equal number of whites are disfranchised voluntarily and involuntarily in North Carolina.

Oklahoma and Texas also represent cases where the attempt to dis-

franchise the Negro is made with a two party system. One party seeks to keep the Negro from voting at all in its primary while the other seeks his vote but attempts to deprive him of any voice in the party councils and any chance to hold office. The results in Texas are as follows:

"In the Democratic Primary elections, the full vote of white Democrats and Republicans men and women are cast, or in other words, 750,000 to 800,000 turn out and vote on Primary election days. Five per cent of these 800,000 voters are Negro Democrats, who always vote the Democratic ticket in all elections. There are 300,000 both Negro men and women voters in Texas. They are Republicans; but have not voted for and with the 'Lily White' Republican Party since the date it was organized and given absolute control of the Republican Party Organization in Texas. The 'Lily White' Party was organized 1920, backed by the Harding Administration.

31-9-16

"Ordinarily, in presidential election years approximately 100,000 Negroes qualify in Texas, but under the existing political and partisan systems in vogue in the state, less than 10,000 voted in the election of 1926 (gubernatorial)."

There are in Texas over 2½ millions of persons 21 years of age and over, of whom 400,000 are black. Over a million persons are disfranchised voluntarily or involuntarily even in the primary election.

There is a similar situation in Oklahoma, with over 400,000 adult whites not voting.

Virginia has a situation similar to Texas. White Republicans held their conventions in hotels where Negroes were not admitted. The Negroes tried to retaliate by voting for the Democrats, but after all the Democrats were as bad as the Republicans.

"In the State election of 1921 when the 'Lily White' Republicans

nominated Mr. H. W. Anderson for governor, and again Negroes had been barred from the State convention, as well as the city and district conventions, we issued an official call for a State Convention of Republicans of Virginia, which was held in the city of Richmond, Monday, September 5, 1921; here we nominated a State ticket naming a candidate for every office from governor down. The white papers took it up and called us the 'Lily Blacks'. At this convention every district in the State was represented, and with a good strong pull and the women voting, we polled more than twenty-five thousand votes for the 'Lily Blacks' ticket."

So far in this discussion I have said nothing about the Border States. In such former slave states as Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, the Negro is a reocgnized voter. His political importance varies, but in most of these states it is beginning to be used with some efficiency. He is securing with his votes better public schools in Delaware, equalized teachers' salaries and better schoolhouses in Maryland and a new university in Missouri. His general political power has given him excellent schools in the District of Columbia and some social legislation. In Tennessee he has gained a State Normal School and especially he is renewing and consolidating his political power in western Tennessee, in spite of much bitter opposition.

It is not too much to say that almost in exact proportion as fear of Negro participation in politics has been eliminated in these states, there has been a new growth of democracy both among whites and Negroes and an effective interest in social reform.

Many have assumed that this slow but evident enfranchisement of the Negro in the Border States is destined to invade the Southern South. This is probably true but the danger lies in waiting and that danger is great, not simply to the Negro but to the Nation. In other

words, the distortion of the public will which the five states of the worst South, added to the influence of several other Southern states, has had upon voting throughout the United States, is such that worse, far worse evils than Negro disfranchisement are already upon us.

It is continually assumed that disfranchisement in the South is a local problem with which the other people in the United States have no right or interest to interfere. There is indeed something of the atmosphere of a gentlemen's agreement in the nullification in the 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments in the South.

This, however, is far from true; and the facts are shown by the number of persons necessary for the election of Congressmen. In the great Middle West, for instance, ten million voters elected 127 Congressmen. In New England, seven and a half million voters elected 123 Congressmen. In the Border States four million voters elected 58 Congressmen. In the Pacific and Northwestern states, two million voters elected 24 Congressmen; while in the Southwest, six hundred thousand voters elected 9 Congressmen. Contrast this with the fact that in the Southern states 2,175,007 voters elected 94 Congressmen.

31-9-14

If instead of taking the presidential votes in that year we take the primary votes, we find for the whole South it was 50 per cent larger. But even in that case, something over 3 million voters in the South had as much political power as 4 million voters in the Middle West. For each representative it takes 73,000 voters in the Middle West; in New England 54,000; in the South 21,000.

This makes the distortion of public political power so great that it is interesting to note efforts to counteract it in certain places where it would be least expected.

If, for instance, you consider the national conventions of the two great parties, you will remember that theoretically there should be in these conventions a number of delegates equal to twice the number of

Senators and Representatives in Congress. But this would give the South an exaggerated representation in either Convention. Consequently, in the National Republican Convention of 1924:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 16 | instead of | 24 |
| Arkansas | 14 | " of | 18 |
| Florida | 10 | " of | 12 |
| Georgia | 18 | " of | 28 |
| Louisiana | 13 | " of | 20 |
| Mississippi | 12 | " of | 20 |
| North Carolina | 22 | instead of | 24 |
| South Carolina | 11 | " of | 18 |
| Texas | 23 | " of | 40 |
| Virginia | 17 | " of | 24 |

Oklahoma alone has 23 delegates when her quota is 20. This makes a net loss of 67 delegates.

31-9-13

And it was even proposed that this number be cut down; because, in this convention, the black delegates from the South being subject to the control of no free electorate, tend to be composed mainly of venal politicians, white and black, who can be traded in by the highest bidders. Every effort of black folk to escape this incubus and reform the situation is blocked by their own disfranchisement. Thus men may buy presidencies.

On the other hand, turning to the Democratic Convention and to the helpless annoyance of the North, we find each Southern state with its full quota. This, together with the two-thirds voting rule, makes the South political dictator of the nation.

At the eve then, of a presidential election, singular compilations are made. The Democrats can start out assuming the votes of 11 Southern states, with, at present 124 or the 531 electoral votes. They need to fight, therefore, for only 142 electoral votes to have the majority of

THIRD PARTY F

124 of 531.

---

12 - 3 - 9

---

Third Party 5 out of 9

4 + 3 = 7

---

Democratic Reform

6 = Dem

7 = Rep

2/3 rule —

---

Solid Three must oppose

~~ECON~~ WEALTH CONTROL

INDUSTRIAL DEMOC.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

PEACE

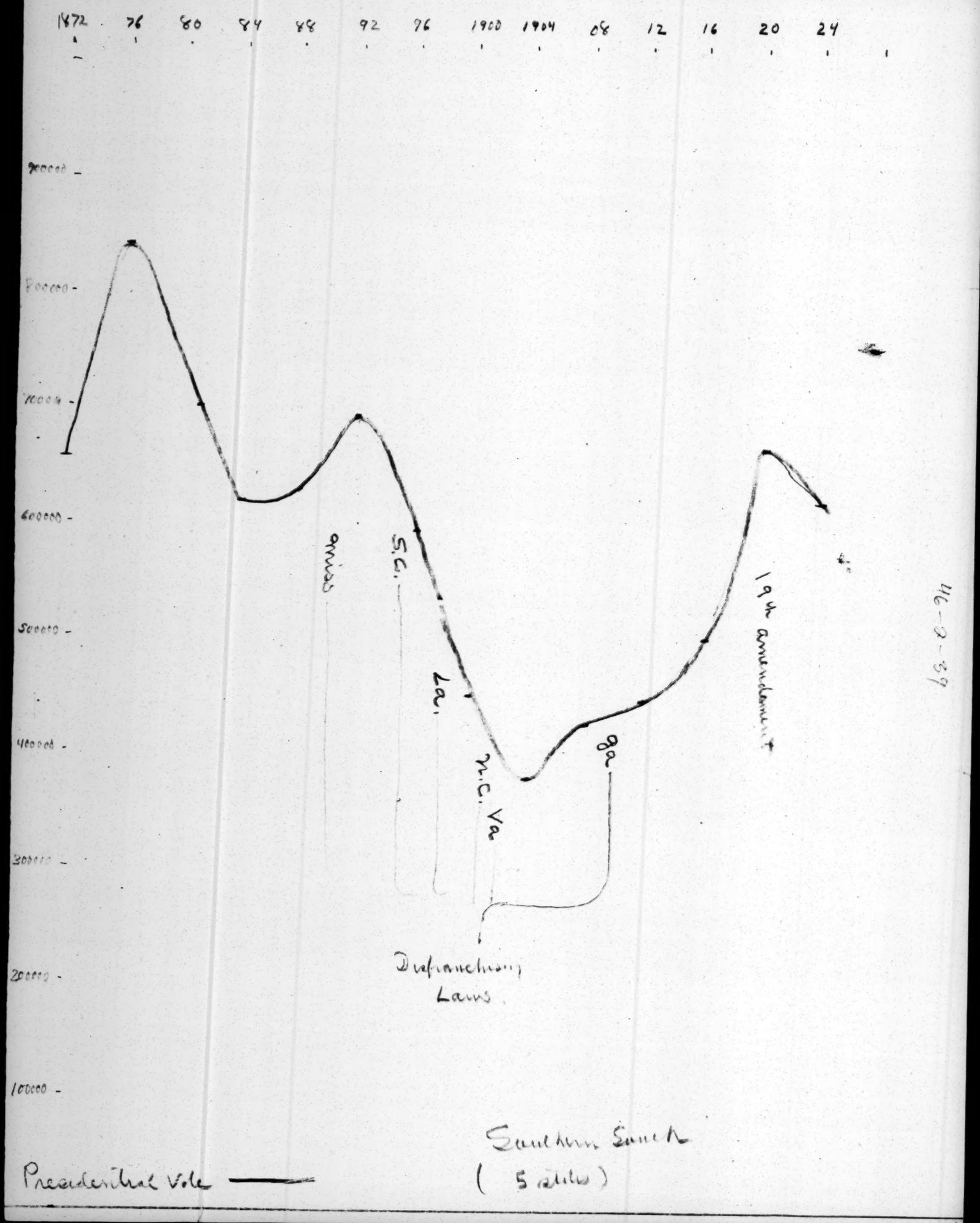
OVERTHROW of IMPERIALISM

INTERNATIONALISM

INTERRACIALISM

---

THE POLITICIAN


1872
76
80
84
88
92
96
1900
1904
08
12
16
20
24
600000
500000
400000
300000
200000
100000
Miss.
S.C.
La.
N.C. Va
Ga
Disfranchising Laws
19th amendment
Presidential Vote
Southern Senator (5 yr. av.)

HC-2-39

(5)

# 1908-1918

## 40-50 - Editor

1908 Nation ? U. S. Treasury
Conference on Africa ? East - Clark V. - Chamberlain
Negro residence, Balto

1909 Taft - "John Brown"

1910 - N.Y.
"Civils" - Reconstruction ? its benefits
Taft avoids Negro office holders — Loans Asked - At. gen.
Colbell, Colbert, Nowbolder
alliance with Trowbridge *
(Asquith ? Balfour)

1911 Races Congress, Philip Stanhope, Lord Weardale, Havelock Ellis
Conference with English labor leaders ?
attend ? Europe
Balto 3rd segregate, Rosenwald ? NAACP — Cohen out in La
Mob assault on B.T.W
Colonial geo V
Gen Educ. Board

1912 Build Negro Parties (Cross 4: 222, 235, 216)
Wilson ? Bishop Walters - Somebody ? Cobb
Archer: Ethiopia Afro-American ? Abdul Baha
Chinese revolution Amer Bar Assoc
Silver Fleece
1st Negro to U.S. Cong
Durbar

Washington Cross South
Rockland Brown
Ray Atlantic Essay (III 246)
votes for women

1913 Wilson Segregation Emancipation Celebration - N.Y.
Cross II
154
159
$37,000 - 30000
Proposed Discrimination in 8 states defeated
Standard Life
Committee Reform
W.H. Ramsey Savannah
Vice-consuls ? Ambassadors
B ? Honduras
Mamie Newbell
Sir H ? Lady Johnston
Sir Percy ? Lady Bumby

1914 War
Jamaica
Cross 3000
Judge Terrell
Memphis Meeting, Stinson ? St. Paul

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1915 Granddaughters doctrine
Stinson Medal
~~Pageant~~
Hardin

1916 Pageant
Hughes
Garvey ?
Bank ?

1917 Lynching at Tyrrellton — Louisville segregation
U.S. in War — officers camp
Wash. Conference (c. 14:57)

(over)

8/28/ H

1918

50 years – Circ. 68 000.

1917

Agriculture

Anti-tuberculosis [illegible]

E. St Louis, Houston — Cooperation

Journey

Egyptian decorations

700 officers Exile

German [illegible]

Glendower Evans, Margaret Deland, Wm James.

(6)

1918 - 1928
50 - 60 — Editor

1918

To Paris (C - Jan 19, Feb 19, May 19)

1919

Pan Africa (C. Feb 19 h 173) Apr. 19, h 271
Friends (C March 19)
Black Soldiers (C March 19, h 218, Apr 19)
Nations (C. April 19)
Returning Soldiers Apr 19 106,000
C. held up in Maine
Documents C. Apr 19
Anti-Lynching Conference
Wash. + Chicago riots
Prize of Liberia Envoys
Migration
D. Campbell

1920 Engaged by Candlestick
Shillady resigns (Aug 20)
G.B.S.
Harding - Hawk
Woman suffrage
Brownie's Book

garvey 35, 51

1921 2nd Pan A. Congress (C 23: 5, 12, 60
Conv. B. W. Africa
Inter-racial (C April 21, 249)
7000 miles Liberia
Garvey
Birth of a Nation
~~Freedmen~~ Mandates
Tulsa
Americas Working
League of Nations (C 23: 18

garvey

Brownie's Book

(Harding as Pennsylvania (23:53)

1922
Unemployment
Ku Klux Activities
Dyer Bill declared (C. Hist 25, 154
(Johnson assassination?) garvey 35:51

Negroes in College Bondelzwarts
Studies abroad Garvey N. Labor Hymn (C 25 No 5 p 200)
Examinations

1923 Anti-lynching Campaign
New Negro Literature (C. 27. No 4, p 161)
Art Contests
Travel 8500 (C Aug 23, Cal p 9)
Growing from 70 to 69
Tuskegee Hospital (Sept 24)
Talks on Anti-lynching Crusades
14 cities
3 Pan A. Congresses (C. 27, 53, 59, 170)
Africa (C. 27 No 4, 5, 6.)(C 29 p 199.

1924 Election (C 29 No 2)(Oct 24)
Cash (C. 29: No 6, Dec 24; 251)
Dinners (June '24 p 55) garvey 35:51
NAACP recruitment bias & Labor (C. Aug 24; 151-3)
La Follette
Travel (C Sept 24)

1925 Pageants & Angels (Sept 25: 217)
Speech Contests (31:7) 125
NAACP defense fund $70000

~~7-1-18-~~

1918-28 (continued)

1926

Sets La Zonte
End of Sweet Land (34:234)
Little Theatre
~~Granada~~
Russia (33:8) 64,
Howard
Judge Cobb
NAACP Court victory (34:106)
Miss Flood
Cyclone Davis

1927

White Flannels
Sacco & Vanzetti
Okeh
Red Cross & Flood
Ln and Lu attack,

8/28 H

H W Bns

# AN ERNEST APPEAL

The persons whose names are signed beneath are alike in the fact that they all have Negro slaves among their ancestors. In other respects, they differ widely: in descent, in ideals, in place of dwelling, North and South, city and country; in age and occupation; and, to some extent, in their attitude toward what is known as the Negro problem.

32-4-27

More especially they differ in political thought, ideal, and allegiance. Some of them are Republicans, by inheritance and long custom, and by sincere conviction. Others are Democrats, by affiliation and party membership and by earnest adherence to what they conceive to be the leading principles of that party. Still others are Socialists, by study and training, and because of a deep desire for economic reform; and others belong to the Communists and Labor parties.

But all of us are at this moment united in the solemn conviction that the presidential campaign of 1928, more than any previous campaign since the Civil War, is treating the American Negro by positive action and negative silence, in a manner which is unfair and discouraging and which constitutes an attack on human uplift, christian charity, and popular self-government.

We solemnly accuse the political leaders of this campaign, with but few exceptions, of permitting without open protest, public and repeated assertions on the platform, in the press, and by word of mouth that color and race constitute themselves an imputation of guilt and crime. It has been said, North and South, East and West, and by partisians of the leading candidates:

That it is a crime for a colored man to hold public office, no matter what his ability or character may be and no matter how well he does his work or how competently he satisfies his constituents.

That in our known and long-recognized racial distinctions, no part of the country and no group or individual has a right to refuse to follow the same racial prejudice that any other group may feel.

32-4-30

That the contact of white people and black people in government, in business, and in daily life, in common effort and co-operation, is always to be regarded as suspicious, if not actually disgraceful.

That even the placing of white and colored persons in the same room or their working together at the same job is of itself a disgraceful thing.

That the appointment of a trained and competent person to a position of power and authority becomes criminal if that person is known to have a drop of Negro blood.

That the appointment of a public official is an act which concerns only white citizens, and that colored citizens should have neither voice nor consideration in such appointments.

These assertions which sound bald and almost unbelievable when stated without embellishment have appeared as full-paged advertisements in the public press, as the subject of leading editorials, and displayed news stories; have been repeated on the public platform and in open debate and over the radio by both Republican and Democratic speakers, and they have been received by the nation and by the adherents of these and other parties in almost complete silence. In a few cases, Editors have rather vaguely

deprecated any discussion of the race problem, but for the most part, this astonishing campaign of public insult toward one-tenth of the nation has evoked no single word or protest from any of the leading party candidates, from any of the party members, from any Christian minister, Protestant or Catholic, from any Jewish leader, from any public official, or great social leader.

13-4-31

Postscript March-1929

[CRISIS, MARCH 1929]

26-2-142a

## ECONOMIC PRIZES

We are having a queer experience with the Economic Prizes offered by Negro banks and insurance societies through THE CRISIS. They were announced first early in 1927; then withdrawn because of lack of response, and announced again in March, 1928. At the close of the Contest December 31, 1928, only 21 entries were received, and of these only 5 came anywhere near the requirements laid down. These requirements asked "for stories, essays or cartoons which will illustrate or study or tell the story of the economic development of the Negro". We have considered carefully the merits of the 6 entrants and announce our decision concerning them in the MAY number of THE CRISIS.

Meantime, however, it seems certain that the young Negro writers and thinkers of today are not applying their minds to the economic problem of their race. And yet that problem is, and for many generations, must be the central problem of their existence and survival. How are we going to bring the attention of the young to the importance of that problem? Manifestedly, prizes for writing are not effective. What will be effective? We shall be glad to learn.

37-5-126

# Paul Kennaday

Paul Kennaday is lying out in Greenwood beneath a great mound of flowers. It seems queer that he should be there. He was earnest and quiet, sane and humorous. He was one of those who walks quietly but firmly along the solid earth. He was my friend. We did not talk much but we understood. He particularly understood and grew tense under the knowledge. For him the world was wicked but possible. He worked at it. He was not willing to sit down and stare about. The thing was too real, too humanly real to ignore. And so year in and year out he worked and inquired and helped. And then he died. Suddenly he died, in the midst of his manhood, comely in face and ripe in heart. He said as he lay stricken: "I must attend a CRISIS Committee Meeting tomorrow." And attend he did in spirit, not in body. And now he is not here. He will not sit with quiet eyes and measured word listening to my troubles and the troubles of the world. I am puzzled by the lack of all logic in his going; by the world's loss. Why, he was one of the first to call that conference of 1909 which made the N. A. A. C. P. He was Chairman of THE CRISIS Committee. I wonder—and yet somehow I like to think of him lying there in the Spring sunshine beneath the flowers, eternally and perfectly at rest.

# TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO

## A Message from Mahatma Gandhi

Mahandas Karamchand Gandhi, the greatest colored man in the world, and perhaps the greatest man in the world, was born October 2, 1869 in India. He finished High School and then studied for three years in England at London University, and at the Law School of the Inner Temple. Returning, he began to practice law in Bombay, but not being successful, he went to South Africa in 1893, and there his public life began. He gave up the law and devoted himself to the Indian people who were being prosecuted along with the natives in that land. He served with the Red Cross during the Boer War, attending friend and foe alike. For twenty years he toiled in South Africa to remove race prejudice. He led his people; he went to jail; he agitated; and finally triumphed by gaining for the Indians of South Africa a large measure of freedom. At the outbreak of the great war, he returned to India, and although a Pacifist, aided the great war. But when after the war there came repression, the massacre of Amritsar, and the infamous Rowlatt bills, Gandhi was disillusioned. He came out for home rule and announced his great Gospel of conquest through peace. Agitation, non-violence, refusal to co-operate with the oppressor, became his watchword and with it he is leading all India to freedom. Here and today, he stretches out his hand in fellowship to his colored friends of the West.

He writes to the Editor:

"Dear Friend,

I was delighted to receive your letter with a footnote by Mr. Andrews. It is useless for me even attempt to send you an article for your magazine. I therefore send you herewith

46-32-1

a little love message.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. Gandhi."

4/0-33-2

Captain Floyd and Cuba Libre.

The writing of history is curious business. It is not simply "lies agreed upon" that makes the part of the American Negro in history unknown or forgotten. It is simply a little matter of emphasis. One does not talk of Estevanica simply because most historians fail to mention that this black man was the discoverer of the Southwest United States. They do not deny it; they merely forget it. One does not say that the 5th of March, commemorating the death of Crispus Attucks, was the first national American holiday. It is true, but, says the average historians, what of it? And so the part which Negroes, and American Negroes, played in the freeing of Cuba from the domination of Spain was a matter quite well-known at the time, but today almost forgotten.

It was not only Maceo and his dark fellows in the field that freed Cuba. There were Negroes in America that helped in this matter, and foremost among them was Captain John W. Floyd of Jacksonville, Florida. There were Cuban clubs with colored members in New York, Chicago, in all Southern cities, and particularly in the cities of Florida, like Tampa, Jacksonville and Key West. They contributed 10% of their wages for years to the Revolutionary Fund. And their leader for a long time was José Marti, who at the end of the 10-years war took refuge in New York. He was killed in 1895 and Masceo died 18 months later. Palma, then teaching a school in New York State, succeeded Marti as the American representative and became active in smuggling arms from America to the Revolutionists. There was much treason, bribery and double-crossing in this work and Dynamite Johnny O'Brien became one of their leading smugglers.

But his work and the whole smuggling campaign depended at last on Captain Floyd. An ocean-going tug, called the Dauntless, was purchased from the Brunswick Navigation Company for $30,000 in 1896. It was a new and fine boat, measuring 125 feet, and capable of making 13 knots an hour. In command of the Dauntless, James W. Floyd, a colored Jacksonville pilot, with a Master's license, was placed. From that time until war was declared against Spain, the Dauntless and Captain Floyd were the chief means of furnishing the Cubian revolutionists with arms and ammunition.

32-54-65

37-5-62

# The American Federation of Labor and the Negro

The speech of J. P. Frey at the National Inter-racial Conference last December on "Attempts to Organize Negro Workers" has given rise to some controversy. Walter White in the NATION characterizes this speech as "the nadir in casuistic defense of exclusion of Negroes from labor unions."

To this characterization Frey objects, but admits "I failed to accomplish one purpose I had in mind—the presentation of a careful program."

But this was not the real essense of Frey's failure. His whole thesis was: Negroes suffer from injustice in the labor union world, but they do not suffer much more than Jews, Poles and even Americans. Moreover, they are partially to blame because they do not advise their workers to enter the trade unions even where they can.

This latter point Frey sought to emphasize in every way. He cited Booker T. Washington, and his advice to the iron workers of Hampton; he cited the resolution of the Negro Press Association; and he even went so far as to declare:

"I have asked representatives of the Negro race, some of the best known, to make some public statement or write me a letter in which they would say it was their belief that wherever possible members of their race should join the trade union of their craft, so that I could use that statement or letter to help me in the efforts I have made to organize Negroes. So far no such statement or letter has been received."

This whole thesis is untrue and unfair. The record of the American Federation of Labor toward the Negro is indefensible. And early declaration of the A. F. of L. said:

"The working people must unite and organize, irresponsible of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics."

With some objection, this declaration was reaffirmed in 1897, but it was not embodied in the Constitution. Nevertheless, bodies confining membership to whites were barred from affiliation with the A. F. of L. Later, in 1902, the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions and from city central labor bodies was recognized by a resolution which permitted separate charters to colored unions. Later, without official announcement, national unions, like the Railway Trainmen, and the Railway Telegraphers, which specifically exclude Negroes, were allowed to join the A. F. of L.; and finally, the Stationary Engineers, already a member of the A. F. of L. were allowed to change their charter and specifically exclude black men.

37-5-69

In addition to this, it is well-known that even in the case of organizations which do not openly and by name exclude persons of Negro descent, the local unions do this repeatedly as a matter of regular policy without rebuke from the A. F. of L.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has long recognized the danger of this situation and at its 15th Annual Conference held in Philadelphia, in July, 1924, the following resolution was adopted :

"For many years the American Negro has been demanding admittance to the ranks of union labor.

"For many years your organizations have made public profession of your interest in Negro labor, of your desire to have it unionized, and of your hatred of the black "scab".

"Notwithstanding this apparent surface agreement, Negro labor in the main is outside the ranks of organized labor, and the reason is first, that white union labor does not want black labor, and the

secondly, black labor has ceased to beg admittance to union ranks because of its increasing value and efficiency outside the unions.

"We thus face a crisis in interracial labor conditions, the continued and determined race prejudice of white labor, together with the limitation of immigration, is giving black labor tremendous advantage. The Negro is entering the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled labor and he is entering mainly as a "scab". He broke the great steel strike. He will soon be in a position to break any strike when he can gain economic advantages for himself.

"On the other hand, intelligent Negroes know full well that a blow at organized labor is a blow at all labor; that black labor today profits by the blood and sweat of labor leaders in the past who have fought oppression and monopoly by organization. If there is built up in America a great black bloc of non-union laborers who have a right to hate unions, all laborers, black and white, eventually must suffer.

"Is it not time, then, that black and white labor get together? Is it not time for white unions to stop bluffing and for black laborers to stop cutting off their noses to spite their faces?

"We, therefore, propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Interracial Labor Commission.

"We propose that this Commission undertake:

1. To find out the exact attitude and practice of national labor bodies and local unions toward Negroes and of Negro labor toward unions.
2. To organize systematic propaganda against racial discrimination on the basis of these facts at the labor meetings, in local assemblies and in local unions.

3-5-70

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands ready to take part in such a movement and hereby invites the co-operation of all organized labor. The Association hereby solemnly warns American laborers that unless some such step as this is taken and taken soon the position gained by organized labor in this country is threatened with irreparable loss."

37-6-71

Beside a perfunctory acknowledgment of receipt, no action has ever been taken on this resolution by the American Federation of Labor. This is a sufficient answer to Frey's awkward and insincere defense of the color line in the A. F. of L.

37-5-72

The N.A.A.C.P. has for 20 years worked to solve the most difficult Social problems that face America. When it was founded in 1909 Negroes were being lynched at the rate of 78 a year; the Supreme Court had never handed down the 15th Amendment. Gillman & Waterman were the cold authorities on the race problem. There was absolutely organized effort to assert the equality of the race. We had only 1000 Negro college students Physicians & Lawyers & Scientists dedicated the incredible existence of American Negroes & Negro Democracy did not believe could ever organize this could exist or function.

The Negro problem is still much as after 20 years struggle But it is not the same problem. We still oppose & resist at the ballot but now its — a year ballot in 78. A series of Court decisions has paved the foundation of our real citizenship as voters, homeowners, travellers & workers. We retain the fundamental & public attacks today devices for essential equality of all races; but Democracy & the Negro is unorganized & we have 12,000 college students & our Negro organizations since 1909

We did not abolish & invalidate lynching all race riots but we have the tactics & fighting force & we have thrown three things: Has made & black Americans can & will organize for social equality for human rights; has American will furnish funds to fight race hysteria in the courts & legislatures ~~We must be prepared & declare war~~ This is not mathematics but a relatively fashioned weapon of words & game.

~~We have and yet~~

We have still a heartbreaking struggle before us; We face

37-5-73

to day most acutely a fundamental & irrational problem of race & color but over this delta to world & countries its progress. We stand here on the greatest republic of the world on Talal & shall we ground: If we think here that the most diverse races can live together as equals democracy & self respect, we can lead the world to Peace, Democracy in Industry & freedom in Ind. If we fail we turn back toward War Poverty & Slavery.

During the last year we have suffered one grievous Red-back after one bomb and further repeated successful fight against segregation we have still [illegible] U.S. Supreme Court recently refused & passed on [illegible] by the legality of private contracts to establish restrictive segregated districts but the Court has denied this right & thereby called on us to fight on. On the other hand we have fought against Negro disfranchisement & succeeded successfully: Last year we established by U.S. Supreme Ct. decision the illegality of white Democratic primary elections; this year we have a lower Court decision against the legality of such disfranchisement by Party leaders. We have actually succeeded in the delta of Miss. Jackson in securing the N of R & vote for the reduction of Congressional representation according to the 14th amendment & while the Party which resisted this decision the next day after the vote there the face of God a day with Governor Carraway for Bleast & another 40 or 50 other illegally elected Southern representatives; and the end is not yet.

37-5-74

We welcome President Harris's demand & clear cut Democratic policies & we hereby the Council & only hope that Common honesty & logical consistency will mid slot reform ghost, a full exposure of the rotten Democratic method of the South, lynching, segregation, disfranchisement of Negroes in the Council, and California Amendment & Council Local unions in Black belts.

Externally is the crying shame of denial of common school training to Negro children a modern ability for investigation & normalcy a just share of the educational funds of the U.S. Government — the Land Grant funds of the South — the Smith-Lever administration of older methods in regularly, & deliberately obsolete ideas. Negro children with the connivance of U.S. & State officials, and the discrimination on State educational appropriations especially in S.C. Ga Miss & Ala is notorious & often amounts to stealing $16 a month child & only $1 a year for a Negro child.

We still suffer the insults of the "Jim Crow" car, the discrimination of bus lines & steamboats & those of Interstate Commerce & amusements, even when these are supported by Federal charters & taxation.

We still face the menace & exclusion, trades Unions & the New Deal refused admission & warning of 1924 & the A.F. of L.

"Is it not time, then, that black and white labor get together? Is it not time for white unions to stop bluffing and for black laborers to stop cutting off their noses to spite their faces?

"We, therefore, propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Interracial Labor Commission.

32

37-5-75

The present condition of colored labor is precarious: with all its advance in efficiency & variety of employment, it is merely secure conditional especially as the South & the traditional "Negro job" is disappearing. This hurts the Negro but its results are the whole for the Negro no relationship assured & mill "seat" & underbid. Immediate action is called for.

And beyond this, in Africa the colonies & the West Indies the abolition of forced labor, the reshaping of the land & political & industrial economy is not only a crying need for colored folk but the key to industrial emancipation of white labor throughout the world

We demand today as before: the American Negro's good standing & address is the ballot. We demand vote. We demand also all that implies the power of political government, the abolition of privilege & the annihilation of caste; but when these liberals decry us politicians & damn the color line we are prepared to meet them on their own ground & challenge their political ineptitude & moral cowardice. Finally give us funds to fight. Provide cash for defense, salaries & current expenses. Solve this one crisis & let us go forward to a new decade of writing and speech.

In a certain prominent Baptist church in Memphis, whose Pastor is, if we mistake not, Doctor Cox, there was published a large notice: "Come in, rest and pray." Under this notice was a drinking fountain and on that in small letters: "For white folks only."

31-1-5

Copy

HALLELUIAH!

One may easily trace the rise of the American Negro in the drama—remembering only that the stage records something long accomplished and not history in the actual making. Centuries ago the English drama in Othello and ~~Othello~~ Othello portrayed the ~~misfortunes~~ fate of great black men nobly born and fallen on misfortune. Then with slavery came first pity then contempt in "Uncle Tom" and "Jim Crow." Finally, with the "minstrels" nadir was reached and the Negro was so bizarre and degraded that only white men blacked-up could picture the depths which the Negro occupied in white men's imagination.

32-4-45

Out of this morass of public esteem the Negro began to raise himself; first, by being really droll and funny like Billy Kersands; to this Cole and Johnson and Bert Williams added rare cleverness, careful grooming and even the beginnings of beauty and romance. But the difficulties were tremendous. The public would brook no real note of pathos or tragedy with the Negro and disliked even seriousness of any sort. Especially and curiously, they resented any real lovemaking between Negroes and no Negro woman was permitted to play the part of heroine.

The Negro drama lagged with the passing of the Great Funmakers—almost died, then revived suddenly as squalor, poverty and dark tragedy. White playwrights began to see the Negro problem as utter frustration, anomaly, ending in insanity or suicide. "All God's Chillun" and "Emperor Jones" illustrated this phase, but its thorough development was distorted by a skeptical white audience; they would not accept the tragedy of the Negro except in the Harlem cabaret, and they would not let whites and Negroes play together on the stage and thus portray racial contact.

The genius and authority of Belasco broke the white-black complex in "Lulu Belle", but left the sordid tragedy untouched.

"Porgy" softened the tragedy with faint nobleness of character. Then in the movies came "Hearts in Dixie" and "Halleluiah". Both these portrayed the Southern Negro laborer and sought a real folk drama based, the one on the desire for education, the other on Negro religion.

"Hearts in Dixie" is a fine film, skillfully avoiding the tabooed love interest and an ending which would show the results of educating young Negroes. But "Halleluiah" is a great drama. It touches the religion of a deeply superstitious people who took refuge from physical disaster in spiritual tradition, hope and phantasy. And to this King Vidor dared to add not simply the traditional mammy and the wild sex lure but a womanly Negro woman—Missy Rose, a slim dark and modest girl, beautifully in love. This is the first time such a character has appeared on the American stage.

32-4-49

"Halleluiah" is beautifully staged under severe limitations; whthe folk are carefully omitted, although it strains the imagination to see a cotton gin or a convict gang without a swaggering white boss. On the other hand, the scenes of religious ecstasy rise to magnificent drama, unexcelled in my experience and singularly true to life. The shadow of hands, borrowed frankly from "Porgy" is effectively used and the conversion of Chick accomplishes sincerity dispite the lurking comedy.

It is the sense of real life without the exaggerated farce and horseplay, which most managers regard as inseparable from Negro character, that marks "Halleluiah" as epoch-making.

It goes without saying that the characters do their parts superbly. And why not? King Vidor had choice of a neglected field overflowing with undeveloped talent. The fine sensitive face and intelligent acting of Daniel Haynes was notable; the slim grace of Miss McKinney, the restraint of Miss Spivey and the playing of

Harry Gray and Mrs. DeKnight were excellent. Even the kids danced as country boys would and not as city sophisticates.

The music was lovely and while I would have prefered more spirituals instead of the theme-song, yet the world is not as crazy about Negro folk songs as I am.

Everybody should see "Halleluiah". They may even be slightly "Jim-Crowed" as I was, far forward on the side, but even then it was as fine an evenings entertainment as I have had in many a day.

W.E.B.D.

23-4-50

# THE COLOR LINE AND THE CHURCH

When the Reverend Mr. Blackshear of St. Matthew's Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, invited Negroes out of his parish, there was much tumult and shouting which has now died away. Matters will now settle back to normal: Negroes will fade out of Mr. Blackshear's church; as the surrounding community becomes more and more "colored", this branch of the Church of Christ will move to a whiter neighborhood and St. Matthews will be "transferred" or sold to colored folk.

And yet even this usual solution will not settle the matter. Mr. Blackshear and his vestry in drawing the color line in his church simply followed the policy of American Christianity. The American Church of Christ is "Jim-Crowed" from top to bottom. No other institution in America is built so thoroughly or more absolutely of the color line. Everybody knows this. Why then abuse Mr. Blackshear? He may be a blunt and tactless fool, but he is doing exactly what his church has done for 250 years, and, in this policy, the Episcopalians have been followed by the Catholic Church of America, and, in later years, by the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians.

The reason for this is clear, if we regard the church as a group of ordinary human beings with human ignorance, prejudice and cruelty, as well as charity and good will. White Americans prefer not to associate with Negroes, neither in homes, theatres, street cars nor churches. This is evidently what the Younger Churchmen (some of whom are beginning their second fifty years of life) almost tearfully acknowledge when they profess a "general guilt and perplexity."

But these gentlemen can not escape the dilemma into which this confession forces them. The church does not usually profess

to be a group of ordinary human beings. It claims Divine Sanction. It professes to talk with God and to receive directly his Commandments. Its ministers and members do not apparently have to acquire Truth by bitter experience and long intensive study: Truth is miraculously revealed to them.

If, therefore, in the midst and in the face of this divine revelation truth which is weekly thundered from their pulpits, they then turn around and confess that they are acting just like ordinary human beings, what becomes of all these pretensions of supernatural revelation?

In other words, the church faces today as in other days and with American Negro problems as in other social problems an inexorable dilemma: either the church must acknowledge itself to be a human organization largely composed of the rich and respectable desirous of better things and groping for social uplift and restrained by inherited prejudice, economic privilege and social fear; or the Church may continue to insist on its divine origin, supernatural power and absolute and immediate knowledge of Truth.

In the latter case, when the Church meets the Negro problem, it writers itself down as a deliberate hypocrite and systematic liar. It does not say "Come with me all ye that labor,"; it does not"love its neighbor as itself."; it does not welcome "Jew and Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free,"; and yet it openly and blantantly professes all this.

On the other hand, a great human institution for social uplift and wider humanity has no reason to be ashamed in confessing its mistakes so long as it does with energy and determination seek to correct Him. In the past, the Church has opposed every great modern social reform; it opposed the spread of democracy, universal education, trades unionism, the abolition of poverty, the emancipation of women, the spread of science, the freedom of art and literature and the emancipation of

the Negro slave. When the reform was gained, the Church righted itself, led usually by some scismatic and heretical part of itself, came over on the Lords side and usually did not hesitate both to claim a preponderant share of the glory of visiting and to emphasize the supernatural claims.

It is this latter development that disturbs and angers right thinkin men. No one utterly condemns a Blackshear, born and raised in Texas —education in a theological seminary for crassly drawing a color line in human relations. What else could be humanly expected? We can only insist on facing facts, investigating consequences and telling the truth about this miserable tangle in human relationships.

Do we get this? No! We get casuistry, molasses and a little well-bred whining. We get a revelation of the "divine Mission of Christianty", and then silence and quiet persistence...the exact wrong that raised the controversy. Examine the reply of Blackshear's "Reverend Father in God", Bishop Stires. It is little short of delicious. He says that when black folk appeared in his parish "he never found it necessary to suggest that he did not desire any more." Of course, he did not. His black parishioners were in the position of that well-known "darky" who once tried repeatedly and persistently to join an Episcoppl Church. At last he gave up and explained the matter to the rector:

"Naw, Suh, Naw Suh, I ain't aimin' to jine ya' church, you'see hit's this-a-way: last night as I was prayin' for grace I done see Jesus. And Jesus done said to me, sezzee, Rastus, son, don't try to get into dat 'Piscopal Church no mo'. I done been tryin' to git in dar mahsef for mighty nigh two thousand years and ah ain't made it yit!"

And so Bishop Stires cannot find a thing that he can do; and the Younger Churchmen will not find a change that they can

agree upon. And the Church militant will prescribe large amount of soothing syrup, while Bishop Manning and his ilk, wrapped in decorous and Episcopal silence, will devote his time and great talents to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

32-4-54

37-6-126

Moorfield Story—one of God's gentlemen; born in 1845 and dead in 1929; an aristocrat of the sort that makes Aristocracy the perfect flower of universal Democracy; with a physical manhood, fine in face and feature, tall, lean and groomed; modest with every dignity; soft-voiced and full of kingly courtesy; one without fear—neither of gods, devils nor men; and certainly with no craven fright lest his own integrity and self-esteem could ever be threatened or overthrown by granting to all men of every color and breed, equality of pride and privilege and every width of opportunity that their souls demand.

Heir to the spirit of the Great Emancipator; secretary to Charles Sumner; leader of the Bar; fighter for Civil Service Reform and foe of Imperial agression on the poor and weak; first President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the ohly man of his station with the guts to head so hated a horde;—here was a 20th Century Knight of Heaven's own Round Table; not satisfied with parade and fanfare and false front for causes already won; but a Knight who took his lonely stand out on the edge of Darkness and championed lazy Indians and impudent Philippinos and rape-full "Niggers"—fought for them with brain and wealth and ecstacy of strained and waning strength, when fighting cost blood and the high-nosed contempt of that sort of cattle who murder Saccos and Vanzettis.

Beautiful, is it not, for such a leader of Lost Causes to couch his long lance and sheath his mighty sword at Christmastide, when the snow is singing to the ice and the grey sky weeping above forests draped black; when the Crimson Christ, forever and forever crucified, is born again to blood and tears, bringing to his Hell of America, not Peace but a Sword?

Ymca

## Colored Girls in Cleveland

The problem of the colored girl in the Northern great city is in many ways more pressing than that of the young man. It is difficult for working girls to get proper rooms and boarding places. They are open to insult and even attack from the irresponsible elements of both races. And, above all, it is peculiarly easy for them to drift into questionable company and into social surroundings which would ultimately prove fatal.

37-4-22

What is to be done about it? The Y. W. C. A. is one answer. But in nearly all cities, these Associations discriminate against colored girls. They say frankly: If we admit colored girls, the white girls will not come. To meet this discrimination, separate institutions have been started in many cities, some of these are frankly called "colored" Y. W. C. A.'s. Others, take particular names, like the Phillis Wheatley House of Washington, D. C.

Certain cities, like Boston and Cleveland, have for a long time fought this sort of discrimination. They have declared that in principle the Y. W. C. A. has no right to discriminate and that, therefore, they would not consent to a separate Y. W. C. A. based on race and color. There is absolutely no doubt of the logical consistency of this stand. But there is grave doubt as to its results. Colored girls have been going to Boston and literally pouring into Cleveland. The demand for their protection and comfort is insistent. Unless something is done for them the harm to succeeding generations is incalcuable.

Moreover, this situation is different from that of the public schools. Negroes in the North can legally force themselves in the public school and if they are persistent and diligent can compell decent treatment of their children and the appointment of

colored teachers on the same terms as other teachers are appointed. This has been proven in New York, Chicago, Boston, and even in Cleveland.

But semi-private philanthropies, like the Christian Association can only with the greatest difficulty be coerced into decency, and meantime our boys and girls go to the devil.

This is the kind of dilemma that faces the colored people of America continually, and in Cleveland Jane Hunter offered a solution in 1913.

37-4-23

Many people disagreed with her then and many do disagree with her now, but they have to admit that Jane Hunter has done an astonishing and valuable piece of work. What she did was simple. She formed in 1913 a "Phillis Wheatley Association". It was not connected with the Y. W. C. A., but was an entirely separate venture, doing similar work. It was a place where colored girls could lodge while they were working or seeking work and it was also a center where white people could hire servants. Then the place began to grow. It had a budget of $1,500 for its first year and housed 22 girls. In 1917, it was necessary to purchase a building much larger and better fitted to accommodate the ever increasing number of girls. Through the contributions of friends, mainly white, this building was purchased. In 1918, the Association became a member of the Cleveland Welfare Federation and began to receive in this way public aid.

In 1919, there was need for the expansion of the educational work. An adjoining building was purchased for the purpose of housing the clubs and classes. Again in 1924, the institution had outgrown its quarters and it was necessary to go before the public for capital funds. In January, 1925, a capital account campaign

was conducted and $563,000 was pledged to erect a new home with adequate equipment. Today, $508,156.23 of this has been collected.

The Association, now, enjoys the distinction of being probably the best developed piece of social work for colored girls and women in the United States. The new nine-story building beautifully and adequately furnished is a real lighthouse in Cleveland.

There are many departments of work: In the educational department no attempt is made to duplicate the work which is given in the public schools, but the idea is to supplement the public schools and give girls and young women a chance to find themselves.

In addition to the various clubs, Classes are taught in domestic science, sewing, art, music, and dramatics. During the past year a nurses registry has been formed.

The Employment Department has found jobs for large numbers of women. In 1928, 1,455 women applied for work and of these, 1,270 were placed. There is a division of Girl Reserves, with club activities, which include sports, nature study and handicraft.

The most interesting and spectacular part of the plant is the cafeteria. It serves three meals a day, catering to both men and women. In addition to the main dining room, there are to private dining rooms for special occasions. In 1928, 48,375 meals were served. The cafeteria is self-supporting and contributes to the maintenance of other departments.

Living quarters are provided for self-supporting women at a cost of $2.75 to $7.00 per week. There is 24-hour office and elevator service and attractive parlors and club rooms. On every floor there is hot and cold water.

Naturally, the main branch of the Association is not large enough for all of the activities. The Kingsley-Arter Center has been started at East 100th Street with an educational program similar to the Central branch. Near this is a large and well-equipped playground, attended by 6,808 children during the summer of 1928.

There are three large and enthusiastic Mother's Clubs, who are interested in character-building programs, and in general support of the work. Two miles east of Lorain, Ohio, overlooking Lake Erie, is Camp Merrian. This is the summer camp of the Phillis Wheatley Association. It can accommodate, in tents, 100 people, and has a dining hall and recreation hall. Swimming, boating, hiking, tennis, baseball, nature study, and other amusements are provided at a low rate. Eleven thousand meals were served at th camp in the summer of 1928.

32-4-25

The Service Reports shows something of what is being done for girls and women:

| | |
|---|---|
| Average monthly membership | 463 |
| Average monthly enrollment in classes | 860 |
| Total attendance at these | 57,495 |
| Number of special events--social and recreational | 210 |
| Attendance | 9,738 |
| Interviews and contacts | 96,224 |

The total annual budget of the Phillis Wheatley House is $84,017. Of this, in 1928, it received from the Cleveland Welfare Federation, $39,300. The balance of the budget was made up by the earnings and collections of the institution.

Today, everybody in Cleveland, white and black, acknowledges that Jane Hunter has done a great work. There are still those who say that the principle of establishing an institution supported by

public funds on racial lines is a grave mistake. But others, and they are in vast majority, say that under the circumstances, there was nothing to do in view of the existent race prejudice but to save colored girls through an institution like the Phillis Wheatley House.

32-4-26

1929

## The Mechanics' Bank Building

In 1901, John Mitchell, Jr., Editor of the Richmond Planet, incorporated the Mechanics' Savings Bank of Richmond, which was capitalized for $25,000 and began business in a basement with three rooms at 511 North 3rd Street, January 1, 1902. The annual deposits increased from $122,915 in 1902, to $480,062 in 1909. The bank then determined to erect a modern building and this building was erected and finished in 1910. It was four stories high with a roof garden and built of white compressed brick with granite trimmings and columns and pilasters in front of pink marble. It was a beautiful building at the corner of 3rd and Clay Street, with fine bank _____ elevators, and four office suites and twenty-four single offices. The bank prospered for _____ years, and then in _____, it got in trouble with the State Banking Department. The banking laws of Virginia are loosely drawn and still more loosely administered. The President of the Mechanics' Savings Bank had bought a former white theater down in the business district and the Banking Department objected to the method by which this property was carried in the funds of the bank. Controversy ensued, and suddenly the Banking Department closed the bank and met for investigation, finding many alleged violations of the banking laws. The result was that the Mechanics' Savings Bank permanetly went out of business and since then this large and beautiful building has stood as a sort of mournful monument to business failure.

11.3

On September 23, 1929, there came a sudden change. The Southern Aid Society of Virginia, is one of the oldest insurance corporations among American Negroes, and the leading officials of this insurance company are also interested in the Commercial Bank and Trust Company. The Insurance Company has bought the building of the former Mechanics8

Bank as its future home office and will install the Commercial Bank and Trust Company in the banking quarters. The location of the bank is only two blocks from Broad Street, which is one of the most _____ streets in the South. At 3rd and Broad is going up a twenty-three-story bank building by one of the leading National banks of the South End. Negro business, therefore, is beginning again in Richmond at an important point. The Southern Aid Insurance Society will occupy at least two floors of the building and the other floors will be let to the leading colored professional and business men. The Commercial Bank and Trust Company is the youngest of the three Negro banks in Richmond. One of the others being St. Lukes, under the well-known Mrs. Maggie Walker.

11.3

Court Cases

## Two Southern Court Cases

It is notorious that Negroes obtain justice in Southern courts with great difficulty, particularly if one of the parties is white. But the following cases show that a change is coming, and that persistent determination, legal talent and a just cause have a chance, even in Georgia and South Carolina.

Readers of The Crisis may remember that in our issue of August, 1927, we recited the case of Dr. C. A. Spence and his wife in Atlanta, Georgia. Briefly, the facts were as follows:

37-4-62

Dr. Spence is a dentist, and his wife a pharmacist. They were riding on a street car, when a dispute arose between the conductor and a colored passenger concerning transfer. Suddenly, the car was stopped, and the conductor yelled: "Every damn Nigger get off." All of the Negroes, except Dr. Spence and his wife, rushed out, and as they emerged, were beaten by the employees and white bystanders. Dr. Spence and his wife remained quietly in their seats. When they refused to move, they were first attacked and beaten, and then arrested. The Spences secured two colored attornies, A. T. Walden, President of the Atlanta Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., and a former Captain in the A.E.F., and A. W. Ricks. The case was remanded to the Superior Court from the Recorder Court, and seven months later, Dr. Spence and his wife were acquitted of the charge of disorderly conduct.

Most colored people in the South would be glad to stop here, but not Dr. Spence. They not only sued the street car company, but against strong advice, retained their colored counsel. The colored firm secured a white firm to assist them, and went into court. On Wednesday, October 23, three years after the original argument, and after a three-day trial before ex-Governor Hugh M. Dorsey,

a verdict of $1,500 in favor of Dr. Spence and his wife, was handed down by the court. Dr. C. A. Spence is a British subject, a native of Jamaica, and a graduate in dentistry of Howard University. He has been practicing in Atlanta since September, 1925. His wife was born and educated at Cordel, Georgia, and is a graduate of Meharry.

37-4-63

[CRISIS, JULY 1928]

30-3-3

The other case is the celebrated one of Ben Bess, in South Carolina. Ben Bess owned a large farm and one of his tenants was a white family, named Collins. Bess was accused of having raped the wife, Maud Collins, and was sentenced to the penitentiary for thirty years in 1915. In the spring of 1928, Maud Collins confessed that she had lied in her testimony against Ben Bess. The case aroused widespread interest and on recommendation of the soliciter, the Governor suspended the sentence of Bess during good behavior, and he was released from the penitentiary on May 4th. On May 12th, he was given an unconditional pardon. Meantime, the white people of Florence were mad and busy, and threatened to indict Maud Collins for perjury. Mrs. Collins immediately declared that she had only intended to say that she forgave Bess and that as a matter of fact, he was guilty. On June 21, the Governor suggested that Bess re-enter the penitentiary for his own security, but he was not allowed to depart when he wanted to. In July, the intrepid colored attorney, N. J. Frederick, who rendered such splendid and self-sacrificing service in the case of the lynching of the Lowman family, instituted habeus corpus proceedings to have Bess freed. Two days before the return of the Writ, the Governor revoked the pardon of Bess, on the ground that it was obtained by fraud and misinformation. The case came up August 23rd before Judge Townsend. He undertook to investigate and pass on the question of fraud and misinformation, but the attorney contended that he had no right to consider this matter, since Bess had been pardoned and a pardon could not be revoked. Nevertheless, the Judge remanded Bess to the penitentiary and ordered the Master in Equity for Richland County to take testimony on the question of

## RESULT OF DR. C. A. SPENCE'S DAMAGE SUIT

The three day trial of DR. C. A. SPENCE, Dentist, and his wife DR. D. A. SPENCE, pharmacist, in their suit for Thirty Thousand ($30,000) Dollars damages against the GEORGIA POWER COMPANY, ended WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23, current, in a vindication verdict of FIFTEEN HUNDRED ($1500) DOLLARS in favor of the plaintiffs, Ex-Governor HUGH M. DORSEY presiding in the City Court of Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia.

Against strong criticism, protests and various persuasions to the contrary, Dr. Spence and wife held on to colored counsel in their case from start to finish. It will be remembered that they employed the firm of WALDEN & RICKS to represent them in the series of trials of their case when they were being unjustly and falsely prosecuted criminally; that is to say, that Dr. Spence and other alleged co-defendants, all of whom were the real victims of the notorious street car riot described in the August issue of the Crisis, 1927, were falsely prosecuted on the charge of "RIOT". ~~Releases as to the result of these trials have been carried in~~ various periodicals ~~of the Negro Associated Press of America and~~ it is now a matter of common knowledge that Dr. Spence and his immediate co-defendant, namely, ROBERT J. LEWIS, were acquitted of all criminal charges whatsoever, but there is one point above other in this celebrated case that should be re-emphasized and that is the fact that Dr. Spence retained the same colored law firm for the civil prosecution for damages as in the criminal suit and, with the assistance of the white firm selected by the colored firm, namely, HEWLETT & DENNIS, was ultimately victorious, in spite of prevalent doubt on the part of laymen and lawyers as to favorable result, due to discrimination in the South in controversies of this character. For some years in the past Dr. Spence has rather distinguished himself as a race orator, most eloquently urging the need and wisdom of race solidarity and, so far as he is known the above case which has been hanging fire since 1926 has come to a most fitting culmination. Frankly, he is 100% loyal to his own well known preachments, which is the exception rather than the rule even among the educated of our group.

The big lesson, however, that it is still worth the while to wage a legal fight for your right and to contest the same to the bitter end right here in Dixie. Let us read and know the whole story of Dr. Spence, praise him for his unfaltering faith in the ability of men of color in their profession and, fail not to follow him in example as well as precept.

It may be recalled that Dr. C. A. Spence is British subject, native of Kingston, Jamaica, and that he completed his education at Howard University, Washington, D.C., having graduated from the Department of Dentistry in that institution, in 1923. He entered upon the practice of his profession in Atlanta, Georgia, September, 1925, where he has been steadily engaged up to the present time. Dr. Druecilla A. Spence, the pharmacist, is native of Cordele, Georgia where she was educated. She graduated from the pharmaceutical Department of Meharry College, Nashville, Tennessee.

34-2-29

## The Negro in Literature, 1929

The literary output of 1929 has not equaled that of 1928, and yet, there are several notable works. Of the books, the most striking were R. R. Moton, "What the Negro Thinks", Walter White, "Rope and Faggot", Harry Dean, "The Pedro Gorino", Countée Cullen, "The Black Christ", Adah B. Thoms, "Progress of Negro Graduate Nurses", W. H. Jones, "The Housing of Negroes in Washington", the new edition of Charles W. Chesnutt, "The Conjur Woman".

In the periodicals, the notable articles have been James Weldon Johnson, "The Negro Looks at Politics", in the American Mercury, and George S. Schuyler "On the Color Line" in the same periodical.

Of the books by white folk on the Negro problem, the most striking have been two Anthologies; one, of poetry, by Anna Nussbaum, "Afrika Singt", published in Austria, and the other, B. F. Calverton, "Anthology of American Negro Literature". Other striking works have been the new and enlarged edition of Lord Olivier, "White Capital and Colored Labor", Guy B. Johnson "John Henry", Bruno Lasker, "Race Attitudes in Children", W. S. Seabrook, "The Magic Island", Scott Nearing, "Black America", Blaise Cendrars, "Little Black Stories for Little White Children".

Notable magazine articles have been Oswald Garrison Villard in Harpers "On the Crumbling Color Line", and Herbert Seligman "On Twenty Years of Negro Progress" in Current History.

Recent white writers of fiction about Negroes may be noted as follows: Julia Peterkin, "Green Thursday", 1924, and "Black April", 1927; Carl Van Vechten, "Nigger Heaven", 1926; and Du Bose Heywood, "Porgy", 1925.

36-2-28

Congressman DePriest has been assigned to the Enrolled Bills Committee, the Indian Affairs Committee, and the Invalids Pension Committee. Representative Allgood, a Democrat of Alabama, resigned from the Enrolled Bills Committee when DePriest was assigned to it. The House has accepted the resignation.

47-4-166

-1

Already sent

CONGRESS

Suppose that a Congressman is interested in the American Negro, realizing that the oppression of any group of twelve million people in America is dangerous to the whole country. Suppose he wants to do something to help the Negroes? What would be the most obvious thing that he could do?

He might think of disfranchisement in the South; he might think of lynching, but he certainly would have to think of education. In education, the American Negro has suffered the most vital and damaging and inexcuseable discrimination. He was forced by law to be illiterate until Emancipation; and since then the public schools of the South have proceeded to distribute public taxation so that, for instance, in Georgia, where the Negroes form 43% of the population, they get but 9% of the school funds; while $36.29 is expended for each white child a year, only $4.59 is expended for each colored child. In Mississippi, in many counties where the Negro forms three-fourths of the population, less than a $1.00 a year per child is spent on Negro education. In Tunica County, white children receive $63. a year for education and Negroes $4.40. In South Carolina, where a majority of the inhabitants are Negroes, the state spent, 1925-26, $14,673,719, for white schools, and $1,655,652 for Negro schools.

This indicates a discrimination so fundamental and so calculated to perpetuate ignorance, crime, prejudice, poverty and disease, that any member of Congress who wishes to save his country might well begin by advocating the appropriation of United States funds to the various states on the basis of illiteracy with the proviso that there shold be in its expenditure absolutely no discrimination between the races. If any member of Congress asks for the votes

of American Negroes, they should ask him what his record has been on national aid to education without discrimination as to race. If he replies by saying that he supported the appropriations of Land Grant Funds, or the Smith-Hughes or the Smith-Lever Bills, ask him if in these appropriations of public funds for agricultural and technical education, he saw to it that no discrimination between races was to be allowed. As a matter of fact, the discrimination inthe administration of these public funds against Negroes is open and notorious.

32-4-28

Smuts

Postscript — 1931 (?)

I met my friend one morning on 7th Avenue as we were hurrying opposite ways to our work. She asked:

"Did you attend the Smuts lecture?"

I did not.

She said: "He does not strike me as sincere."

I agreed with her.

And then she said: "You were wise in advocating Pan-Africism."

I thanked her. I was glad that she saw the point. I wished again, as I have often wished, that other people would see it. Here was a statesman from the Union of South Africa. Every effort was made beforehand during his visit to the United States to commit the colored people to a support of him and his policy in order that their action might influence their colored brethren in South Africa. Before he arrived, a quiet effort was made to get colored readers to sign a laudatory address and thank Jans Smuts for his Negro program. This was blocked. Then, a quiet conference was arranged in Washington by the Phelps Stokes Fund, at which his program was carefully arranged so as not to include as speaker a single person who had made any careful study of the South African situation.

In the meantime, however, Mr. Smuts, himself, explained a good deal of missing information. He had no sooner opened his mouth at Town Hall, New York City, than he put his own foot deeply and completely in it. He compared Negroes to patient asses and wanted them to dance and sing.

Dr. Moton of Tuskegee, who sat upon the platform, had the courage to challenge him then and there. We congratulate him upon the deed. He clinched his deserving of the Harmon Award by that action, if by nothing else.

Meantime, can not everyone see how necessary it is for persons of Negro descent in all parts of the world to understand their respective problems. The problems differ, to be sure, in many intricate and vital respects. But at bottom, they are the same thing; the disfranchising of Negro bloods; the distortion of Negro history and accomplishment, discrimination in everyday life, limitation of education, Jim-Crow policies, and political disfranchisement. The degree in which these various disabilities are applied differ in different countries and at different times, but they are all present in every Negro group. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that these groups understand each other; that they be in position to refuse to be made catspaw against each other; that British Negroes stop criticizing and sneering at American Negroes; that American Negroes realize what British Negroes are accomplishing and enduring; that African Negroes keep in close touch with their cousins overseas, and that all Negroes look toward Africa in an effort to be intelligent and thoughtful and helpful in the development of the black folk of their land.

33-6-1-63

This does not involve in the slightest degree any attempt needlessly to interfere in the government or development of the different groups, but it does call for intelligence and co-operation in every possible way.

This is the deep and unanswerable demand for anPan-African movement. Who will respond?

## Advertising

The Crisis magazine from the beginning has had a right to be proud of its advertising pages. In the first place, we have set a standard. We refuse to advertise patent medicines, quack cures, get-rich-quick schemes, and various other enterprises for which we can not vouch. We print no puffs or unwarranted facts concerning our advertisers. We have especially sought the advertising of reputable firms and businesses, stressing those which represent legitimate enterprise and the employment of Negroes at profitable work. In insurance and manufacturing, we have kept in mind the value of these enterprises for their encouragement of co-operative effort. Recently, we have tried to emphasize among organizations for social uplift the necessity of advertising. It is singular that the churches, the Y. M. C. A.'s, the philanthrpists, should take it for granted that whatever good they are doing is known intuitively by the public and does not have to be broadcast. No such assumption is made by the purvayers of recreation and luxury or by the votaries of chance. We have been especially interested in the advertising program of organizations like the Walker Manufacturing Company of Indiana. They have put an excellent moving picture film upon the market; they are using the radio and they are advertising in periodicals. Modern advertising is a great enterprise. It has its elements of waste and misleading. But it may also have a very definite social value for a developing group like the American Negro.

94-5-24

Fontainebleau

## An Architectural Lie.

Two Fontainebleau Scholarships of $500 each, offered by Mr. Whitney Warren, will be awarded, by the jury selected for the judgment, for the two best designs submitted for the Class A IV Projet in the school year 1929-1930, of the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design, Department of Architecture.

To be eligible for the scholarships the students must be registered in Class A and must be American citizens of the white race, a condition that is fixed by the regulations of the French government for the Fontainebleau school. The regulations in the circular of information governing Class A competitions will apply, except that the scholarships will not be awarded to any student who has previously won any other architectural scholarship for foreign travel or study or to any member of a school faculty.

Architecture, January 1, 1930.

The Crisis immediately wrote Gration Candace, deputy in the French Parliament, and H. O. Tanne the well-known painter. We print two replies to M. Candace and M. Tanner's answer to us.

Paris, February 27, 1930.

From the Ministry of Public instruction
and of Fine Arts.

You have asked me to let you know if the rules of the American Schools of Art at Fontainbleau contain any special provisions concerning colored students.

I have the honor to inform you that the rules approved in 1927 by the Ministry of the Interior, upon advice from my office, do not contain any regulations of that kind. I may add that I have brought your question directly to the attention of the President of the Council of Administration of the Schools.

The Director General of Fine Arts,
Member of the Institute.

Paul Leon.

"I wish I could describe the success of the play at the Allied Arts Theater, Boston, last night. Such an audience! Professors from Harvard, a magazine editor, writers and musicians from the world proper, many in evening dress. A regular first night. And all perfectly enraptured and surprised at the performance of the 'Invisible Threads' by Benavente which Walter Hampden gave in New York under the title, 'The Bonds of Interest'. We were fortunate in having a splendid translation by William Laurence which we were permitted to use. The acting of one of the young men, in particular, was so marked that Professor Forrest, Director of the Dramatic Department of Emerson College, and another, the critic of the drama, declared the work to be that of an excellent professional. The stage sets, the design of a futuristic inn, and the curtain scene, were all made at our studio by one of the boys. There were many curtain calls from the audience overflowing into the hall. There were as many colored auditors as white in attendance.

10-29

10/4/42

GREEN PASTURES

Slowly but with unerring certainity the American public is being led toward the bitter but deep waters of the life and life history of the American Negro. They have long refused to quaff this sour draught. They have even denied its existence. They have clammored for broad farce, and then compromised with comedy. And then gradually, very gradually, they have approached the great and human truth. One easily may trace the footsteps from nigger minstrels to "Bandanna Days", from "The Red Moon" to "Lulu Belle", and then, the gradual climbing over deep river to "Hallelujah", and now to "Green Pastures". It is difficult for the Negro audience to judge a play by themselves. What do they want in a play? A picture of themselves as they would like to be? A picture of themselves as they are? Or a caricature of Negro life as it is not? All these things can be protrayed upon the stage in an artistic way. All art is propaganda, and without propaganda there is no true art. But, on the other hand, all propaganda is not art. Indeed, most of it is not. Most climaxes, concerts, arguments and facts are not at all artistically done, no matter how true they may be. But, on the other hand, whether a playwright portrays Negro life as Negroes would like to see it, the sole judgment of its success is whether he has made a beautiful thing. He can not be criticized simply because the thing is at best untrue, or on the other hand, if he caricatures Negro life. Is the caricature well done? The comedy genial and satisfying? The artist can not be criticized simply because it is caricature. Of, if the picture of Negro life while true enough is incomplete, nevertheless, the measure of success is its artistry and not its truth. The difficulty, of course, with the Negro on the American stage, is that the white audience, on the one hand, wants usually nothing but caricature and incomplete pictures, and the Negro then has a right to object, not to the art

37-5-66

of the thing, but to the fact that art chooses so narrow a faith. On the other hand, the white audience is continually protesting by refusal to listen to things that are not artistic, even though they may be incomplete and true. Both these difficulties are gradually being overcome. In "Green Pastures", Marc Connely, has made an extraordinarily appealingly beautiful play based on the folk religion of Negroes. Some whites will not like it because it is too human and tragic with all its humor. But more Negroes will view it aghast, because it will seem to them sacreligious, Both critics are wrong. "Green Pastures" is beautiful and beautifully done by more than ninety Negro players, led by Richard Harrison and ably supported by Daniel Haynes, Anna Fritz, Westley Hill, Tutt Whitney, Charles Moore and a score of others. Nooone may miss this play. It is the beginning of an era.

37-5-67

[1930]

## The Parker Fight

The fight against the confirmation of Judge Parker was initiated, planned and led by Walter White, Acting Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. The publicity was in the hands of Herbert J. Seligman who had the trained assistance of Miss Richetta Randolph, chief clerk of National Headquarters, and her corps of stenographers. The field work was done with the co-operation of the Director of Branches, Robert Bagnall, and on the Pacific Coast by William Pickens. The officials of the various branches throughout the United States gave every assistance and the Negro newspapers with scarcely a single exception, not only gave us space and good will, but constant and efficient co-operation.

Oscar De Priest, our only colored Congressman, not only drove Illinois into line with every ounce of his political power, but camped on the floor of the Senate to watch proceedings until the Southerners were nearly red-headed. One of the best known leaders of the Negro race and numbers of lesser men were begged to endorse Parker and refused. White newspaper correspondents, headed by Heyward Broun, gave us unstinted aid. Certain Washington correspondents, whose names may not be mentioned, were constantly in telegraphic and telephonic communication with headquarters.

The result was a campaign conducted with a snap, determination and intelligence never surpassed in colored America and very seldom in white. It turned the languid, half-hearted protest of the American Federation of Labor into a formidable and triumphant protest. It fired the labored liberalism of the west into flame. It was ready to beat back the enemy at every crisis. When the Greensboro News wired Overman that it had not printed the alleged sp ech of Parker against Negroes, March 4, 1920, the desks of the Congressmen were

4A-S-223

flooded next day with a photostatic copy of the paper with Parker's exact words of April 19, 1920. All the News could do in reply was to yell "Thief!"

When the solemn Allen of Kansas discovered a Virginia decision of Parker in favor of Negroes, before the story got out of Washington our reply was on the wires showing that in the face of two unanimous Supreme Court decisions, there was absolutely nothing that Parker could do but acquiesce. So in every twist and turn of the enemy, the battle was pressed, even down to that last guileless reporter who was sent to ask Caroway of Arkansas if it were true that he had decided to support the Hooverocrats. Caroway hit the ceiling and voted against Parker.

Especially did this fight drive Herbert Hoover into the open. The President has posed as wishing to clean up Southern politics and God knows they need it. In this attempt he secured the co-operation of the liberal West. Then, without protest, he allowed the whole campaign to degenerate into a simple attempt further to disfranchise Southern Negroes. Not grafters but Negroes he kicked out of the party and left the Creagers, Slemps and Hustons flourishing. When now Parker is shown to be in favor of Negro disfranchisement, the President says not a single word, although he rushes into print to defend him against the attack of organized labor. President Hoover whitewashed the Red Cross in the Mississippi flood and ignored us on the Haitian commission. Any Negro who hereafter regards him as a friend of his race or as having even reasonable human respect for it, must have proof which is not in possession of The Crisis. He can only be regarded as Walter White says, as "The Man in the Lily White House"!

It was a fine fight, but we all know that it was only a beginning. By itself and left to be forgotten it will amount to little. It must be followed up by the unflinching determination of Negroes to defeat

the Senators who defied their vote and supported Parker. Nothing else will convince the United States that our gesture was not mere braggadocio and bluff. No Massachusetts Negro dare vote for Gillett. No Ohio Negro can think of voting for McCulloch or Fess. Kansas must punish Allen, and Missouri must remember Patterson. And if black West Virginia this year or four years hence sends either Hatfield or Goff back to the Senate, they must no longer pose as free men but as slaves of the Coal Trust.

42-5-42

On March 21, 1930, President Hoover sent to the Senate for confirmation the nomination of John Johnston Parker of North Carolina, Circuit Judge of the United States Court, Fourth Circuit, to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Senate considered this confirmation from March 22 to May 6. Protests were made by the American Federation of Labor and the N. A. A. C. P., and various Senators voiced opposition. On the other hand, strong commendation of Judge Parker was made by many Northern and Southern newspapers and by the Senators of his own state, both of whom were Democrats, while he was a Republican. Other interests and persons commended him. On April 21 the Judiciary Committee reported adversely on conformation, 10 to 6. The question came to a vote in the Senate May 7, and confirmation was refused. There follows a story of the reaction which this rejection has had as voiced by editorials in the press of the country.

10-49

10.9.62

[1930]

# THE PARKER VOTE

Each state is shaded according to the vote of its two Senators on the confirmation of Judge Parker:

The <u>black</u> states = Pro-Negro + Pro-Labor + Solid South.

The <u>white</u> states = Pro-Hoover + "Lily-White" + Conservative vote.

The <u>shaded</u> states = Vote evenly divided.

10-49

10.9.31

# HOW SENATORS VOTED ON PARKER

47

**FOR CONFIRMATION—47** | **AGAINST CONFIRMATION—41**

**REPUBLICANS—29**

- Allen (Kas.)
- Baird (N. J.)
- Bingham (Conn.)
- Dale (Vt.)
- Fess (O.)
- Gillett (Mass.)
- Goldsborough, (Md.)
- Gould (Me.)
- Greene (Vt.)
- Hale (Me.)
- Hastings (Del.)
- Hatfield (W. Va.)
- Herbert R. I.)
- Jones (Wash.)
- Kean (N. J.)
- Keyes (N. H.)
- McCulloch (O.)
- Metcalf (R. I.)
- Oddie (Nev.)
- Patterson (Mo.)
- Reed (Pa.)
- Shortridge (Cal.)
- Smoot (Utah)
- Sullivan (Wyo.) W 4
- Thomas (Ida.)
- Townsend (Del.)
- Walcott (Conn.)
- Waterman (Col.)
- Watson (Ind.)

10-40

Paired in favor

- Goff (W. Va.)
- Norbeck (S. D.)
- Moses (N. H.)
- Phipps (Colo.)
- Grundy (Pa.)

**DEMOCRATS—10**

- Blease (S. C.)
- Broussard (La.)
- Glass (Va.)
- Harrison (Miss.)
- Overman (N. C.)
- Ransdell (La)
- Simmons (N. C.)
- Steck (Ia.)
- Stephens (Miss.)
- Swanson (Va.)

Paired in favor

- Fletcher (Fla.)
- King (Utah)
- Smith (S.C.)

~~FARMER-LABOR~~

~~Shipstead (Minn.)~~

**REPUBLICANS—17** tt

- Blaine (Wis.)
- Borah (Ida.)
- Capper (Kas.)
- Couzens (Mich.)
- Cutting (N. M.)
- Deneen (Ill.)
- Frazier (N. D.)
- Howell (Neb.)
- Johnson (Cal.)
- La Follette (Wis.)
- Norris (Neb.)
- Nye (N. D.)
- Pine (Okla.)
- Robinson (Ind.)
- Schall (Minn.)
- ~~Steiner~~ (Ore.) — Steiwer
- Vandenberg (Mich.)

Paired against

- Brookhart (Iowa)
- Glenn (Ill.)
- McMaster (S. D.) ?
- McNary (Oregon)
- ~~Robsion Ky~~

10-6-13

**DEMOCRATS—23.**

- Ashurst (Ariz.)
- Barkley (Ky.)
- Black (Ala.)
- Bratton (N. M.)
- Brock (Tenn.)
- Caraway (Ark.)
- Connally (Tex.)
- Copeland (N. Y.)
- Dill (Wash.)
- Harris (Ga.)
- Hawes (Mo.)
- Hayden (Ariz.)
- Kendrick (Wyo.)
- McKellar (Tenn.)
- Pitman (Nev.)
- Robinson (Ark.)
- Sheppard (Tex.)
- Trammell (Fla.)
- Tydings (Md.)
- Wagner (N. Y.)
- Walsh (Mass.)
- Walsh (Mont.)
- Wheeler (Mont.)

Paired against

- Heflin (Ala.)
- George (Ga.)
- Thomas (Okla.)
- ~~Robinson (Ark.)~~

Farmer-Labor

- Shipstead (Minn.) - 1

Not voting: Sackett of Ky.

# HOW SENATORS VOTED ON PARKER

## FOR CONFIRMATION—47

### Republicans—29

Allen (Kas.)
Baird (N.J.)
Bingham (Conn.)
Dale (Vt.)
Fess (O.)
Gillett (Mass.)
Goldsborough, (Md.)
Gould (Me.)
Greene (Vt.)
Hale (Me.)
Hastings (Del.)
Hatfield (W. Va.)
Hebert (R. I.)
Jones (Wash.)
Kean (N. J.)
Keyes (N.H.)
McCulloch (O.)
Metcalf (R. I.)
Oddie (Nev.)
Patterson (Mo.)
Reed (Pa.)
Shortridge (Cal.)
Smoot (Utah)
Sullivan (Wyo.)
Thomas (Ida.)
Townsend (Del.)
Walcott (Conn.)
Waterman (Col.)
Watson (Ind.)

### Paired in favor

Goff (W. Va.)
Norbeck (S. D.)
Moses (N. H.)
Phipps (Colo.)
Grundy (Pa.)

### Democrats—10

Blease (S.C.)
Broussard (La.)
Glass (Va.)
Harrison (Miss.)
Overman (N. C.)
Ransdell (La.)
Simmons (N. C.)
Steck (Ia.)
Stephens (Miss.
Swanson (Va.)

### Paired in favor

Fletcher (Fla.)
King(U tah)
Smith (S. C.)

## AGAINST CONFIRMATION—49

### Republicans—17

Blaine (Wis.)
Borah (Ida.)
Capper (Kas.)
Couzens (Mich.)
Cutting (N. M.)
Deneen (Ill.)
Frazier (N.D.)
Howell (Neb.)
Johnson (Cal.)
La Follette(Wis.)
Norris (Neb.)
Nye (N. D.)
Pine (Okla.)
Robinson (Ind.)
Schall (Minn.)
Steiwer (Ore.)
Vanderberg (Mich.)

### Paired against

Brookhart (Iowa)
Glenn (Ill.)
McMaster (S. D.)
McNary (Oregon)
Robsion (Ky.)

### Democrats—23

Ashurst (Ariz.)
Barkley (Ky.)
Black (Ala.)
Bratton (N. M.)
Brock (Tenn.)
Caraway (Ark.)
Connally (Tex.)
Copeland (N. Y.)
Dill (Wash.)
Harris (Ga.)
Hawes (Mo.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Kendrick (Wyo.)
McKellar (Tenn
Pitman (Nev.)
Robinson(Ark.)
Sheppard (Tex.)
Trammell(Fla.)
Tydings (Md.)
Wagner (N.Y.)
Walsh (Mass.)
Walsh (Mont.)
Wheeler(Mont.)

### Paired against

Heflin (Ala.)
George (Ga.)
Thomas (Okla.)

### Farmer-Labor

Shipstead (Minn.)—1

Not voting: Sackett of Ky.

## AS THE CROW FLIES

A Southern college has it: Aunt Eve, black mammy of the Reverend Morton, D.D.

All hail to Aunt Eve, but who the hell is Morton?

There is a little boy in Rummania who is happy at having gotten over measles, croup and being King. But he's going to have some fun now.

33-15-5

1

The year in Negro Education, 1930.

1. Students & graduates

Figures collected by the Census supplemented by estimates a total enrollment of about 16,000 Negro students in American colleges during the past year and 1700 graduates with the bachelors degree. Of those making direct returns we have a record of 14,135 Negroes enrolled, 1579 receiving the bachelors degree, and 253 with professional degrees and 73 with higher degrees of A.M., Ph.D., etc.

As compared with our estimate of 19253 students & 2160 graduates last year

There are several omissions. We lack the total college enrollment of Indiana, the College of the City of New York, Columbia, Northwestern and a number of smaller institutions. There are also a number of Negro institutions with college students like Alcorn, Langston, Durham and others

13756
12

47-55-112

In thirty-two other northern colleges some of them well-known like Beloit, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke and Smith, and other smaller Western institutions there are forty-three Negro students reported as enrolled and twelve graduates. In addition to this there are without doubt at least fifty other Negro students widely scattered in northern institutions with which we have not communicated.

We estimate that the omissions, added to the figures above amount to nearly ~~for less than 250 students~~ 750 students

4 The Year in Negro Colleges

~~The Total Enrollment in Negro Colleges~~

~~is~~ The financial condition of Negro colleges is indicated by this table:

47-5-113

| | Endowment | Plant | Income |
|---|---|---|---|
| A + T., N.C. | | 1,030,000 | 182,000 |
| Ark. State | | 600,000 | 140,000 |
| Allen, So. Car | 323,392 | 322,382 | 82,617 |
| Benedict | 140,000 | 500,000 | |
| Hampton | 9,476,270 | 2,521,779 | 601,371 |
| Howard | 843,406 | 2,635,896 | 588,903 |
| Knoxville | 636,469 | 560,380 | 60,787 |
| Lane | 31,500 | 324,750 | 45,750 |
| Lincoln-Pa | 1,029,065 | 516,073 | 123,500 |
| Lincoln Mo. | | 794,500 | |
| Livingstone | 546,500 | 465,000 | 38,500 |
| Morehouse | 321,000 | 690,306 | 109,383 |
| Morgan | 68,000 | 1,000,050 | 173,000 |
| New Orleans U | 101,300 | 602,300 | 58,148 |
| Paine Col | 30,000 | 400,000 | 83,050 |
| Prairie View | | 2,013,100 | 635,725 |
| Shaw | 355,000 | 605,000 | 102,883 |
| Johnson C Smith | | 1,000,000 | |
| Spelman | | 895,000 | 187,500 |
| A + M. Col So Car | | | 192,351 |
| Straight Col | | 875,666 | 94,946 |
| Talledega | 300,000 | 1,500,000 | 205,785 |
| Tougaloo | 47,488 | 450,000 | |
| Tuskegee | 7,772,108 | 2,143,606 | 552,694 |

417-5-414

(2)

(17)

| | Endowment | Plant | Income |
|---|---|---|---|
| Va. Union | 600,000 | 700,000 | 130,000 |
| W. Va State | | 1,220,000 | 144,250 |
| Wiley | 15,000 | 400,000 | 99,650 |
| Fisk | 1,291,531 | 608,813 | 251,057 |
| Va State | 173,000 | 1,220,637 | 611,951 |

The ranking students in Negro colleges are as follows

47-5-116

Emmett Lyle

RANKING STUDENTS at Negro Colleges

A & T College, Greensboro, N. Car. ..... Maceo E. Patterson

Arkansas State College.. ..... James H. Means

Atlanta University..... Evelyn B. Ross

Atlanta University..... Virginia F. Toles

Benedict College.. ..... John F. Potts

Fisk University - - - - - - - Roosevelt C. Browder

Hampton Institute..... Amanda E. Peele

Howard University..... John F. Price

Howard University..... Stanton L. Wormley

Kentucky State Industrial..... Andrew Miller

Lane College..... ..... Charlotte P. Thompson

Lincoln Univ. Pa..... Charles T. Holloway, Jr.

Lincoln Univ. Mo..... Violet H. King

Livingstone College..... William J. Trent / J. A. Winters

Meharry Medical School — J. A. Hall

Morehouse College.. ..... Orestes B. Baker

Morgan College..... Evelyn S. Fax

New Orleans University..... Maxine L. Marcell

Prairie View College..... Mrs. Onnie L. Colter

Johnson C. Smith..... Legrande Summersette

Southern University..... Ereline A. Lamothe

Spelman College..... Catherine L. Burris

State A. & M. So. Car..... Sidney R. Williams

Straight College..... Richard W. English

Talladega.. ..... Charles H. Nicholas

Tenn. A. & T. State..... Dorothy V. Leavelle

Tougaloo..... Jonathon H. Brooks

Va. Union University..... Emma G. Wesley

Va. State - - - - - - Susie A. Patterson

W. Va. State College.. ..... Cora M. Hairston

Wiley college..... Vivienne Hood

The notable events of the college years are as follows:

47-5-118

[1930?]

(1)

# Enrollment and Graduates

10-16

| | Enrollment men | Enrollment women | Total | Graduates A.B. B.S. | Graduates M.A. | Graduates Others | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A & T. College, N.C. Greensboro NC | | | 287 | 25 | | | |
| Akron, Ohio | | | 10 | 1 | | | |
| ~~Allegheny, Pa.~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~0~~ | | | |
| Amherst, Mass | | | 7 | 2 | | | |
| ~~Antioch, Ohio~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~0~~ | | | |
| Arkansas State | 46 | 71 | 117 | 4 | | | |
| ~~Armour Inst. Ill~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| Atlanta Univ. | 60 | 118 | 190 | 28 | | | |
| Barnard, N.Y. | | | 2 | 0 | | | |
| ~~Beloit, Wisc~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| Benedict. So. Car | 46 | 78 | 124 | 18 | | | |
| Boston Univ. Mass | | | 32 | 5 | 6 | 2 | |
| ~~Bowdoin, Maine~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| Bradley Poly. Ill. | 5 | 2 | 7 | 4 | | | |
| ~~Bryn Mawr, Pa.~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~0~~ | | | |
| ~~Bucknell, Pa~~ | | | ~~2~~ | ~~0~~ | | | |
| Butler, Ind | 33 | 29 | 62 | 11 | | | |
| U. of Calif (Los Angeles) | 12 | 18 | 30 | 3 | | | |
| U of Calif (Berkeley) | 14 | 7 | 21 | 4 | | 1 | |
| Carnegie Inst. Pa. | 4 | 2 | 6 | 2 | | | |
| U. of Cincinnati, Ohio | | | 125 | 10 | 1 | 1 | |
| Clark, Mass | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Colgate, N.Y. | | | 3 | 3 | | | |
| Colorado College, Colo. | | | 5 | 0 | | | |
| U. of Colo, Colo. | 8 | 5 | 13 | 2 | | | |
| ~~Colby Col. Maine~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~+~~ | | | |
| Cornell Univ. N.Y. | 10 | 8 | 18 | 2 | | 3 | |
| U. of Chicago Ill | | | 75 | | | | |
| DARTmouth Col. N.H. | 4 | 0 | 4 | 1 | | | |
| ~~Heidelberg, Ohio~~ | | | ~~+~~ | ~~+~~ | | | |
| De Pauw Univ Ind | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| Dickinson Col Pa. | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| Drake, Iowa | 5 | 4 | 9 | 2 | | | |
| Drew Univ. N.J. | 8 | 2 | 10 | | 2 | 1 | |
| Duke, Tenn | 231 | 321 | 552 | 95 | | | |

# Enrollment and Graduates

| | Enrollment | | | Graduates | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | Total | A.B. + B.S | Prof. | others |
| ~~Fordham Univ, N.Y.~~ School of Law | | | 14 | | 2 | |
| Geneva Col, Pa | 4 | 3 | 7 | 2 | | |
| ~~Girard Col~~ | + | 0 | + | 0 | | |
| Hamilton Col N.Y. | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | | |
| ~~Hamline Univ Minn.~~ | 1 | 0 | + | 0 | | |
| Hampton Inst. Va. | 276 | 374 | 650 | 59 | | |
| Harvard Univ. Mass | | | | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Hillsdale Col. Mich | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 | | |
| Heram Col Ohio | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | |
| ~~Holyoke Col. N.Y.~~ | 1 | 0 | + | 0 | | |
| Howard Univ. D.C. | 968 | 1031 | 1999 | 190 | 118 | 18 |
| Hunter Col N.Y. | 0 | 77 | 77 | 7 | | |
| St Ignatius Col Calif | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | |
| ~~Iowa Iowa Iowa~~ | 54 | 30 | 84 | 40 | 2 | 3 |
| ~~Ill. Wesleyan Ill.~~ | | | + | 0 | | |
| Univ. of Ill. Ill. | 84 | 54 | 138 | 8 | | 4 |
| Indiana Univ. Ind. | | | | | | |
| Univ. of Kans. Kans | 86 | 65 | 151 | 17 | | 1 |
| Kentucky State Ind. Col Ky | 69 | 131 | 200 | 8 | | |
| ~~Knox Col. Ill~~ | 2 | + | 3 | + | | |
| Knoxville Col. Tenn. | 100 | 161 | 261 | 36 | | |
| Lane Col Tenn. | | | 216 | 27 | | |
| Lincoln Univ. Pa. | 365 | 0 | 365 | 61 | | |
| Lincoln Univ. Mo | 104 | 119 | 223 | 33 | | |
| Livingstone Col N.Car | 101 | 88 | 189 | 25 | | |
| ~~Lowndes Co. Miss.~~ | + | + | + | 0 | | |
| ~~Miss. Agric. Col Miss~~ | + | 0 | + | 0 | | |
| Mass. Inst. Tech. Mass. | 5 | 0 | 5 | 1 | | |
| Miami Univ. Ohio | 5 | 6 | 11 | 1 | | |
| ~~Mich. State Col Mich~~ | + | 0 | + | | | |
| Univ. of Mich. Mich | 38 | 19 | * 67 | 7 | 4 | 15 |
| McHarry Medical, Tenn | | | | | 79 | |

10.11.12

# Enrollment and Graduates

| | Enrollment Men | Enrollment Women | Total | A.B. + B.S | Graduates Prof. | Graduates others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ~~Middlebury Col Vt.~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~2~~ | ~~1~~ | | |
| U. of Minn. Minn | 20 | 28 | 48 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| U. of Montana | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | |
| Morehouse Col. Ga. | 508 | 0 | 508 | 59 | 1 | |
| Morgan Col Md. | 194 | 280 | 474 | 62 | | |
| ~~Mt. Holyoke Col Mass~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | | |
| ~~Nebr. Wesleyan~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| U. of Nebr. | 18 | 12 | 30 | 1 | | |
| ~~U. of New Mexico~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| New Orleans Univ La, | 120 | 313 | 433 | 41 | | |
| Col. of City of N Y. | | | | 8 | | |
| ~~Univ of N. Hamp~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| N. Y. Univ | 229 | 46 | 275 | 11 | 2 | 7 |
| Northwestern U Ill. | 24 | 25 | 49 | 7 | | 4 |
| Oberlin Col Ohio | 23 | 31 | 54 | 6 | 2 | 2 |
| Ohio State U. Ohio | | | 327 | 13 | 1 | 1 |
| Ohio Wesleyan Ohio | 3 | 2 | 5 | 0 | | |
| U. of Omaha Nebr | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1 | | |
| U. of Oregon | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | | |
| ~~Otterbein Col Ohio~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| Paine Col. Ga. | 43 | 42 | 85 | 10 | | |
| U. of Pa, Pa. | | | 58 | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| State Col Pa. | | | | | | |
| ~~Polytechnic Inst N.Y.~~ | ~~3~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~3~~ | | | |
| Prairie View State Col Tex. | 323 | 781 | 1104 | 37 | | |
| Perdue U. Ind. | 16 | 4 | 20 | 0 | | |
| Radcliffe Col Mass, | 0 | 6 | 6 | 1 | | 3 |
| U. of Redlands Calif. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | | |
| ~~Reed Col Oregon~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | | | |
| ~~R.I. State Col~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | | |

10-16

10.11.13

# Enrollment and Graduates

| | Enrollment | | | A.B. + B.S. | Prof. | other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | Women | Total | | | |
| Rutgers U. N.J. | | | 7 | | | 1 |
| St. Thomas Minn. | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | | |
| Shaw Univ. N. Car. | 121 | 198 | 319 | 55 | 3 | |
| Simmons, Mass | 0 | 6 | 6 | 1 | | |
| ~~Smith Mass~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~2~~ | ~~2~~ | ~~1~~ | | |
| J.C. Smith NC | 319 | 0 | 319 | 31 | 1 | |
| Southern Univ La. | | | | 28 | | |
| Southern Calif | 13 | 8 | 21 | 6 | 3 | |
| Spelman Ga. | 0 | 204 | 204 | 19 | | |
| State A + M So Car | | | | 23 | | |
| Straight, La. | 73 | 68 | 141 | 14 | | 1 |
| Talladega Ala | 128 | 188 | 316 | 46 | | |
| Toledo, Ohio | 8 | 19 | 27 | 3 | 1 | |
| Tenn. A + I State Tenn | | | | 81 | | |
| Tougaloo Miss | 29 | 44 | 73 | 11 | | |
| Tufts Mass | | | | | 5 | |
| Tuskegee, Ala | | | | 13 | | |
| Upsala, N. Jersey | | | 9 | 2 | | |
| Utah | 4 | 3 | 7 | 2 | | |
| Vermont | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | | |
| Union Va. | 280 | 260 | 540 | 61 | 7 | |
| VA. STATE U. | 292 | 456 | 748 | 45 | | |
| Washburn, Kans. | | | 35 | 5 | | |
| Wellesley Mass | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | | |
| ~~Wesleyan, Conn~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | | |
| West Va. State | 246 | 329 | 575 | 51 | | |
| Wiley - Tex | 311 | 404 | 715 | 61 | | |
| ~~Williamette Ore~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | | |

10.11.14

# Enrollment

10-16

| | Enrollment Men | Enrollment Women | Total | A3+B3 d. | Prof | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Williams, Mass | 4 | 0 | 4 | 3 | | |
| U. of Wisconsin | 10 | 4 | 14 | 1 | | |
| ~~Whittier Calif~~ | ~~2~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~2~~ | ~~0~~ | | |
| Wittenburg Ohio | 6 | 2 | 8 | 1 | | |
| ~~Worcester Polytechnic~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~0~~ | ~~1~~ | ~~1~~ | | |
| Yale Conn. | ~~12~~ | ~~2~~ | 14 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Graduate School Y M C A, Mass | | | | 2 | | 1 |

10-11-15

Total

[1930]

Reports of notable events in Negro colleges are as follows:

A. and T. College, North Carolina.

Value of plant, $1,030,000.
Total income, $182,000
From gifts, $22,000
From students, not including board, $50,500.
From the United States and the state, $111,500
Recognized by the American Medical Association. Erection of a new Administration Building to cost $150,000.

Arkansas State College.

Value of plant, $600,000
Total annual budget, $140,000
Income from students, including board, $40,000
New plant dedicated and President inaugurated.

Allen University.

Present endowment, $323,392
Value of plant, $322,382
Total income, $82,617
From endowment, $15,449
From gifts, $49,795
From students, not including board, $12,755

Atlanta University.

Is discontinuing the Undergraduate Department and is to become a Graduate School.

Benedict College.

Present endowment, $140,000
Value of plant, $500,000

Hampton Institute.

Permanent endowment, April 1, 1930, $7,196,878
Other interest-bearing funds, $2,282,392
Value of plant, $2,521,779
Total income during the last year, $601,371
From endowment, $466,584
From gifts, $114,968
From students, not including board, $17,753
During the current year for the first time students have been required to pay tuition fees. The most significant event ~~in the history of Hampton~~ has been the resignation last year of Dr. James E. Gregg as Principal and the election of Dr. George P. Phoenix as President.

47-5-84

Howard University.

Present endowment, $843,406
Value of plant, $2,635,896
Total income during the past year, $588,903
Income from endowment, $42,889
Income from students, including board, $233,651
Gifts, $54,796
The Congressional appropriation for last year amounted to $1,249,000

The
Universit
$350,000
struction
Hospital.

Knoxville College.

Present productive endowment, $636,469
Value of plant, $560,380
Total income for year, $60,787
From endowment, $31,823
From gifts, $15,022
From students, not including board, $13,942
During the last year the school has been recognized as an A. Class college by the American Medical Association and the Arbuckle Estate has given $150,000 for endowment.

Lane College.

Endowment, $31,500
Value of plant, $324,750
Income during the last year, $45,750, not including payment for board.
The College has been given a Class I. rating by the American Medical Association.

47-5-85

Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

Endowment, $1,029,065
Value of plant, $516,073
Total income, $123,500
From endowment, $48,000
From gifts, $10,500
From students, not including board, $65,000
Lincoln has celebrated its 75th Anniversary this past June, and the completion of a $500,000-campaign. It has the largest enrollment in history and a new dormitory is to be started immediately.

Lincoln University, Missouri.

Value of plant, $794,500
Total income during the year, including payments for board, $48,879. The former President, N. B. Young, has been restored to his position and a building program, based on the report of the State Survey Commission, has been inaugurated.

The United States Government has appropriated $1,249,000 for Howard University during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931. This includes $350,000 for salary, $160,000 for general expense, and $739,000 towards the construction of four new buildings. Also, there is $424,000 for Freedman's Hospital.

Livingstone College.

Present endowment, $546,500.
Of this, $46,500 is paid in, and $500,000 has been underwritten by the A. M. E. Zion Church, and is being paid at the rate of $30,000 annually.
Value of plant, $465,000.
Total income, endowment including installment, $38,500.
Gifts, $4,645.
From students, including board, $26,281.
During the year, $250,000 has been raised for the Price Memorial Building and $35,000 has been received from the estate of the late B. N. Duke for endowment.

Morehouse College.

Present endowment, $321,000.
Value of plant, $590,308.
Total income last year, $109,383.
From endowment, $15,047
From students, including board, $72,821
From gifts, $17,540
The General Education Board promises to erect a joint library for Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, at a cost of $450,000.

Morgan College.

Endowment, $68,000.
Value of plant, $1,000,050.
Income during the last year, $273,000.
From endowment, $4,000.
From gifts, $229,000.
From students, not including board, $40,000.
During the last year, two stone fireproof buildings erected and all debts paid.

47-5-86

New Orleans University.

Endowment, $101,300.
Value of plant, $602,300.
Total income, $58,148
From endowment, $5,000.
From gifts, $9,000.
From students, not including board, $20,426.
The outstanding event of the last year was the official merger of New Orleans University and Straight University, with the backing of the various churches, Boards, the Rosenwald Fund, and the General Education Fund.
Both colleges will operate for two years in their present plants and then the new Dillard University, with a new campus and buildings, will be ready. The college has been rated in Class L. by the American Medical Association.
~~In the Unity Life essay contest, a student of New Orleans University won the First Prize of $200.~~
The Alumni presented Annie J. Parker, a white teacher for twenty-seven years at the University, with the purse [illegible] of $350 for a vacation trip and have nearly completed the Parker Library Fund of $1,000 to perpetuate her name. She has gone back to Iowa on a pension.

Paine College

Endowment, $30,000.
Value of plant, $400,000.
Income, $83,050.
From endowment, $1,203.
From gifts, $2,197.
From students, not including board, $9,238.

Prairie View College.

Value of plant, $2,013,100
Total income, $635,725.
Of this, there were $50,000 in gifts.
The American Medical Association has given Prairie View a Class A. rating. A state conference on Negro education in Texas has been held with an attendance of 165: Principals, Presidents, Superintendents, etc.
A modern hospital, costing $105,000, has been completed.

Shaw University.

Endowment, $355,000.
Value of plant, $605,000.
Total income, $102,883.
From endowment, $19,332.
From gifts, $19,262.
From students, including board, $21,929.

Johnson C. Smith University.

Value of plant, $1,000,000
The most significant event, a gift of $302,500 to be added to the endowment, by the Will of Mrs. Johnson C. Smith, deceased.

4-5-87

Spelman College.

Value of plant, $895,000.
Total income during the year, $187,500.
From students, not including board, $26,145.

The Womens Ameri
$25,000 towards the e

State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Value of plant, $1,009,980
Total income during the past year, $192,351.
From the United States, $36,804.
From the state, $155,547.
From students, not including board, $21,110.
The college has been selected as one of three Land Grant institutions for training extension workers in agriculture and home economics, in special courses during the summer, and in co-operation with the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the United States Department of Agriculture.

The Womens American Baptist Home Missionary Society has pledged $25,000 towards the endowment fund of Spelman College.

Straight College.

Value of plant, $875,666.
Total income, $94,946.
From the American Missionary Association, $56,503.
From gifts, $5,098.
From students, $33,345.
The Institution has completed a merger with New Orleans College into Dillard University.

Talladega College.

Endowment, $300,000.
Value of plant, $1,500,000.
Total income last year, $205,785.
From endowment, $15,000.
From gifts, $33,458.
From students, including board, $82,580.
From the American Missionary Association and other sources, $74,746.
An effort has been made during the last year to raise an endowment of $500,000 to match the same amount pledged by the General Education Board. A sum of $425,000 has already been pledged.

Tougaloo College.

Endowment, $47,488.
Value of plant, $450,000.
A building fund amounting to $120,000 has been completed. This will provide three residence, a part of the cost of a small hospital, a new laundry, and a boys' dormitory.

4-7-5-88

Tuskegee Institute.

Present endowment, $7,772,108.
Value of plant, $2,143,606.
Total income during the last year, $552,694.
From endowment, $397,618.
From gifts, $99,355.
From students, not including board, $37,157.

Virginia Union University.

Present endowment, $600,000.
Value of plant, $700,000.
Total income, $130,000.
From endowment, $35,000.
From gifts, $20,000.
From students, not including board, $40,000.
From students for board, $35,000.
Rating in Class I. by the American Medical Association.

West Virginia State College.

Value of plant, $1,220,000.
Total income, $144,250.
From students, $7,500, not including board.
Ground has been broken for a new vocational building.

Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

Endowment, $15,000.
Value of plant, $400,000.
Total income, $99,650.
From endowment, $1,000.
From gifts, $650,000.
From students, $74,000, not including board.
Wiley took Fourth place in a dramatic tournament in Northwestern University in which nine schools participated. Wiley was the only colored school. The College is making a drive for an endowment of $600,000, toward which the General Education Board has promised $300,000 and the Board of Education of the M. E. Church, $200,000.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Endowment, $1,291,531.
Value of plant, $608,813.
Total income, $251,057.
From endowment, $54,992.
From gifts, $117,842.
From students, $67,655. not including board.

Virginia State College.

Endowment, $173,000.
Value of plant, $1,220,637.
Total income, $611,951.
From endowment, $10,156.
From gifts, $123,000.
From students $134,754, including board.
From State and others, $344,041.
Secured $400,000 for a Dining Hall, Agricultural Building, and Home Economics Practice House.
Completed two new dormitories.
Rated as a Class I college by the American Medical Association and the State of Virginia.

177-5-89

State A. and I., Tenn.

The State of Tennessee has appropriated $600,000 to the A. and I. State College for the erection of three new buildings, for dormitories, agriculture and administration, instruction, class-rooms and auditorium.

# SOUTHERN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern states was organized in 1895. It is the accrediting agency of the South and in this respect the court of final resort. It is composed of white officials and white schools, and for the thirty-four years of its existence, it has refused to recognize or accredit a single Negro college or a single Negro high school. It has been appealed to on grounds of justice and ordinary decency, and once or twice it has appointed committees to consider the matter. But, so far nothing definite has been done. Thus there is not a single Negro college in the South or high school that can receive official credit before the educational authorities of the United States. What is going to be done about it?

42-5-298

(1930)

Sept, 1930 Federal Manuscript make 6 copies each

37-5-111

The Bourbon South.

The Charleston, S. Car., News and Courier of May 30th has an editorial which the nation ought to read with deep thought. It is the latest statement of the attitude of the educated, conservative Southerner that we have seen. The editorial says: Granted that Northern Liberals and Negroes have stopped the confirmation of Judge Parker, what have they accomplished? The News and Courier wishes to defend the Negro from injustice, and to stop lynching; in doing so it is opposing a powerful mob element. The task is a dangerous one and difficult. Nevertheless, The News and Courier and its followers, want, in self-defense to make Negroes industrious and productive; they want to protect Negroes' property and their persons; they want to oppose beating, killing and cheating colored people; they want ot improve their health and give them some education. In this effort they are accomplishing something. But they do not propose to invite Negroes to take any part in Government, and when any one asks this, the South is going to oppose a solid and unyielding front. "The question whether we are right or wrong in this attitude, whether or not it is savage or civilized, we decline to discuss." The question then simply is, will Northern Liberals let us stop lynching, or will they hinder us as they do now by inciting the ruffians against Negroes? If they were proposing to apply force to these ruffians, their attitude might be logical; but they are not going to do that; they are merely going to make the mob drunk by asking for the Negro the right to vote, and equal civil rights. It is, therefore,"exasperating that the unspeakable asininity of the so-called Liberals in New York is constantly embarrassing the intelligent and brave efforts of such men as Governor Richards and Solicitor Harris, multiplying the difficulties, adding to the dangers".

37-5-112

We have paraphrased and quoted this extraordinary statement because it contains so persistent and clear a logical error. It would seem that the Southerner has never learned the basis of the argument for Democracy. No group of well-meaning, educated and wealthy citizens can protect successfully the interests of a poor, ignorant, disfranchised working class against the ruffians and the mob, save in two ways: they must either take the vote away from the white ruffian and the mob, or they must give the vote to the endangered black peasant.

The revolution of the Civil war gave the vote to the poor white. It did not succeed in enfranchising the Freedman. To this day, in the South, and particularly South Carolina, has left the Freedman's sons and grandsons helpless before the white mob. They are helpless because the Charleston News and Courier refuses to put into the hands of Negroes the one effective weapon of the modern working class. It not only refuses to do this, it refuses even to argue the matter; it refuses even to discuss the question as to whether or not this is a civilized procedure; and as a result this paper and this class of white Southerner puts a distinct premium upon white lawlessness. They say to the thoughtless, ignorant mob: "You do not need to fear the courts, because the judges are subservient to your votes; you do not need to fear the jury because you are the jury; you do not need to fear the government because you elect Legislators, Governors, and Congressmen; you do not even need to fear us, the element in the community that represents education, property, and decency, because we are in the minority and you are in the majority, while the blackworking class in South Carolina will never be given, with our consent, any vestige of such political power as will enable them to have any voice in their own government, in their own treatment, in their own defense.

37-5-113

This then is the situation in the South. It is as clear as noonday; and the time will come south of the Mason and Dixon line, whether they will or no, when the class of people represented by the Charleston News and Courier are going to be compelled to ask themselves whether their x stand in this matter is right or wrong, savage or civilized.

## Allen of Kansas.

The Kansas City American, a colored paper, comes forward with an argument so astonishing that it needs to be noticed. It asks that the N. A.A. C. P. do not oppose the re-nomination or re-election of Senator Allen of Kansas; and it gives as a reason for this that such action on the part of this organization would be "radical" and an unjustifiable interference with local politics. We have seen this argument before in other cases, and the matter is so important and so fundamental that we shall again state our position.

Representative government is based on the proposition that the representative of the people in Congress in the main is carrying out the wish of his constituents. If at any time the constituents are not satisfied with the vote or attitude of their representative they have a perfect right at election time to vote for somebody else. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the character or the motives of the representative. Senator Allen of Kansas may be a good and honest man, a friend of the American Negro and a conscientious public servant; nevertheless, in a matter of fundamental importance he voted against the wishes of practically all intelligent Negroes, including, we hope, Dr. W. J. Tompkins of the Kansas City American. Immediately there came two questions: first, was the matter on which Senator Allen gave an adverse vote, of

37-5-114

real importance; and secondly, if it was, what should Negro voters do about it? The defeat of Judge Parker was important because the Judge had openly stated that he was opposed to Negro surfrage; yet he was being proposed for the United States Supreme Court where he would decide questions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment. Is the right of the Negro to vote in America fundamental? Surely that question needs no answer.

It makes, therefore, no difference whether Senator Allen is kind-hearted; whether he has appointed a colored man to a lucrative position; whether he sympathizes in general with the aspirations of the Negro race or not; he voted to put on the Supreme Bench a man who was against Negro suffrage, and he did this in defiance to the open protest of American Negroes in his own state and all over the country.

What shall we do about it? There is but one answer. We must strain every effort to substitute in the United States Senate a man who will not vote as Senator Allen did. We must do this without personal rancour, with every respect for Mr. Allen's honest differences of opinion, but with a firm insistence that in this vote he was wrong, and so wrong that he can no longer represent black Kansas in the Senate.

This situation seems so clear to us that we have sent our Field Secretary, Mr. William Pickens to help in the campaign against Allen, recognizing clearly that if the colored people fail to make good their threat to defeat Allen for voting in favor of Parker, any future wishes of theirs so far as Kansas Congressmen are concerned, can be ignored with impunity.

## The New House of Representatives.

The present House of Representatives has 435 members. No reapportionment of membership has been made since 1910, but when the results

37-5-115

of the Census of 1930 are known, the representatives are to be reapportioned according to this enumeration. This means that a good many states will lose, and others will gain in representation. It is a pleasure to note that the Southern South,--South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana will by this proportionment probably lose six Representatives in the lower House. Only one of this group of states will gain, Florida, making a net loss of five in the Southern South.

The border states, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and Arkansas will lose altogether, seven votes. Of this group only North Carolina and Oklahoma will gain, making a net loss of five. In other words, the South, with its "Rotten Borough" electoral system is going to lose eleven votes. Texas in the far Southwest is the only Southern state that will gain, and she will probably gain three Congressmen. Even at that we are going to have kicked out of Congress eight men who have hetherto sat there in defiance of decent democratic government.

## South Africa.

One of the most outrageous of the numerous oppressions against the natives of South Africa, is the unwillingness of the government of the Union of South Africa to accept an offer made by the Carnegie Fund to contribute $325,000 towards a medical training of natives. A Commission of white South African medical men two years ago recommended such a medical school. It can not be merely a matter of money, because there remains from the general tax of last year, to which the native has generously contributed, an unexpended sum of $375,000. Yet the Hertzog government has done nothing and makes no promise that it will. A native paper the Llanga laseNatal says pertinently:

37-5-116

"Such is the prevailing poverty of our race under the repressive administration of the white Colonist, that medical attention, even where it is available, means an expense which most families will never think of except in serious emergency and in large areas there are no doctors to be got. Yet we have the monstrous spectacle of our own Government not only doing nothing to provide the desperately needed assistance, but actually standing in the way of another Government which humanely desires to furnish it!.....We have never yet had as a people a fair share of the State's benefits in return for what we carry of its burdens, even if we are considered merely as tax-payers.

37-5-117

## Inter-collegiate Debates.

It is reassuring to find colored colleges taking part in inter-collegiate debates on a larger scale than ever before. The subjects debated last year were the following: The Abolition of the Jury System; Should Negroes Join Labor Unions; Disarmament among the Nations; Democracy in the United States and in England; the Emergence of the Woman from the Home; College Education for the Average Secondary School Graduate; Installment Buying; American Advertising; the Recognition of Soviet Russia, the Occupation of Haiti; Prohibition.

We have a record of fifty-eight inter-collegiate debates, of which half discussed "The Jury System"; next to that came seven debates on "College Training", five on "Advertising", three each on "Disarmament, Democracy of England and America", and the "Recognition of Russia".

It is interesting to note the number of debates between colored and white colleges. Howard University debated against Oberlin twice; Lincoln University debated against Victoria University of New Zealand, Bates College and New York University; Johnson C.Smith debated against the University of Pittsburg, and Virginia Union University against the University of Vermont; Wiley College debated against the University of Michigan and Fisk University against Northwestern University.

There were also several sets of debating tours. Fisk and Wiley University conducted a debating tour through the state of Texas, appearing in eight cities.

In these debates there cropped up continually the question of decisions. There were a good many "no decision" debates, that is, debates with no attempt to determine the success of the debaters. There were others where the audience made the decision, and still others with de-

cisions by selected judges. One of these methods are entirely satisfactory. If trained, impartial judges could be secured, that would be the ideal; barring that, perhaps the "no decision" debate is as good as any. Usually the debates were between single colleges, although there were several cases of triangular debates. It is difficult to get any definite information concerning the various individual debaters, but the audiences appear to have been large and responsive, and it is certainly to be hoped that this branch of college activity will increase among Negro institutions.

37-5-118

SEGRETATION.

It is continually necessary to sharpen and concentrate the thought of our friends upon the matter of race segregation. It is all too easy for persons to misinterpret our attitude towards segregation. Why, ask white people, do Negroes object to associating with each other and at the same time get so indignant when white people object to associating with them? Why, ask colored people, should we stultify ourselves by attempting contact and intercourse with people who do not want us? Let us seek rather than refuse segregation. Both these objections miss the point. We do not ask that people be forced to associate with each other against their natural desires and inclinations, except when such desires or prejudices interfere seriously with the lives and action and development of others. Persons entering a Street car may prefer to sit together and should certainly be allowed to if there are several seats. But they should not be allowed to keep other persons standing so that they can enjoy pleasant company. The Street car is primarily for transportation and not for social intercourse. A person has a right to choose his seat in the theatre. He has no right to insist that no one shall sit near him whom he is not willing to marry. The theatre is open for the sake of the play, and not for making matrimonial matches. In a world as small as ti

37-5-119

as this and growing progressively smaller, where intercourse and communication and contact of all kind is increasing and being more and more complicated, personal liking and desires must continually yield to the common good. We have a right to do as we please only in-so-far as this does not hinder other people fromdoing as they please. All this theory and platitude is illustrated by the case of the Gold Star mothers. It was not and couldnot be simply a matter of this group being sent by itself. It was, in the first place difficult to assemble the group by racial characteristics, rather than by geographical, and in the second place, once assembled they were the victim of all sorts of discrimination. They did not get proper hotel accommodations, and they were sent to Europe on a freight boat insteadof going upon a passenger liner, and the Government said with perfect truth that having made and advertised discrimination they were not able to avoid greater discrimination. And this is the difficulty of separating human beings simply by racial characteristics. Voluntary grouping of people according to their personal likes and dislikes is defensible and to be encouraged. Involuntary compulsion, either from the group itself or by reason of outside pressure, may lead to every sort of material and physical evil.

During the last ~~11~~ years, Archie L. Weaver of Chicago, of his own volition and as a work of philanthropy, has collected and sent to The Crisis ~~11~~ subscriptions, taking out no discount for himself. He chooses this method of showing The Crisis that he appreciates its work and of telling the world that here is a periodical which we ought to read.

10-3-60

It is singular how few persons, full as they are of praise and encouragement for us, will show their appreciation by such concrete acts.

The Crisis is under deep obligation to Mr. Weaver, both for what he has done, and more especially for the example which he has set.

[1930?]

The Education Committee of the Ashland Place Y. W.C. A., Brooklyn, New York held an Occupational Exposition in December featuring women's work and illustrating her earning, buying, and saving power.

10-46-41

Liberator

[1933]

THE LIBERATOR

One hundred years ago, William Lloyd Garrison founded The Liberator. Many men and measures contributed to the emancipation of the Negro slave in America, but it must ever be the subtle verdict of hiatory that no one man and no one periodical did so much as William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator. Let us then with full hearts remember not simply the evil we have suffered in America but the great men who have toiled and sacrificed for our uplift in the emancipation of mankind.

42-5-297

Contraband

## Haiti

We have been waiting for several months for the report of Dr. Moton's Commission on Education to Haiti. We opposed the original appointment of this Commission because the Negro ought to have been represented upon the main Commission, and because a special Commission to interfere into a subject which belongs to the Haitian Government only, was a veiled insult to their Government, with which we should have had no part. Nevertheless, the Commission was appointed. It immediately was involved in January in curbing discrimination in the matter of travel, and its one white member did not travel with his colored compeers, although this was possibly for perfectly valid reasons. But, at any rate, why is it that this Commission has made no public report? The main Commission reported to the world by cable, without waiting to hand their report to President Hoover. But this Commission, just like the Commission on the discrimination which the Red Cross produced after the Mississippi flood, has danced attendance upon the President, and apparently its Report shall never see light, and yet not a single member of the Commission has had either the courage or the common courtesy to tell the people of the United States, the people of Haiti, and especially American Negroes, what it saw, what it did, and what it recommended on its extraordinary Commission.

68-4-47

1931

37-5-93

# Woofterism

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The Baltimore Afro-American coined the term "Woofterism". It calls for definition and extension. Recently, the United States government has sent out a release based on a study by Dr. Woofter on "The Economic Status of the Negro". This survey was made under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago. The complete report in manuscript has been sent me by the Fund. It consists of a volume of studies with appendix, made in June, 1930, and a summary and recommendations by Dr. Woofter and a committee which acted with him.

In my opinion, this report is neither candid, scientific nor conclusive. In fact, I regard it as a distinctly dangerous symptom. Large sums of money have recently been given to Southern white students to make studies of the American Negro. The original idea, started by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was not so much the scientific accuracy of the results, as the effort to make young white Southerners seriously study the race problem at first-hand, according to modern methods. This idea had some justification; but since then, the majority of the recent studies of the American Negro have been made by Southern white students and are supposed to be carefully compiled scientific work. This also would have much to recommend it if the studies were indeed candid, thorough, and scientific. But when a Southern white man comes to the study of the race problem apparently with the idea of leaving out all "controversial" matter, and nevertheless calls the results scientific, then something is being done that is not only wrong but vicious.

T. J. Woofter's earliest work, published in 1925, was a sort of pragmatic philosophy of the race problem by a young Southern white

37-5-94

man, continuing the work so well begun by the late Edgar Gardner Murphy. I read the book and commended it. But with his more recent studies, I have more and more disagreed. His facts are usually true but he does not give all the facts, while his conclusions are grossly inadequate and incomplete. I think, for instance, that the study of St. Helena Island is unscientific and misleading. And this study of "The Economic Status of the Negro" is even worse than that.

For instance, this report treats first of the Negro in agriculture. Now everybody knows, who knows anything about the South, of the main facts concerning the black peasant and farmer. It is not a question of praise or blame for the situation, or as to what we can do now to remedy it. But the facts are clear: in the country districts of the South the Negro farmer has no voice in his own government; he is taxed without representation; he has the poorest schools of any group in the United States; he is subject often to terrorism, mob violence and lynching; and over large districts he is in actual peonage. There can be no question about these conditions. The testimony is too universal. Or, if there is any doubt, the matter can not be settled by ignoring the testimony and the Rosenwald Fund should make a careful investigation into the facts. Without speaking of schools, Mr. Woofter refers to the ignorance of the black farmers. Without speaking of caste and mob violence, he stresses the lack of leadership, when he must know that 3,500 Negroes have been lynched in the United States since 1882, and that the chief centers of lynchings are the small towns which dominate the country districts.

Not once but thousands of times, Negroes of initiative, thrift and leadership have been driven out of the country districts of the South by cheating, threats and violence. Mr. Woofter makes no

mention of this.

He speaks of credit—of its unwise and uneconomic use, just as if the Negro tenants had any choice in the matter. Negro farmers over wide areas in the Southern states are compelled to borrow, are compelled to pay exorbitant interest, are systematically misled and cheated in the sale of crops and seldom allowed to get out of debt to their landlords. This is a system so universal in the southern South that not to mention it, or to make it appear that the tenants' one-crop credit system is due to sloth and stupidity, is deliberate deception.

37-5-95

After the glossing of the plain truth, what is Moofter's cure for depressed Negro agriculture?

1. Strengthening agricultural education in the schools.
2. Strengthening the work of farm demonstration agents.
3. More efficient use of the land.
4. Co-operative marketing.
5. Better credit.
6. Land buying.

Not a word of eduction; of taxation without representation; of unjust arrest and mob violence; of cultural stagnation and death!

This is astonishing. Hampton, Tuskegee and a dozen well-endowed schools have been teaching agriculture for a generation. Have they failed in their teaching? No, but their graduates who receive any beginnings of education had too much sense to return to the country districts of the South to fight a failing battle with the conditions which they knew they would find there. Consequently, there are fewer Negro farmers than ever, and land owning is beginning to wane; and all Moofter can ask is more teaching of agriculture and more intelligence from people without schools, and more "land buying"

by peons!

One has only to remember St. Helena Island, which Woofter himself has just studied. Here agricultural and industrial education has been carried on by the best means. The work has been advertised all over the world. The best teachers have been hired. Philanthropists have swarmed here to praise. And yet what is the result? The population of nearly 9,000 in 1900 has been decreased to 4,785 in 1928, and all indications are the rest are just slipping away as fast as they can. Why? Why is this the result of "farm demonstration work", efficient "use of the land", and "co-operation"? Woofter knows exactly what the trouble is in St. Helena. It is due to the concentration of the political power ~~of~~ over five thousand Negroes, most of whom are landholders, in the exclusive control of only 25 white voters! This leads to over taxation; to public schools, which altogether costs only $2,500 a year for the whole island and to an economic life which is wholly dominated by the white capitalists of Beaufort and Charleston. ¶ If there were ~~As there were~~ on St. Helena Island, with Negro land-holding peasants, good-hearted, hard-working and naturally intelligent people, a chance for self-government, universal education, and protection from hostile neighbors, who could doubt but that agricultural education, farm demonstration work and co-operation, would make here a model ~~rule~~ rural settlement? But to suggest that this can be done without political power; without public schools; and without law and order, is to suggest the impossible. And to call a study which does this scientific, is surely a misuse of terms. ¶ There are many differenc in different parts of the South, but over the whole South it is true that political, educational and economic conditions, beyond the control of the colored farmer, ~~leads to~~ is the main cause of exactly the conditions which Woofter finds. He tells us of "a decrease of 96,000 farms, between

37-5-96

1920-25, was almost entirely due to the movement of Negro farmers. Eighty-four thousand colored farmers and 12,000 white farmers were lost."

There were 161,600 Negro owners in the Southeast in 1910, and only 145,900 in 1925, showing a "surprising proportion who are losing heart and moving to the city."

37-5-97

"It is depressing in the extreme to travel through many sections of the cotton belt where idle land stretches by the roadside for many miles and all houses are vacant."

Why? For lack of "agricultural education"? Nonsense.

The recommendations of this Report for the Negro in industry are not much more satisfactory. The conditions to which Mr. Woofter refers are fairly well-known. During slavery, the Negro supplied the household service ~~to~~ and unskilled labor and very largely the semi-skilled and skilled labor of the South. In the North, he was a servant and laborer but only to a small extent a skilled worker because of the opposition of white workers. After the Civil War, he maintained a foothold as the servant and laborer of the South and as a skilled worker, particularly in the building trades and certain other industries. In comparatively small numbers, he entered the North as a common laborer and servant but here the opportunity to work was small because of the great migration of white workers from Europe. In skilled work, he was almost excluded by the attitude of the rising trade unions. Then came the World War, with its sudden stoppage of foreign migration and its great increase of certain industrial ~~attitudes~~ activities. Negroes poured into the North in a great stream to do not only common labor but a considerable proportion of semi-skilled work and even of skilled work.

They secured a foothold in a number of important industries:

37-5-98

the automobile industry, in the stockyards, in steel manufacture, in the making of clothing, in the mining industry, etc. They had a hard fight. They were in the situation of ignorant immigrants; they had to live in the worse and most unsanitary dwellings; they often met mob violence and discrimination and they were excluded not only from the unions which dominated the better paid trades, but also they met everywhere an attitude on the part of employers who would not hire colored labor under any circumstances and of workers who would not work with Negroes or would not ~~enter~~ endure him in anything but the lowest jobs. Despite all this, the Negroes have won a foothold which they are maintaining. With their new and increased political power, they have not only secured new jobs but have protected themselves against race prejudice in the jobs which they have. They have bought an enormous amount of property and under great difficulties they are entering the business world in a small way and beginning to give employment to their own people. These are well-known facts which Mr. Woofter confirms. What now is the obvious remedy for the ~~determing~~ betterment of this situation and for the encouragement of the economic development of the Negro. It is surely the opening up of wider industrial opportunities according to the ~~dominated~~ demonstrated ability and skill and desert of Negro workers. They must have a chance to do what they can do; ~~they must have an opportunity to do it;~~ they must have a chance for promotion, according to their accomplishments and deserts; and they must be paid the current rate of wages without discrimination. Their children should not only be in school but should receive ~~an~~ encouragement and incentive to ambition, to train themselves for ~~and do~~ the best work for which they are naturally fitted. Every effort should be made to open up industrial opportunity for intelligent Negroes to break down the discrimination of trade unions and to alter the attitude of many employers.

This, it seems to me, is the obvious path for the uplift of the Negro worker, North and South. What are Mr. Woofter's recommendations? They are as follows:

37-5-99

1. The quota system for Mexican immigrants.
2. Doing away with discrimination by the trade unions.
3. Vocational guidance.
4. Industrial education.
5. Employment offices.

At first glance, one might think that these recommendations cover most of the points mentioned, but a little further reading proves that they do not. He wants Mexican laborers excluded because they come in contact with the lowest grade of Negro common labor. But what are his proposals to raise the average grade of Negro labor by giving it opportunity at the top? He speaks of discrimination by trade unions and gives a list of unions which exclude Negroes. But he does not emphasize this. He asks for "a more effective policy" for organizing Negro unions, and an "abatement" of discrimination, but he does not emphasize the fact that the greatest hinderance to the Negro worker in the North is the fact that under ordinary circumstances, no matter what his intelligence or skill, he cannot become a boiler maker, ship builder, machinist, railway worker of any grade, except common labor, engineer, fireman, wire weaver, telegrapher, boot and shoe worker, electrical worker, photo engraver, granite cutter, metal worker, plumber, ~~and~~ or follow dozens of other trades. Into some of these trades he may slip by way of the open shop, or as a scab. Otherwise, he is excluded. Upon all this, Mr. Woofter lays little stress. He speaks of vocational guidance, but it is soon clear what he means by that. He means keeping the Negroes in his place, curbing his ambition, preserving him, as in the Atlanta experiment which he lands, as a domestic servant. There isn't the slightest

37-5-100

intimation in Mr. Woofter's discussion that there are any numbers of Negro youth who have ability and talent for law, medicine and dentistry, for the work of the scientists and artist. He wants vocational guidance to dissuade colored children from the professions and "white-collar" jobs and to create in the mind of the Negro "a right attitude toward work." He puts stress again on industrial education, apparently forgetting that he himself has furnished the strongest argument against industrial education, as it is now carried on by Negro schools.

For twenty-five years, Negro industrial schools have been teaching industrial education. And in most of the very branches where they have been teaching, especially in building, bricklaying, carpentry, shoe-making, wagon-making, and a dozen other lines, precisely in these lines Negroes have lost in numbers and status in the South.

This is proven by Mr. Woofter's own testimony. He says, for instance, that Negro "carpenters have lost ground in skill and status." In Macon, Georgia, "The Negroes have been losing ground very rapidly in practically all the trades." In Raleigh, North Carolina, "white contractors no longer hire Negro carpenters." In Charlotte, North Carolina "Negroes have lost proportionally, as in the building trades." What light does this throw on industrial training? Does it mean that all the time and money poured into Hampton, Tuskegee, into the state schools and in dozens of other industrial schools have been wasted and in vain? No. But it does mean that, first, the Negro industrial schools have been prevented from teaching the industries which would help the Negro worker, and secondly, there are other forces which Woofter ignores ~~that~~ or does not connect with these facts ~~and~~ which have been potent in driving out the

Negro skilled worker. To illustrate: If industrial training among Negroes had been designed to increase their industrial efficiency and not merely to confine them to several trades already established, they would have been taught cotton-spinning in the cotton fields of Alabama; they would have been taught to run shoe-making machines, instead of doing cobbling by hand; they would have been taught the newer building trades, instead of confining them to carpentry, which is losing ground, even among the whites; they would have been taught the history of the labor movement and the principles of co-operation. But all this was neglected. Industrial education was used to fix a closed industrial status upon the Negroes ~~and~~ in the trades, ~~and their~~ the status of which has been changing or failing in significance. Moreover, in the new mass production, it is no longer a question of learning a skilled trade, but rather a matter of ~~firm~~ general intelligence and the opportunity of working in great co-operating groups. Here again the Negro has had no chance. And this fact, too, has handicapped him, when he is displaced, as he is so often, by machinery. Woofter tells of the displacement of Negro brickmakers, of skilled drillers, of workers in coke and puddling by machines. Under such circumstances, white workers have a difficult time, but they can turn to other trades and other occupations. The Negro does this with the greatest difficulty. One of these difficulties is his political disabilities in the South. His disfranchisement in voting leads to disfranchisement in working. Here again Mr. Woofter ~~explains~~ gives some testimony but makes no logical use of it." In Raleigh, North Carolina, a white contractor employed Negro carpenters in 1915; he was called a Jim-Crow contractor; pressure was brought to bear on him by white carpenters, and he went bankrupt."

So long as white workers come in competition with Negro workers,

and have the ballot in their hands, while the Negro is disfranchised, they can force the Negro worker out of work. No amount of industrial training is going to over come this difficulty.

37-5-102

For this reason, in Atlanta and New Orleans, Negroes have been driven out of their traditional work as garbage collectors. He speaks of political jobs gained by Negroes in the North but says ~~in~~ no word of the fact that it is not these comparatively few jobs ~~that is~~ which are the real meaning of the Northern Negro's political power; it is the additional fact that his political power keeps him from being ousted from many non-political jobs. ¶ The author stresses the need of employment offices, but there again he misses the main point. What good are employment offices going to do if the opportunity for employment remains narrow or closed? Here are great industries, like Dennisons, the National Cash Register, Sears, Roebuck and Company, Filene's, great organizations of commerce and industry throughout the United States, who not only employ large numbers of people, but have set certain standards as to wages and conditions ~~as to~~ for the protection from unemployment, ~~as to~~ for wages and opportunities for personal integrity, ~~the~~ for a chance to show ability and to gain promotion. If organizations like this, without argument or investigation, simply refused to hire persons, no matter what their talent or ability is, if they have a drop of Negro blood, how will the opening of employment bureaus remedy this case? In other words, more subtly but just as surely, Woofter's remedies for the Negro's industrial ~~education~~ status deliberately miss the chief point of color discrimination and lack of Negroes opportunities. ¶ To return to one point. Mr. Woofter, like any number of his ilk, stresses domestic service as a career for colored women.

"Industrial schools by the hundreds have been teaching "domestic science" to colored people for a generation, and the number of

37-5-103

colored domestic servants has progressively declined and will decline. If white philanthropists really wish to make domestic service a modern vocation instead of a medieval caste, they could help organize it, raise its wages, shorten its hours, protect and dignify its workers, establish a central office, with careful inspection and standards of efficiency."

It may be said that colored people themselves ought to do this, but this requires experience and capital and influence, which few colored persons have had a chance to get. But in such a development of a new and self-respecting industry, Mr. Woofter is not interested. He is interested in the old "darkey servant", paid low wages, working under conditions of personal subjection, which the working people of the world and of all colors are trying to repudiate. House service in the past, and particularly in the South, has been an open door to prositution, concubinage and peonage. Every effort to make it appear attractive has failed and ought to fail. Southern people get poor Negro servants because only those who can do nothing else go into their work. What good servants need is not simply "domestic training"; they need a new economic status. Mr. Woofter remedies in this and his anaylsis of the situation of the Negro worker, North and South, are strikingly inadequate. The real problem is not simply that of protecting Negroes from Mexican competition; it is not a vocational guidance which assumes that Negroes do not want to work and tries to force them into the lowest work with least wages and least protection; it is not simply industrial training as ordinarily understood, and it is not simply public employment bureaus.

It is, on the other hand, opening up opportunities at the top. It is giving the Negro the same wage as white men for the same work; giving the same chance for ability and promotion, and increased effort

to bring a segregated Negro and industrial ~~work~~ group into modern American industry. On this aspect of Negro employment there is hardly any mention in the Woofter Report and certainly no emphasis.

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One wonders just what the object of this report is. The figures and facts which it brings forth are perfectly well-known and have been collected and referred to a dozen times. There are practically no new facts, except a few unimportant local studies, and the results of some questionnaires, no more significant than a half-dozen others of this sort among Northern employers. But above all, there is an attempt not so much to say as to assume as for granted, the dictum that color prejudice, disfranchisement and poor schools, have nothing to do with the problem of the industrial colored employment in the United States.

We would like to ask Ira DeA. Reid, T. Arnold Hill, George Arthur and Benjamin F. Hubert, all colored men, and Alfred H. K. Stern, a representative of the Rosenwald Fund, frankly to tell us just what part they took in the collection of these facts and the formulation of these conclusions?

Woofter

The Baltimore Afro-American coined the term "Woofterism". It calls for definition and extension. Recently, the United States government has sent out a release based on a study by Dr. Woofter on "The Economic Status of the Negro". This survey was made under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago. The complete report in manuscript has been sent me by the Fund. It consists of a volume of studies with appendix made in June, 1930, and summary and recommendations by Mr. Woofter and a committee which acted with him. In our opinion, this report is neither candid, scientific nor conclusive. In fact, I regard it as a distinctly dangerous sympton. Large sums of money have recently been given to Southern white students to make studies of the American Negro. The original idea, started by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was not so much the scientific accuracy of the results, as the effort to make young Southerners seriously study the situation at first-hand, according to modern methods. This idea had a certain justification, but since then, the majority of the studies of the situation of the American Negro have been made by Southern white students. This in itself would have something to recommend it if the studies were candid, thorough, and scientific. But when a Southern white man comes to the study of the race problem with the idea of leaving out all conversial matter, and nevertheless calls the results scientific, then something is being done that is not only wrong but notorious. Dr. Woofter's earliest work, published in 1925, was a sort of pragmatic summary of the race problem, continuing the work obviously begun by Edgar Murphey. I read the book and commended it. But with his more recent studies, I have thoroughly disagreed. I think that the study of St. Helena Island is unscientific and misleading. And this study of "The Economic Status of the Negro" is even worse than that. For instance, this report treats of the Negro in agriculture. Now everybody knows, who knows anything about the South, of the main facts concerning the Negro peasant

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and farmer. It is not a question as to whose to blame for the situation, or as to what we can do about it. The facts are clear. In the country districts of the South the Negro farmer has no voice in his own government; is taxed without representation; has the poorest schools of any group in the United States; is subject to terrorism, mob violence and lynching, and over large districts is in actual peonage. There can be no question about these conditions. Or, if the Rosenwald Fund does not believe it, why not have a thorough-going investigation of the Negro farmer. Personally, I hardly think this is necessary. The testimony is too universal. Consider, for instance, the testimony and excuses of the Red Cross at the time of the Mississippi Flood in 1927. A Red Cross worker reports:

33-6-13

"A very large proportion of the colored refugees were from the big cotton plantations of Washington County, one hundred and fifty miles and more from single plantations. In this case the planter sent or brought in a list of the names of "his niggers" and transportation for them was given to him. These Negroes were given no choice in the matter. When the planter came to take them home with them, home they went. The only way to avoid this was by slipping out of camp at night and taking refuge with colored people in Vicksburg. This they frequently did, as is shown by the fact that, after the camps were closed, the files showed over 3,000 Negroes "registered but not in camp". Probably the number of "runaways" was much larger, as many of those actually in camp were never registered and their escape was relatively easy. By far the majority of the Negroes were share-croppers, held in perpetual peonage by the planter. The system is to advance credit at the plantation store, the amount of indebtedness to be subtracted from the amount due the tenant when the crop is in. The crop is never large enough to cancel the indebtedness which increases year by year.

"In the early days of the flood of 1927, when it became apparent that

their land would be inundated, the planters were greatly alarmed. They opposed the plan of the Red Cross to remove their Negro labor to refugee camps because, as they stated plainly, if the Negroes once got away they would never get them back. It was at that time not generally believed that the flood would be of any great duration and most of the planters felt that the Negroes could be cared for safely in buildings on the plantations. They opposed the Red Cross policy with enough vigor to handicap the rescue work seriously. In order to get their cooperation the Red Cross made an agreement with them, pledging themselves to return the tenants to the plantations from which they came. By this agreement the Red Cross assumed the responsibility not only of caring for the tenants during the period of emergency relief, but of protecting plantation owners against labor agents and of persuading and coercing those tenants who did not wish to return to their plantations. Miss Wagner who was in charge of work in the refugee camp at Natchez told me of this agreement and I had the same statement from Miss Pauline Marshall who was in charge at Vicksburg. The arrangement could hardly have been carried out, however, without the hearty cooperation of the National Guard. The Guardsmen, under the direction of the Red Cross, were in charge of the refugee camps in most places, with police and sentry duty. No one was allowed to enter or leave camp without a pass, except at the discretion of the Captain in charge. By these means (as previously reported) the refugees were prevented from leaving without the approval of the Red Cross and labor agents were kept from making contacts with them."

33-6-14

What sense is there in saying that a cure for this peonage consists of diversity of crops, and improving the credit system. The only cure for this situation is the enforcement of the 13th Amendment against slavery. Of course, the situation isn't as bad as this over all the South but this is much more characteristic of Southern agriculture than the studies which Woofter cites from the special exceptional state of North

Carolina. Or again, Mr. Woofter continually refers to the ignorance and sloth of the rural Negroes and their lack of "leadership". What is the reason for this? We have only to refer to the well-known educational situation. South Carolina in 1925 spent $14,673,719 for white schools, and $1,655,652 for colored schools, despite the fact that Negroes are in the majority in the state. W. K. Tate, State Supervisor of Elementary Rural Schools, said: "The Negro schoolhouses are miserable beyond all discription....most of the teachers are absolutely untrained and have been given certificates by the County Board, not because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of Negro teacher." In Georgia, the colored children form 43% of the children of the state, and they get but 9% of the school funds. The situation is just as bad in Mississippi, Alabama and Florida. It is a little better in other parts of the South, particularly in North Carolina, but taking the whole South, the reason for Negro ignorance is quite clear, and yet it is not mentioned by Mr. Woofter. So, too, he speaks of the lack of Negro leadership. He knows precisely the reasons for this, if he knows anything about the South. Over 3,500 Negroes were lynched in the United States between 1882 and the present. The centers of lynchings are the small towns which dominant the country districts. Lynching, mob violence and terrorism, has been used to drive out Negro leaders. This can be illustrated by the well-known case of Anthony Crawford. In other words

33-6-15

And this, too, in spite of the fact that the great Negro agriculture schools, like Hampton, Tuskegee and a score of others, have been teaching agriculture for twenty-five years. Have they failed in their teaching? No, but their graduates who receive any beginnings of education had too much sense to return to the country districts of the South to fight a failing battle with the conditions which they know they would find there.

33-3-16

Besides this, there are more subtle discriminations. The better firms, like Dennison's, the National Cash Register, Sears Roebuck and Company, who have established some standards of wage protection and promotion, simply do not hire colored people under any circumstances. The displacement of Negro labor by machinery has been notorious. His chance to work in the North under any circumstances depends, not simply upon his skill and ability, but upon the attitude of persons toward the Negro problem. For instance, in Newark, New Jersey, the question of unemployment was debated at the Community Forum of the Universalists Church. Among the speakers, was Cyrus Lontrel, President of the National Lock Washer Corporation, and member of the North Jersey's Employers' Association. He declared flatly: "There is no place in Newark industries for Negroes." And yet, in the face of these facts, the Woofter Report advises industrial education and home buying.

Here again for twenty-five years, Negro industrial schools have been teaching industrial education. And in most of the very branches where they have been teaching, interest in building, bricklaying, carpentry,

shoe-making, wagon-making, and a dozen other lines, precisely in these lines Negroes have lost in numbers and students in the South. Is this because the Negro industrial school, with all their money and endowment, cannot teach industry? No. It is simply because in spite of our teaching, so long as white workers come in competition with Negro workers, and have the ballot in their hands, they can force the Negro worker out of their livelihood . No amount of industrial training is going to overcome this difficulty and people cannot buy homes if they cannot earn the money to buy homes with, or if they are going to be driven out of their homes by mobs. In the face of this obviously one-sided incomplete and unfair report, the question begins to clamor for answer. Why did the Rosenwald Fund support it? Why are they publishing it? Why does the government stand back of it? Is it because of the continued idea that the condition of the Negro in this country can be settled without facing its main difficulties? Are we going to allay race prejudice with Southern _____? Are mob violence, the right to vote and public schooleeducation, of comparatively little importance in the question of employment and unemployment of Negroes in the United States. If the Rosenwald Fund and its sponsors really think this is true, then they must do something to prove it. They must make an open, honest inquiry into the facts of the case, and not sponsor a one-sided and unfair report which assumes what it does not attempt to prove. It may be said in justification of Mr. Woofter that certain persons names as sitting in conference with him are in part responsible for his conclusions. We do not believe that Ira De Reid of the National Urban League had anything to do with the Woofter conclusions and we note that in the Board that discussed the agricultural section, there was but one colored man present, and he a man well-known as being unwilling and practically unable to say what he thinks, since he occupies a position under Southern whites. In the industrial section, there were two colored men: George Arthur

and

33-6-17

and F. Arnold Hill, and we are astonished to see their names in connection with this report, although there again it is quite possible that they had nothing to do with its conclusions.

33-6-18

chus in 1930 on the threshold of depression

30-27-776

Woofter declares that the Negro in 1930 was losing ground in agriculture, in skilled trades in the South and municipal employment in the South, as waiters and barbers all over the country, as doormen and apartment janitors in the East; that he was gaining ground in mechanical industry, North and South, in business and as employees in business houses, North and South, in municipal employment in the North and in domestic service in suburbs of large cities. The unfavorable conditions affecting Negro employment was competition with the whites in the South and mechanics in the Southwest and Midwest and foreign-born elsewhere. The political conditions in the South, the closed unions, the blind ally jobs, the subvention of machinery, prejudice, including unwillingness of white workers to mix with Negroes. The favorable factors were the good record made by the new Negro employees in various lines, the acquisition of skill in the shop, the political power in the North and changing attitudes of a few unions, the new industries and new occupations of Negro businesses and white businesses serving Negroes.

30-27-776

[1931]

## Forecast

The May CRISIS will be the full spring number with our faces well set toward summer. In appropriate celebration Carlton Beals writes "Valerio Trujano": Black Joy, a story and description of African Mexico.

Arthur A. Shomburg sends us an illustrative article on General Antonio Maceo.

There will be echossof Woofterism and further announcements concerning the Du Bois Literary Prize.

In addition to this, as we have said before, we are preparing a great debate on Religion by real masters, and we are going to study the recent frescos of Aaron Douglas.

43-6-96

Forecast

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[1931]

Du Bois Literary Prize

The facts are these. Once upon a time I took a long and beautiful journey into time and space. I saw again Eisenach beneath the shadow of the Vartourg, and heard the voices of that merry party, Dora, blue-eyed and black-haired; the red-haired Elsa, the Sonverhofs, the Keims from France and little McMahon of England, and I felt again the stern presence of the Oberpharrer Herr Doctor Marbach. Then I went to Berlin to see its astonishing transformation; then trough the North Sea to Russia, that greatest and most startling of modern human experiments; out to the Volga and down through the Ukraine to the Black Sea, and so to the City of Cities, Constantinople. And, being near the edge of beggary, I wired for a Second Class cabin, Naples to New York, on the magnificent Duilio. which I loved and through Athens and Brindisi, and was informed most politely that all Second Class accommodations had gone but that they had saved me a lovely cabin in the First Class.

11-39-41

There were two objections. First its cost would land me in New York just about penniless, and secondly if there is anything from which I run, it is the kind of American snob that travels First Class in a Trans-Atlantic boat. Let humanity take me from but that, and my firm nerve which never trembled. On the boat, the ordeal of the dining room was rather well-solved. in two presences, a nice old couple from the West, and a few silent nonentities. I could eat in peace. Just as matters were settling down to my ocean-going routine of sleeping, eating, writing and dozing, I noted an American and his family, consisting of wife and daughter. He approached me and appeared to know me.

He invited me to join the family at tea, and with much politeness, I refused for the day and shunted the invitation to a distant future. I was afraid of that social triangle where the colored person comes as an invited guest and finds other friends who are surprised and shippy, if not worse. After a few days, to save my own sense of courtesy, I went over to the group in the beaitufil Salon and had tea. And thus began the most interesting of all my twelve voyages across the Atlantic. We talked and walked and sat silently together. We talked poetry and travel and the world in general. There was one birthday dinner, with champagne, quite outside the twelve-mile limit. The firendship thus begun has continued. The daughter last year married Oliver La Farge of "The Laughing Boy", and this year, out of a very blue sky, Mrs. Mathews announced her purpose to endow The Du Bois Literary Prize. With a lack of modesty, quite shamelessly I hasten to accept and commend, because I have hopes that this substantial prize as the years go by will draw the thought and genius of our young writers away from the school of Van Vechten and the later McKay, to a more human and truthful portraiture of the American Negro in the 20th Century. I do not want a prunes and prisms school but I want writers frank and unafraid, daring to produce things that are true and beautiful, and thinking last of all of the wealth which books and poems seldom bring. These are the facts and they please me, as I hope they will you.

11-23-5

Crisis - April, 1931
Carleton Beals
Sketch

Here is a charming discription of a Negro-Mexican village. Most writers and travellers in Central and South America and the West Indies very carefully omit all mention of Negro blood. They seem desperately afraid that the Negroes of all the Americas should become acquainted with each other. But Carleton Beals, one of our best authorities, has no such inhibitions and sends us this most interesting story.

43-6-92

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AWARDING OF THE
NEGRO LITERARY PRIZE

1. The prize is to be opened to any work written in English by a Negro born or naturalized in any country or island of the Western Hemisphere.

2. The word Negro shall be understood in its popular North American significance; that is, a person who traces his descent from a Negroid race of Africa.

3. The prize shall be awarded in successive years in rotation: for fiction, prose, non-fiction and poetry. In the awarding of the prize consideration shall be given to the whole volume of a writer's work during the preceding three years, except that in 1932 only the preceding year shall be taken into account and in 1933 the preceding two years.

4. If in any year no work in the class under consideration seems worthy of award, the award may be withheld, and in either of the two following years, it may be awarded in its own class concurrently with the class of that year, should this seem advisable. If not awarded, its value may be returned to the principle of the endowment fund.

5. The prize shall be awarded with the consent of the trustees by a Board which shall be selected annually by the Nominating Committee. This Board shall consist of three judges, of whom one must be of Negro descent.

6. The Nominating Committee shall consist of seven members, of whom the trustee shall be one, and of whom not less than four

32-8-17

must be of Negro descent. This Committee shall have the sole power to nominate books for consideration by the Judges. The members of the Committee shall serve for a term of five years, and may be re-elected. Upon the first formation of the Committee, its members shall be divided into classes, retiring in one, two, three, four and five years, in such manner that the terms of not more than two expire each year. When vacancies occur, they shall be filled by a majority vote of the members of the Committee, except those retiring.

7. There shall be an Advisory Board composed of 11 distinguished authors and critics. Members of this Board may recommend books for the consideration of the Nominating Committee. They will be invited to attend the awarding of the prize.

8. Publishers shall be invited to submit titles for the consideration of the Nominating Committee, and the Nominating Committee shall consider such titles, together with those recommended by the Advisory Board, and those recommended by its own members.

9. The Nominating Committee shall submit four titles to the Judges and shall accompany these by such recommendations as it may desire to make, including, if it wishes, a recommendation that no award be made. In any case, however, final decision as to the award rests with the Judges and the Trustees.

10. The Pulitzer Prize, having no class and no race limitation, is regarded as having priority over this prize. Nominations, therefore, will not be made by the Nominating Committee until the Pulitzer Awards for any year have been made. As these awardes are usually made in spring, the awards for this prize will for the present be submitted to the Judges not later than July 1, and the prize will be awarded not later than October 1.

11. The calendar year shall be used so that the prize awarded in

32-8-18

1934 will contemplate books published during 1931, 1932 and 1933.

12. If after a lapse of a period of ten years from the date of the founding of the prize, the Nominating Committee may recommend to the Trustee such changes in the time and character of the award as will seem to be best adapted to make the prize in the future calculated to carry out the wishes and plans of the donor.

32-8-19

Douglas

# The Art of Aaron Douglas

Aaron Douglas's father was a baker of Nashville, Tennessee. He was born in 1900 and educated at the Topeka, Kansas High School and studied Fine Arts at the University of Nebraska where he received his Bachelor's degree. Afterward, he studied with Winold Reiss in New York and also won a Barnes' Scholarship in Philadelphia. He first attracted notice by his beautiful illustrations for James Weldon Johnson's book of poems, "God's Trombones" and Paul Morand's "Black Magic". He has illustrated a number of other volumes and his work has appeared in periodicals. Within the last year, he has had two large commissions; one to decorate a dining room in the new Palmer House at Chicago, Illinois and the other to decoate the new library at Fisk University. The mural painting at Fisk is done flat with the modeling in three dimensions. The light from the window motif is carried on the contours of the figures. The coloring is chiefly in pale tints. Primitive and Egyptian motifs are used as well as modern, and rhythm can be seen in the positions of figures. In the North reading room the Negro is depicted in Africa and entering into Egypt with his products. There is a fetish scene with tom tom and a savage dance. Mr. Douglas himself describes the decorations in the South Room done in ultra Marine. Three symbols are used, he says, "The wings used to typify religion point upward from skull, suggesting Golgotha, the Place of Skulls. Figures in exaltation are grouped on each side of the hill. Emancipation is represented by a star held in two upraised hands. As a symbol of Education, we have used a silhouette of Jubilee Hall, the first standard college building for Negroes in America, erected in 1873." One critic says that of all the pictures one of the most impressive is the approach of the slaves to the slave ship

and the others showing the Negro at work. The figures are portrayed with power and dignity. "There are also symbolic signs showing the Negro looking toward the city and the faculty and the new library itself appears in the design. One attractive feature is the continuation in the design of the star motif in separate planes of color in the background." Between the ceiling beams is a conventional design in blue, pink and gold. In the three remaining rooms five phases of education are illustrated: music, philosophy, science, literature and the drama. The leading rooms which have been decorated are 24 by 80 feet and the paintings, five feet wide, extend from the top of the ine foot oak bookcases to the ceiling. Edwin A. Harleston of Charleston, South Carolina assisted Mr. Douglas in his work. For the College Inn at the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, Mr. Douglas has done a series of panelings on canvass. These murals depict the evolution of the Negro dance, beginning with primitive African manifestations through the cake walk up to the modern dance.

33-6-2

Du Bois

This is the speech made by the Editor of THE CRISIS when the Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York bestowed the 17th Spingarn Medal on Richard B. Harrison.

The investiture took place in Mansfield Theatre, New York, where "The Green Pastures" is beginning its second year's run. There were present the author and producer of the play, four Spingarn Medalists, the founder of the Medal and an audience of three thousand.

Most of the audience applauded the speech but there was a grim and critical group who quite evidently did not like it. What do you say?

"Still Waters."

April, 1931

Crisis

11-17-90

May 1931

a Forward

# 1. Beside the Still Waters

By W. E. B. Du Bois

*This is the speech made by the Editor of* THE CRISIS *when the Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York bestowed the 17th Spingarn Medal on Richard B. Harrison.*

*The investiture took place in Mansfield Theatre, New York, where "The Green Pastures" is beginning its second year's run. There were present, the author and producer of the play, four Spingarn Medalists, the founder of the Medal and an audience of one thousand.*

*Most of the audience applauded the speech, but there was a grim and critical group who quite evidently did not like it. What do you say?*

THIS is peculiarly the occasion to say a word of the relationship between the theatre and the American Negro. The stage still retains among us something of freedom and the forward gaze. Behind the footlights one is permitted to examine and discuss Truth under circumstances where literature is stifled, painting inarticulate, sculpture choked of convention, architecture drowned in waves of monstrosity and music fettered by death.

But this continuing freedom of dramatic art is due to no courage of managers nor merit of dramatists, and is threatened not only by the well recognized fatty degeneration of musical comedy, but by that secret, internal and devastating malady which attacks an art which is free to treat the truth, and yet afraid to look it fair in the face. This is the present attitude of the American theatre as it faces the Negro.

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THE stranger from the stars bursting in upon earth today would, without shadow of a doubt or moment of hesitancy, fasten upon the plight of the black man in America as the most dramatic stuff of the modern world. Conceive this harsh and heavy thrust of dark and primitive peoples, out of the soft green and gold and clan tradition of the tropics, into the anarchy of the Reformation and French Revolution and the puritanism of Victoria! For centuries fish fed on flesh across the whole Atlantic. The isles of the Caribbean shrieked to Boston and New Orleans; black slavery swept the valley of the Mississippi and fought white labor on Rockies and Appalachians.

Nothing escaped it—neither religion nor philosophy, literature nor art, science nor government. Across a continent, across a world, the horror and tragedy and farce of this stupendous drama flew, and beside it men and women danced, and above it rolled a never-to-be forgotten song. The souls of stricken millions descended into Hell and the third century arose again from the dead—with what blood and prickling pain—with such exquisite horror of hurt, as humanity has seldom known.

Every known element of human drama, every device of theatrical effect was here—the crucifixion of motherhood, the murder of children, the rape of homes; piteous debasement and nameless exaltation of the spirit of man. There was lacking no impudence of wealth nor depths of uttermost pits of poverty. There was the sting of whips, the fangs of dogs, the laughter of power, the refinement of cruelty and the sobbing abasement of the lowest of the low—dragged slowly and bitterly and relentlessly out over endless years. This is the thing that today America makes merry over. It is our major amusement. It is material for clowns and braying asses. It is our national and perennial joke.

Yet for four hundred years of the mad warp and woof of this land's history, the black and crimson thread of Africa has dominated every pattern, and not the double tongues of all the Dunnings and Charles Beards shall alter the red record of one jot of it.

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BEFORE this mightiest of human dramas, save here and there a lucid interval, the American theatre has sat distraught, dumb and stupid, with a vacant grin on its face: afraid of the truth, cowed by the tragedy, aghast at the very intricacy and endless implications of the plots. American playwrights have strained their inwards to submerge this drama into farce; to turn the piteous tragedy of the Negro into cheap pornographic bathos; to paint this all too human life into a degenerate reflection of their own sadistic desires. Until today on stage and in literature, in painting, in all art, save alone in music, the souls of black folk have been submerged in fetid filth and white pimps who finance and exploit black prostitutes in "Nigger Heaven" have quite concealed the blazing Hell beneath; and persuaded a complacent world that Harlem has no light of common day; that underneath our sale of laughter lie no pools of bitter tears.

Not only has the American theatre refused to face the drama of the Negro problem, but it has opposed every effort of the Negro himself to find dramatic expression on the stage. It is not enough, in this great and free commonwealth of the spirit of man, that most training schools of drama and art are closed to black folk; it is not enough that in the annual nation-wide radio audition no voice of an angel in a black skin may be heard; it is not enough that the American schools at Fontainbleau, supported by the leaders in American painting, sculpture and architecture, have sought to extend the American color line across France—all this perhaps must be tolerated and even awaited in arts dominated by money, by the private profit ideal and by cheap and smug convention. But in the freer air of the drama, despite its all too evident pandering to monopoly and the intellectual mob, it is astonishing to realize the fight which the black actor has had to gain the merest shadow of foothold on Broadway. No one is child enough to believe that a black skin makes an actor, or that the suffering of a people creates of itself the delicate art to portray it. But when the artist does appear, proven and clear, it is almost unbelievable that his fellow white artists would so long and so persistently deny him full recognition.

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WHEN Europe of the early 19th Century recognized the great Jewess, Rachel, and the great Negro, Aldridge, as the two outstanding leaders of the stage, whom governments and science and art delighted to honor, that black man could not put foot on a single legitimate stage in the land of his birth. But even after slavery, and from 1870 down nearly to our day, the Negro actor could appear at Court only as the king's fool, with cap and bells, with quip and joke, ready over his own heartbreak to guffaw lustily and dance fantastically for the massed amusement of morons. Even when the unchangeable logic of a particular plot demanded black characters, up until yesterday, even these parts must be taken by white folk with

¶ Ezekiel Crompton, Negro fireman of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad saved the lives of over 200 passengers on the Pan-American Flyer when the engineer died at the train throttle. Crompton took control of the engine by jamming on the air brakes and stopped the twenty-one Pullman coaches which had run past the signal lights and were on the edge of an open drawbridge.

¶ More than 700 Negro farmers took part in the Annual conference of Negro Farmers' Week, which was conducted at Utica Institute, Jackson, Mississippi, during March.

¶ The 41st natural gas well in the Jackson, Mississippi, field blew in Sunday, March 22. This is owned by the Pioneer Oil and Gas Company, of which Dr. S. D. Redmond, a colored man, is the leading figure.

## *MIDDLE WEST*

¶ Lloyd Cook, a colored high school student of Gary, Indiana, was awarded first prize in the Model Airplane Building contest sponsored by The Palace Theatre. The contest was open to all boys of the city who submitted models.

¶ Henry J. Richardson, Jr., a Negro attorney, was appointed by Hon. William A. Pickens, Judge of Superior Court Number Three, Indianapolis, Indiana, to preside during the morning session over one of the Superior Courts, on February 18th.

¶ A new Y. M. C. A. building consisting of forty-seven dormitory rooms, gymnasium, swimming pool, cafeteria, billiard room, and reading room has been erected at a cost of $235,000 for colored men and boys at Toledo, Ohio.

¶ Leon R. Harris of Moline, Ill., has been appointed by President Hoover as a member of the committee on Negro Housing. Mr. Harris is Secretary of the National Federation of Colored Farmers and editor of their official publication.

¶ Victory Life Insurance Company, of Chicago, Illinois, in making a report for the year 1930, shows a net increase in its volume of business; its premium income was increased $55,000 and its increase in assets is $150,000. The total admitted assets of this company are now approximately a million dollars.

¶ Governor H. G. Leslie of Indiana has signed the Anti-Lynching Bill recently passed by the legislature. This law calls for the immediate suspension of the sheriff of a county where a lynching takes place and allows action for a maximum of $10,000 property damage and $10,000 action by dependents of the lynched victim. It also provides for a three to ten year sentence for participants in a mob.

¶ Delta Chapter of Phi Beta Sigma in competition with six white fraternities at Kansas State University, won a loving cup for the best short stunt staged on the annual Y. M. C. A. program.

¶ Theodore M. Berry has completed a survey of the status of the Negro in Industry and Occupational Opportunities in Cincinnati, Ohio. This study was conducted under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce and City Public Welfare Division. Mr. Berry was guest lecturer at the University of Cincinnati during a recent course in Social Psychology.

¶ The Pen and Palette Art Club held a recent exhibit at the local Y. M. C. A., Detroit, Michigan. The exhibit consisted of fifty-seven pictures by thirteen artists. Judges for the exhibit were Paul Homore of the Scareb Club, Reginald Bennett of the Arts and Craft Society, Steven Nastefogel of the Detroit Civic Theatre, and Henry G. Stevens, a patron of the club.

¶ Lincoln University, Mo., laid the cornerstone for a new college hall for which $250,000 has been appropriated. Special excursion trains were run from Jefferson City in honor of the dedication.

¶ V. D. Johnston, who has long been connected with the Victory Life Insurance Company of Chicago, has resigned to take up work at Howard University. He is a man of unusual ability in business and accounting.

¶ In the city hospital at Cleveland quiet firm insistence has secured one Negro doctor in the Out-Patients' staff, two colored graduate nurses, regularly employed, and five colored student nurses in the training school. Another Negro interne will be admitted in the fall.

¶ The Association of Boys' Work Section of the Western Region Y. M.

(*Will you please turn to page* 176)

*The Alake of Abeokuta, Reigning Ruler in Nigeria, B. W. Africa, With His British Military Attendant.*

Crisis 1931

## Forecast

We apologize to those of our friends who are unable to secure a copy of the June CRISIS. To our own embarassment the whole edition was sold out before June 1. We have tried to print enough of the present number but suggest that this number and the two succeeding numbers are of such unusual interest that readers can only be sure of securing copies by becoming regular subscribers.

43-6-105

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The August number is our 20th Annual Education Number. It will have educational news and criticism; C. G. Woodson will sum up his current critique of Negro education; Arthur P. Davis writes for us again, and we are expecting an article by John Dewey and notes by six leading university presidents.

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The September number will be in some respects the most remarkable number we have issued. Six United States Senators will give advice to Negroes on future political activity.

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Our Children's Number comes in October. We are selecting a few of the best photographs. They should reach us in August.

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We want immediately the photographs of all colored recipients of the degree of A.M. and Ph.D. during 1931, and of all recipients of the degree of A.B. who led their class in scholarship or joined the Phi Beta Kappa or received other distinctions.

Postscript
July, 1931

33-6-25

Mr. Johnson's Dinner

On May 14, 1931, a dinner was given to James Weldon Johnson, poet, diplomat, public servant, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. There were 300 persons present, representing all walks of life. The dinner was in honor of Mr. Johnson's work as Executive Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., which he has just given up and also by a month anticipated his 60th birthday. J. Rosamond Johnson, his brother and long his co-worker, was deservedly the chief guest. It was his genius in music that gave James Weldon Johnson his first wide opportunity in the world. Other speakers were Walter White, W. E. B. Du Bois, J. E. Spingarn, Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to the United States, Heywood Broun, Mary McLeod Bethune and Carl Van Doren. Mr. Johnson's poems were read by Mary White Ovington and Robert W. Bagnall and a poem dedicated to him by Countee Cullen. We can not characterize the dinner more felicitously than by quoting an editorial in the New York Nation:

"Public dinners are frequently a bore. Public testimonial dinners at which some luckless individual hears himself the recipient of flowery encomiums and then makes a feeble effort to reply are more often a bore than not. But on May 14 in New York City there was held a testimonial dinner that from start to finish was nothing less than a memorable, exciting, and altogether moving occasion. This was the dinner given in honor of James Weldon Johnson on his retirement from his work as secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was a far cry from a welfare dinner attended by both races about thirty years ago, hen the white participants were bitterly lampooned in the press for having publicly dined with Negroes, to the dinner given for Mr. Johnson. At the

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ster there were hundreds of guests, both white and colored; the dinner was held at one of the largest of the New York hotels; the most obvious spirit of good-will prevailed. More than that, the program, made up of agreeably short speeches by various associates and admirers of Mr. Johnson through his long life as song-writer, poet, diplomat, and public man, was varied and interesting throughout. And the reply of the guest of honor was long, composed, free of false modesty, admirably phrased, and evidenced sufficient emotional strain without reducing its author to speechless embarrassment. There are few men in the country of whatever color who could have called forth such whole-hearted tributes from persons so enlightened; there are few who could have responded to these tributes with such distinction."

33-6-26

undated

~~The Tribute & The Telegram~~

The Boss

## The Perfect Vacation

I have discovered, at least for myself, the perfect vacation. It was taken not in vacation time, when I have found rest quite impossible, but in February. It was taken in the South but not in Florida. I went first to Charleston, South Carolina and found sunshine and rain, the great tree where the companions of Vesey, the Rebel, were hanged. The lure of old King Street and the Battery. I had supper with the young wife and allied to Somerville. I heard a young brown physician tell now he was held in peonage in South Georgia, and I met white Secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. and conversed with them with great interest. There was a beautiful new Teachers' Home at Avery Institute and a lovely log cabin in the country where we spent part of the day. The little colored bank stands staunch. Charleston is one of the few cities in the United States that has not been hammered into convention. It is Southern and full of every variety of Jim-Crow, but it is lovely and curiously satisfying.

38-12-17

To avoid a part of the Jim-Crow car, I rode by the State College at Orangeburg and had an astonishing sermon. But the school is a miracle. It has been pulled out of the grip of the South Carolina Legislature by a brown statesman. The chief thing that I noticed in Augusta was in the station: "Colored Men—Colored Women—White Men—Ladies".

The most glaring thing about ———, so I am convinced, is its monuments. The awful things we are compelled to build in order to remember the victims. In the South, particularly, human ingenuity has been put to it to explain on its war monuments the Confederacy. Of course, the plain truth of the matter would be an inscription something like this: "Sacred to the memory of those who fought to

perpetuate human slavery." But that reads with increasing difficulty as time goes on. It does, however, seems to be overdoing the matter to read on a North Carolina Confederate monument: "Died fighting for liberty."

Then, I came to Atlanta and to the ghost of Atlanta University. I heard all the voices of the past and found how in this transition period the children of old A.U. are serving. And yet birth-pains can never be made altogether pleasant and I think I see in Atlanta the finest opportunity for a really great Negro University that I have seen anywhere. Here on three different campuses are three seperated but federated institutions; a mens' college; a womens' college, and a University. They are soon to be linked by a great library, and they are going to look down upon the terrible city. I have seen nothing more disconcerting in its implications to Atlanta. Conceive every mistake and crime that modern organized industrial life has committed and then go down to Atlanta and behold a frantic city, hurling itself blindly along the same paths; industrial exploitation, color caste, new millionaires, vast stores, prostitutes, gambling, and a new city hall with a tower. Then I went down into the country, beyond empty farms and wide lost spaces to Fort Valley. I had a room furnished with flowers and a view of a quadrangle of new and well-proportioned buildings. There were four events in my stay; a class in journalism, which helped me dummy the April Crisis, with enthusiasm and questions; a party with young and eager teachers; an excursion down to South Georgia to hear the lucious voice of Marian Anderson, and finally, a ham show. Country folk brought in their hams and chickens and other things for competitive exhibition. And city folk, white and colored, talked to them and gave them advice. They told them to be thrifty and put their money in the bank—two thousand banks have failed in

38-12-18

the South last year. They told them other things equally wise and foolish. The farmers had evidently heard this nonsense too often to be particularly impressed but they themselves impressed me. And so did the school. It is a lovely oasis but Good Lord, the surrounding desert! I saw the old prison burial ground at Andersonville and the two monuments, Federal and Confederate making faces at each other. I cam by Durham with the new buildings of the State College and particularly that extraordinary dining room and kitchen. Then I came happily home. Of course—and over all of this was the race problem and the rules of Jim-Crow. There must be separate cars on the railroads; most of those that I rode in were not bad, not, of course, as good as the white car, but both cars fairly empty. From Greensboro to Durham, for instance, there was place for thirty-four persons in the car. There were three persons present. The colored train porters are disappearing. There is no one to help the colored people on or off with their baggage; there is no step for them. The entrances to the depot are often insulting, particularly at Macon and the terminal station at Atlanta. It is better at Greensboro and best in Atlanta. There is, of course, difficulty in the stations about tickets and telegrams, papers and Pullmans. And above all, there is still the custom of murder. It is extraordinary in the South how people are killed! In Macon, a white worker, quite an ordinary person, forbids his daughter to marry a young white mechanic. She gets married. The father invites the son-in-law to dinner and casually kills him. "What is this town noted for?" I asked of the driver, as we wheeled through a South Carolina village. "Murder," he said sententiously.

38-12-19

1937

# The Negro and Communism

The Scottsboro case has brought before the American Negro the question of its attitude toward Communism.

1. The importance of the Russian Revolution can not be gainsaid. It is easily the greatest event in the world since the French Revolution and possibly since the fall of Rome. The experiment is increasingly successful. Russia occupies the center of the world's attention today and as a state it is recognized by every civilized nation, except the United States, Spain, Portugal and some countries of South America.

2. The challenge to the capitalistic form of industry and to the governments which this form dominates is more and more tremendous because of the present depression. If Socialism as a form of government and industry is on trial in Russia, capitalism as a form of industry and government is just as surely on trial throughout the world and is more and more clearly recognizing the fact.

3. It has always been felt that the United States was an example of the extraordinary success of capitalistic industry, and that this was proven by the high wage paid labor and the high standard of intelligence and comfort prevalent in this country. Moreover, for many years, democratic political control of our government by the masses of the people made it possible to invisage without violence any kind of reform in government or industry which appealed to the people. Recently, however, the people of the United States have begun to recognize that their political power is curtailed by organized capital in industry and that in this industry democracy does not prevail; and that until wider democracy does prevail in industry, democracy in government is seriously curtailed and often quite in-

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effective.

4. Moreover, there is in the United States one class of people who more than any other suffer under present conditions. Because of wholesale disfranchisement and a system of color caste, discriminatory legislation and widespread propaganda, 12,000,000 American Negroes have not on a minimum of that curtailed freedom whihh the right to vote and influence on public opinion gives to white Americans. And in industry Negroes are for historic and social reasons upon the lowest round.

5. The proposals to remedy the economic and political situation in America range from new legislation, better administration and government aid, offered by the Republican and Democratic parties, on to liberal movements fathered by Progressives, the Farmer-Labor movement and the Socialists, and finally to the revolutionary proposals of the Communists. The Progressives and Socialists propose in general increased government ownership of land and natural resources, state control of the larger public services and such progressive taxation of incomes and inheritance as shall decrease the number and power of the rich. The Communists, on the other hand, propose an entire sweeping away of the present organization of industry, the ownership of land resources, machines and tools by the state, the conducting of business by the state under incomes which the state limits. And in order to introduce this complete Socialistic regime Communists propose a dictatorship by the working class, as the only sure, quick and effective path.

6. With these appeals in his ears, what shall the American Negro do? In the letters from United States Senators published

in this issue of THE CRISIS, we find, with all the sympathy and good will expressed, a prevailing helplessness when it comes to advice on specific action. Reactionaries like Fess, Conservatives like Capper, Progressives like Borah and Norris, all can only say to the Negro: You have done as well as could be expected; you suffer many present disadvantages; there is nothing that we can do to help you, and your salvation lies in patience and further effort on your own part. The Socialist, as represented by Norman Thomas in the February CRISIS, invites the Negro as a worker to vote for the Socialist Party as the party of workers. He offers the Negro no panacea for prejudice and caste but assumes that the uplift of the white worker will automatically emancipate the yellow, brown and black.

Finally, the Scottsboro case comes and puts new emphasis on the appeal of the Communists. Undertaking for the defense of eight Alabama black boys, who without a shadow of doubt have been wrongly accused of crime, the Communists not only ask to have the exclusive defense of these victims, but they proceed to build on this case an appeal to the American Negro to join the Communist movement as the only solution of their problem.

Immediately, these two objects bring two important problems: first, can the Negroes with the present philosophy and leadership defend the Scottsboro cases successfully? Secondly, even if they can, will such defense help them to solve their problem of poverty and caste? If the Communistic leadership in the United States had been broadminded and far sighted; it would have acknowledge frankly th that the honesty, earnestness and intelligence of the N.A.A.C.P. during twenty years of desperate struggle proved this organization to be the only one and its methods the only methods available to

defend these boys and it would have joined capitalists and laborers north and south, black and white in every endeavor to win freedom for victims threatened with judicial murder. Then beyond that and with Scottsboro as a crimson and terrible test they would have proceeded to point out that legal defense alone, even if successful, will never solve the larger Negro problem but that further and more radical steps are needed.

7. The Communists were neither wise nor intelligent. Led on their southern jaunt by a number of unprincipled fools, they proceeded to accuse the N. A. A. C. P. of stealing, misuse of funds, lack of interest in the cases, cowardly surrender to malign forces, inefficiency and a policy of do-nothing. Now whatever the N. A. A. C. P. has lacked, it is neither dishonest nor cowardly, and already events are proving clearly that the only effective defense of the Scottsboro boys is that carefully organized, engineered and headed by the N. A. A. C. P., and that the success of this defense is hindered and made doubtful by the ill-considered and foolish tactics of the Communists. If the Communists want the Scottsboro lads murdered, they are following the exact tactics calculated to insure this. Lying and deliberate misrepresentations are old capitalistic bourgeois weapons which Communists ought to be ashamed to use. The final exploit at Camp Hill is worthy of the Russian Black-Hundreds whoever promoted it: black sharecroppers, half slaved and desperate were organized into a "Society for the Advancement of Colored People" and then induced to meet and protest against Scottsboro. Sheriff and mob killed four and imprisoned 34. If this was instigated by the white and colored , it is too despicable for words.

9. The ultimate object of the Communists was not merely nor chiefly

to save the boys accused at Scottsboro; it was to make this case a center of agitation to expose the helpless condition of Negroes, and to prove that anything less than the radical Communist program could not emancipate them. In their eagerness, and because Communist strategy is determined abroad where the Negro problem in America is not understood, the Communists missed their chance to make a strong appeal to the American Negro. Beyond the Scottsboro case, they hastened to discredit the present thought of leadership of the black folk. God knows that leadership is vulnerable, but considering what it has done in a generation it deserves from the world's Reformers something better than lies. The truth about the black man's failure to emancipate himself is difficult enough to explain and defend, but idiotic falsehoods are criminal and silly.

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For instance, it is fantastic to explain the American Negro group as composed of bougeois exploiters and petty capitalists allied with white capital in exploiting a black helpers ignorant proletariat. Nothing remotely resembling this exists among us. The differences of income among American Negroes is probably smaller than among any modern group of similar size. Ninety percent of the Negroes are employed by whites and the ten percent employed by Negroes are more largely cases of economic co-operation than exploitation. Negro capital consists of savings invested in homes and insurance; in lands for cultivation and in tools. Negro professional men--lawyers, physicians, nurses and teachers (80,000 out of 12 million) work for an income 50% less than whites and sacrifice time and skill for their fellows. The comparatively small group of merchants (23,000 out of 12 million) have for the most part small storesand small stocks, hire colored clerks, treat colored customers with courtesy and make a personal profit less than a normal American wage. There is

no group of people on earth who have so unselfishly made common cause with the lowest of their race as educated American Negroes and it is their sacrifice and their sacrifice alone that has saved the American freedman from annihilation and degradation.

This is the class of leaders who have directed and organized and defended black folk in America and whatever their shortcomings and mistakes—and they are legion—their one great proof of success is the survival of the American Negro as the most intelligent and effective groupnof colored people fighting white civilization face to face and on its own ground, on the face of the earth. The quintessence and final expression of this leadership is the N. A. A. C. P. For twenty years it has fought a battle more desperate than any other race conflict of modern times and it has fought with honesty and courage. It deserves from Russia something better than a kick in the back from the young jackasses who are leading Communism in America today.

10. Beyond the Scottsboro cases and the slurs onNNegro leadership, there still remains for Negroes and Communists, the pressing major questions --How shall American Negroes be emancipated from continuing slavery? In answer to this both Socialists and Communists attempt to show the Negro that his interest lay with that of white labor. That kind of talk to the American Negro is like a red rag to a bull. Throughout the history of the Negro in America white labor has been the black man's enemy, his oppressor, his red murderer. Mobs, riots and trade union exclusiveness have been used to kill, harass and starve black men. White labor,disfranchised Negro labor in the South is keeping them out of jobs and decent living quarters in the North, and is curtailing their education and civil and social privileges throughout the nation. White laborers have been the backbone of the Ku Klux Klan and have lynched 2,500 Negroes since 1882.

Socialists and Communists explain this easily. White labor in its ignorance and poverty has been misled by the propaganda of white capital, whose policy is to divide labor into classes, races and unions and hit one against the other. There is an immense amount of truth in this explanation. The newspapers, the standards of social elegibility, the competition for better paid jobs all work in the United States to set white against black. But white American laborers are not old fools. And the more intelligent they are, the higher they rise, the more efficient they are, the higher they rise, the more efficient they become, the more determined is white American labor is to keep Negroes under their heels. It is intelligent white labor that today keeps Negroes out of the trade, refuses him a decent home to live in and nullifies his vote. And whatever ideals white labor strives for in America, it would surrender every one before it would recognize a Negro as a man.

The Socialist party knows this. The Socialists long since surrendered completely on the Negro problem. They allude to it vaguely and as afterthought in their books and platforms. But the American Socialist party is out to emancipate the white worker and if this does not automatically free the colored man, he can continue his slavery.

11. The American Communists have made a courageous fight against the color line among the workers. They have solicited and admitted Negro members. They have insisted in their strikes and agitations to let Negroes fight with them and that the object of their fighting is for black workers as well as white workers. But in this they have gone dead against the thought and desire of the overwhelming mass of white workers, and face a dead blank wall. The Socialists have learned this and have calmly unloaded the Negro problem. The only time that so fine a man and so logical a reasoner as Norman Thomas becomes vague and incoherent is when

47-6-280

he touches the black man and consequently he touches him as seldom as possible. When, therefore, Negro leaders refuse to lay down arms and surrender their brains and action to "Nigger" hating white workers, liberals and socialists understand exactly the reasons for this and spend what energy they can spare in pointing out to white workers the necessity of recognizing Negroes. But the Communists, younger and newer, discounting the depths of the hell of American prejudice, pour the vials of their wrath on the Negroes and try to explain the intolerable situation on the basis of an imported pattern that does not fit. For instance, from Moscow comes this statment to explain Scottsboro and Camp Hill:

"Again as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the American Bourgeosie is attemptint to go against proleterian social opinion. It is attempting to carry through its criminal provocation to the very end."

This is absolutely wrong. The persons who are killing blacks in Northern Alabama and demanding blood sacrifice are the white workers—share-croppers and artisans. The small capitalists are against mob-law and violence and would listen to reason and justice in the long run because industrial peace increases profits. On the other hand, the white workers want to kill "Niggers", and the Communists seizing leadership of the poorest and most ignorant blacks, are leading them to inevitable slaughter and jail and slavery while they hide safely in Chattanooga and Harlem. The American Negroes do not propose to be the shock troops, driven out in front to death, cruelty and humiliation in order to win victories for white workers who hate and despise them.

They know clearly that the real interests of the white worker is the ast of the black worker, but until the white worker recognizes this

the black worker is compelled in sheer self defense to refuse to be made the sacrificial goat.

12. How does this work out in practice? The black American worker has received polite protection, common school and higher education, political power, legal defense and a chance to work and live in America not from the white working class but from the small capitalists and the rich philanthropist. No amount of threats, prancing and yelling can alter this bed-rock of facts. The white workers of the South would sweep the Negro public schools into the sea tomorrow if they were not restrained by the bourgeoise courts. Rich philanthropy has given the Negro a dozen colleges and 40,000 black college graduates; white capitalists have forced open occupations for two million Negroes in American industry in the last ten years. And finally the reaction and capitalistic Supreme Court of the United States is today the black man's only bulwark against systematic ignorance, complete disfranchisement, caste and virtual slavery in America. Socialists and Communists may sneer and say that the capitalists sought profit, cheap labor, strike breakers and the training of conservative leaders. They did. But we sought food and clothes and knowledge to starveoff death and slavery and only damned fools would have refused this narrow path upward.

13. Finally, where does this leave the Negro? As a practical program, it leaves him just where he was before the Russian Revolution; sympathetic with Russia and hopeful for its ultimate success in establishing a Socialistic state. Sympathetic with the efforts of the American workingman to establish democratic control of industry in this land; but nevertheless, fighting on the ancient battleground, led by

43-6-284

the N. A. A. C. P., to maintain and increase the Negro's right to a political vote, notwithstanding the fact that this vote means increasingly less and less even to white voters; determined to vindicate in the courts the Negro's civil rights and American citizenship, even though he knows how the courts are prostituted to the power of wealth. And above all, determined by plain talk and agitation to show the intolerable injustice with which America and the world treats the colored peoples and insisting that in this injustice the white workers of Europe and America are just as culpable as the white owners of capital and that these workers can gain black men as allies only and insofar as they frankly, fairly and completely abolish the Color Line.

Communism

# The American Negro and Communism

The Scottsboro case has brought squarely before the American Negro the question of his attitude toward communism, and THE CRISIS wishes to discuss this frankly and openly. 1. Of the important and world-changing meaning of the Russian Revolution and the rise of the revolutionary union of Soviet republics there can be no question. Russia is today making the greatest experiment in human relations and human industry which the modern world has known. That experiment is increasingly successful. There is today no reasonable doubt as to the stability of the Soviet Republic and of the possibility of realizing the Socialist form of industry in one of the largest and most important nations of the earth. Thoughtful persons have still a right to be doubtful as to wehther this organization of industry will be as effective as that of private capitalism or will give the mass of men as much wealth, happiness and comfort. Such questions only time can answer. But no reasonable human being can today doubt but that land and capital can be owned by the state, industry conducted by the state and the distribution of income successfuly dominated by the state. Today Russia is pointing a way which every civilized country will in time follow.

2. Does that mean that every modern country must follow the path of Russia? It certainly does not. In the first place, the situation in Russia and the end of the Czarist regime was humanly unbearable . There might have been a way out which did not involve bloody revolution, but that is very doubtful. No one who seriously reads Russia's history from Peter the Great to Nicholas the Second, can successfully question the inevitability of the Russian Revolution. But this does not mean that war, murder and revolution is always and

everywhere the answer to human poverty and suffering and the difficulty of rational argument with Communist today is like many religions which insists that the path to the Socialist state must always and everywhere follow the Marxian dogma of Revolution.

3. If anywhere in the world the situation is so different as to modify any apriori conclusion, it is in the United States. This is not a happy country. It has a vast amount of suffering and poverty under normal conditions. Nevertheless, what the United States means in the world is the extraordinary high level of comfort which the working class have reached here. Nowhere and at no time in the history of human endeavor have such vast numbers of what the world calls ordinary people been so well supplied as in America with food, clothes, shelter, and even minor luxuries, or have had so great a chance for education and social advancement. This does not mean that we have reached or approached any millennium. We have still in the United States dogma, class distinction, color cast, lawlessness, lynching and murder. Nevertheless, the laboring class in the United States has gone further than elsewhere in the world. Not only that, but they have a chance here through peaceful, legal political power, to make whatever further changes are necessary for their uplift and the realization of wider human ideals. They are to be sure hindered from realizing this through a press and news service owned and dominated by wealth and the owners of organized industry, and every pressure and social power and punishment is brought to bear to keep the ordinary American from gaining the facts or thinking straight. Nevertheless, there is no absolute prohibition. Men can think in America. They can know, if they have the will and the desire. It is a matter of moral strength and social sacrifice.

4. There is in America one class of persons who more than any

37-6-2

other class have a right to be dissatisfied with their social, political and economic tradition. And this is the ten million descendants of former slaves. They look back upon a bitter history of oppression, upon a present status of poverty and studied insult, and upon an uncertain future back of a determined color bar. To these persons the proposal is now being made that they join a revolutionary movement in order to better their condition. What answer shall they make? First of all, there is no necessity of their getting hysterical. They have a right to consider their own welfare no matter what their welfare may involve. They have a right to listen to the arguments of Communists and the right of Communists to appeal to them should be strenuously maintained. Free speech does not mean that you should have a right as much as you please about the things which you think are right while the man who is advocating what you earnestly believe is vicious or wrong, should be clubbed, jailed and . Free speech means that wrong should have the same freedom as right to voice itself. But what is right and wrong under these circumstances? What does the great Russian experiment say to American Negroes? It has from the beginning taken a stand absolutely against racial prejudice and racial discrimination. It may be argued that as yet this has involved no penalities, sacrifice or responsibility because the color problem has really not touched Russia except in the case of the Chinese and because in America the intransegant attitude of young Communism on color discrimination has had as yet but few opportunities to test itself. But what is the Negro called upon to do in view of this? In the July CRISIS a Communist editor seeks to point out that there is no path of escape for the black American except through revolution. He says that organization of the consuming power of the Negro is worthless; that a segregated racial economy is impossible and that any collaboration with the white employing class

37-6-3

will merely rivet present shackles. If this is true, what does he propose? He proposes that the Negro unite with the white laboring class.

5. Most Negroes would be disposed to laugh angrily and suggest a proposal. But what they have suffered from the white laboring class is for them almost too terrible to contemplate. From revolutionary times down to our day mobs and riots led by white workers have harried, killed, or driven out black workers. In New England, in New York, in Philadelphia, In Ohio and throughout the South, there have been two centuries of this sort of thing. Today, the Negro stands disfranchised in the Southern states because white workers voting for his disfranchisement and still are determined to maintain it. If the mass of the Negroes are still ignorant in the United States, it is because white workers refuse to allow them to have decent schools, and if the statute books of the South are stained with Jim-Crow legislation to impossible insult and caste upon Negroes, it is because these laws are initiated and maintained by white workers. It will be seen that the white workers did this and do it in ignorance; that they are the tools of the rich and the powerful who really gain by this division in the ranks of labor. There is much truth in this. The white laborers who lynch Negroes in the South are undoubtedly encouraged in their license by white employers who use race enemity to lower wages and keep them low. But at the same time, no matter what the cause of this ignorance, injustice and oppression is, the results of it are just as disastrous for black folk, and to tell one miserable victim that his clear path for emancipation is to unite with nine ignorance bullies who are engaged in holding his face in the mud is to put humble opinion just slightly overdoing the matter of advice.

6. If the Negro should join and lead a revolutionary labor

37-6-4

movement in the United States, he would be the shock troops of a world war. He would be annihilated and swept out of existence. The very laboring class with whom he was trying to co-operate and for whom he was fighting, would murder him first. He would have no earthly chance for triumph, no matter how deep his hurt and how high his ideal. But is the Negro at the place where his only recourse is blood and revolution? Manifestedly he is not. He may be and is the hind mob in the rise and evolution of American labor, but his progress, both absolutely and relatively, has been so enormous and encouraging that he has a perfect right to believe that the main lines of his advance in the past still remain the main lines of his present endeavor. The American Negro today is industrially, educationally and financially the best situated group of colored laborers in the world, and they are better off than the great mass of Chinese; they are better off than the Japanese working man; they are far ahead of the East Indians; they have outdistanced all Africa, except certain groups in British West Africa; they are ahead of the West Indies and of the working masses in Central and South America. They have a perfect right to consider that this for a single generation marks the advance of which they have a right to be proud.

37-6-5

7. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that their great danger today is their sinking back into a sort of fatalistic and satisfied determination to change thinking in order that it would extend his subject for the day, and that which neglect the thought and advance and ideals of the world around about them. There is no doubt of the message which Communism and Communism and Socialism has for the American Negro. He is apt to consider that the present capitalistic organization of industry is a part of the Ten Commandments. He is apt to think that the American ideal of accumulated industry should be the Negro ideal. His disorganization and dissension arising

from slavery is apt to blind him to the unbelievable need of socialized endeavor and club initiative. Under these circumstances, what is he to do?

7. One set of efforts upon which he has gradually concentrated his thought and advance has been the N. A. A. C. P. The N. A. A. C. P. is not a political party. It does not pretend to present a social panacea for all ills. Its Board of Directors is composed of men of many minds, different training, and different ideals, but its policy does call for an unselfish crusade to make 12,000,000 Americans physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult.

37-6-6

Moreover, it does not stop with the mere theoretic statement of these objects. It seeks by practical effort to realize them. It has fought successfully against unfair laws involving residential segregation, unfair laws against marriage, unfair interpretation of the Constitution which permits disfranchisement. It has particularly fought against lynching. And all things considered, there is not a social organization in the United States that can point to a more consistent record of effort and advancement toward its ends than the N. A. A. C. P.

8. There comes now one of those terrible miscarriages of justice, bound up with color prejudice which this nation periodically faces. Theodore Dreiser has stated the case succinctly and clearly.

"The State of Alabama has set July 10th as the date for the judicial massacre of eight children. It took three days in all for a Scottsboro, Alabama court to try, convict, and sentence these eight boys to death in the electric chair—lynching sublimated by legality.

"The charge was rape. But the charge was an afterthought. The boys—Negroes, fourteen to twenty years of age—were arrested for

gave up the Negro problem. Today it is beginning to see its mistake. Communism faces a similar dillemma: it can rush into revolution following an untested theory and backed by mere handfull of blacks and whites, or recognize that the color line is in America a greater problem than the class struggle and one which they must bare first. In other words, before asking Negroes to join white labor the communists must get white labor to join in the invitation. If any considerable proportion of the white laboring class today solicited and desired the co-operation of American Negroes, we as a predominately laboring class would be compelled to accept and pool our interests with theirs. We have never been invited and we are not likely to be soon.

37-6-7

13. Because of this curious situation is the Negro absolved of thought and action. In this critical time of world revolt, shall we just sit by passively and look on; shall we sink into a sort of faltalistic and satisfied determination, neglecting the advance in thought and ideals and especially in work, wage and industry which is seething in the world about us. There is no doubt of the message which Communism and Socialism has for the American Negro. He is apt to consider that the present capitalistic organization of industry is a part of the Ten Commandements. He is apt to think that the American Ideal of organized industry must be the Negro ideal. His disorganization and dissension arising from the tutelage of slavery is apt to blind him to the unbelievable need of socialized endeavor and group initiative. The Negro is not a capitalist, he is a laborer. There is as yet no danger of the exploitation of the Negro worker by Negro employees. Our accumulation of capital consists in the owning of small homes and savings accounts and even smaller investments in retail trade. Our danger is that our ideal should become that of exploitation, luxury

and great personal wealth. But is the only alternative to this ideal revolution? Is the Negro at the place where his only chance is blood and revolution? Manifestedly, he is not. He may be and is the hindmat in the rise and evolution of American labor, but his progress, both absolutely and relatively, has been so enormous and encouraging in a generation that he has a perfect right to believe in peace and progress by agitation and political power. Just as white labor in American is economically better off than white European labor, so colored labor in America is far ahead of colored labor elsewhere. The American Negro today is industrially, educationally and financially the best situated group of colored laborers in the world. They are better off than the great mass of Chinese. They are better off than all the best Japanese working men. They are far ahead of the East Indians; they have outdistanced all Africa, except certain groups in British West Africa; they are ahead of the West Indies and of the working masses in Central and South America. They have a perfect right to consider that this for a single generation from slavery marks an advance of which they have a right to be proud.

37-6-8

14. What methodsused by the Negro for his past advance are still wo worth following? Manifestedly, his thrift and saving, his home-buying and his acceptance of such work as he can get if better does not offer his . Beyond this, he must fight for better things and the first effort toward this is to educate his children certainly to read and write and if possible to send them to high school and to give the gifted college training. The content and method of this education will not be suited to his best interests until he gains more social power. This social power will come by fighting according to the program of the N. A. A. C. P.

The N. A. A. C. P. is not a political party. It does not pretend

to present a social panacea for all ills. Its Board of Directors is composed of men of many minds, different training, and different ideals, but its policy does call for an unselfish crusade to make 12,000,000 Americans "physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult."

Moreover, it does not stop with the mere theoretic statement of these objects. It seeks by practical effort to realize them. It has fought successfully against unfair laws involving residential segregation, unfair laws against marriage, unfair interpretation of the Constitution which permits disfranchisement. It has particularly fought against lynching. And all things considered, there is not a social organization in the United States that can point to a more consistent record of honest effort and thorough achievement than the N. A. A. C. P.

37-6-9

15. From its inception this program has been criticized--first as going too far. Now, as not going far enough. At first men said you cannot gain social justice by complaint, court action and aggressive tactics. We did not gain complete justice, but we have in consequence of the N. A. A. C. P. far more justice and freedom in 1931 than we had in 1909. Today, we are criticized as not going far enough in our methods and demands and as a typical test of our methods comes the terrible Scottsboro , Alabama case, one of those terrible miscarriages of justice, bound up with color prejudice which this nation periodically faces. Theodore Dreiser has stated the case succinctly and clearly.

"The State of Alabama has set July 10th as the date for the judicial massacre of eight children. It took three days in all for a Scottsboro, Alabama court to try, convict and sentence these eight boys to death in the electric chair--lynching sublimated by legality.

"The charge was rape. But the charge was an after thought. The boys--Negroes, fourteen to twenty years of age--were arrested for

stealing a ride on a freight train. The white girls, in overalls, were also found "hoboing" on this train. The Sheriff asked the girls if the Negro lads had molested them. They said no. But after a short stay in the Sheriff's custody, the girls made the charge. No time was allowed for investigation or gathering of evidence. The court would not permit any questioning by the defense to prove what is a matter of record,—that the girls are notorious prostitutes and irresponsible;—yet the eight boys were sentenced to be executed, solely on the conflicting and unsubstantiated testimony of these two prostitutes, to the cheers of a mob of 10,000 and the music of a brass band."

37-6-10

16. What now was the precedure of the N. A. A. C. P.? It was in this case, as in dozen others, to try to stop this judicial lynching and to secure so far as possible justice for these boys. Our method of doing this was determined by long experience. We first investigated quietly, so as to get the facts. We then sought to get a clear court record as a basis of appeal. We then tried to get associated in the case a prominent firm of local lawyers who have the respect and confidence of the community. All these things had to be done. Without a knowledge of the facts, there was no use in yelling and threatening; without a carefully prepared court record, there was no basis for further court proceedure; without local lawyers which the community respected, we were absolutely helpless. Local respectability may be based on low ideals. That is not our fault, it is our problem. The local situation may be so vicious and lawless that only mob violence and brute force will free the victims. We cannot apply such a remedy and we see no one else ready to apply it even granted it was advisable and it is not advisable it is idiotic. Two wrongs would not make a right. Eighteen or 100 murders will not make justice.

Choosing this quietly and deliberately, a pathway to law and peace,

we began our proceedure carefully. We know the essential facts. Through the attorney which our Chattanooga branch hired, we have a court record for appeal. We have retained the most prominent and reliable law firm in Alabama to defend these boys.

In the meantime, however, other persons were aroused as they had a perfect right to be, and among them the Communist organization, the International Labor Defense. There was no reason in the world why any organization should not have helped in this case, if it wished. But, there was one criterion that must be applied. Was the prime object of entering the case the result of these boys? Or was the plight of these boys simply to be made a pivot for ulterior propaganda? In the latter case, we as Negroes have a right to ask how far the lives of eightboys should be jeopardized for the success of a revolutionary Communist movement in the United States? Even if we are convinced that such a movement was best for the American Negro, how far have a right to sacrifice eight lives of other and poor ignorant half-grown victims for our theories? To have an organization come in and do the very things most dangerous to the welfare of these children is indefensible. The Communists were guilty of two such actions: 1. They threatened the people of Alabama. They threatened the officers of the law. They threatened the people of Alabama. They threatened the officers of the law. They threatened the judge and the jailers. They sent papers and letters and telegrams. They expressed exactly what they thought. But if their main object was to save these boys, this was an unwise move. It may be spectacular to spit in a lion's face. But it is not calculated to save your life or that of your family. On the other hand, if the Communists' main object was to stir up just as much trouble as possible whether the boys were saved or not, their action was logical. Secondly, the Communists deliberately lied about the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. in

37-6-11

saying that we were collecting money for the defense of these boys and doing nothing; in other words, that we were misappropriating funds.

2. And in asserting that we were interfering with them and others in their attempts to aid the boys. For this series of untruths there was absolutely no excuse. Communists may believe that our methods are not going to be successful. It is quite possible that they are not. But we are doing all that we can in the light of belief and of our former experience, but they have no right to impugn our honesty in handling money. Our principles and methods may be wrong, but they are not dishonest.

37-6-12

17. But all this comes back to the same inevitable question. The American Communist Party believes in revolution, as it has a right to do. Very few American Negroes agree with it, and certainly I do not. On the other hand, I do believe that the present organization of industry and distribution of wealth is fundamentally wrong and I propose that Negroes use their political power to right these things. I believe that there is greater community of interest between white and black laborers than between black laborers and white employers. But I do not believe that in a situation where white laborers are willing to starve us to death and white employers are willing to employ us, even at low wages, that there is any right or sense in preferring starvation to a crust. Nor do I believe that killing people and upturning civilization is in the present crisis going to help things a single bit in the United States of America. Here, then, is the situation. And we are doing all we can with our present N.A.A.C.P. program to put the Negro American in practical alliance with the forces of economic and industrial reform? How much of the Socialist and Communist program can we seek to adopt? I believe we can do a great deal and in direct opposition to the entransegent attitude of Communism with its disbelie in peace for reformist methods, I want to point out a path.

This path is exactly the path which socialism and communism must

follow after the Revolution. I believe it can be entered on before and that with common sense, intelligence and devotion this program may save the world the horrible and unpayable cost of bloody revolt. Moreover, we as Negroes and as laborers have a chance to lead America and the world along this path of progress. My program is neither new nor startling. It has long been known as co-operation of companies and producers but it is despite all its logical theory and practical success singularly an almost doggedly misunderstood. P it begins with the organization of our buying power.

37-6-13

Communism

1 Carter

# The American Negro and Communism

The Scottsboro case has brought squarely before the American Negro the question of his attitude toward communism, and ~~THE CRISIS~~ wishes to discuss this frankly and openly. PP 1 Of the important and world-changing meaning of the Russian Revolution and the rise of the revolutionary Union of Soviet Republics there can be no question. Russia is today making the greatest experiment in human relations and human industry which the modern world ~~has~~ known. That experiment seems to be increasingly successful. PP There is today no reasonable doubt as to the stability of the Soviet Republic and of the possibility of realizing the Socialist form of industry in one of the largest and most important nations of the earth. ~~Thoughtful~~ many persons may ~~have still a right to be~~ doubtful as ~~to whether~~ this organization of industry will be as effective as that of private capitalism or will give the mass of men as much ~~wealth,~~ happiness and comfort. Such questions only time can answer. But no reasonable human being can today doubt but that land and capital can be owned by the state, industry conducted by the state and the distribution of income successfuly dominated by the state. ~~Today~~ Russia is pointing a ~~way~~ which every civilized country will ~~in time~~ follow. ~~Indeed much of the world is now [illegible]~~

2. Does that mean that every modern country must follow the ~~path~~ of Russia? It certainly does not. In the first place, the situation in Russia ~~and~~ at the end of the Czarist regime was humanly unbearable. There might have been a way out which did not involve bloody revolution, but that is very doubtful. ~~No one~~ Few who seriously reads Russia's history from Peter the Great to Nicholas the Second, can ~~successfully~~ question the inevitability of the Russian Revolution. But this does not mean that war, murder and revolution is always and

Russia today deserves a nation by every citizen and by every friend of U.S., Shame Patrol. Russia + U.S. America when applying government to daily

42-6-252

over

9/ The French Revolution was inevitable — 9/ the American Revolution was defensible, — 9/ the Russian Revolution was unavoidable

Indeed the addition of 5, 10 or 20 years plans of state guidance and control of industry is a well right universal demand

Surely somewhere and sometimes rational reform can supplement revolution in human welfare

everywhere the only answer to human poverty and suffering and the difficulty of rational dissension with Communists today is [illegible] Then dogmatic insistence that the path to the Socialist state must always and everywhere follow the Marxian dogma of Revolution.

3. If anywhere in the world the situation is so different as to modify such a priori conclusion, it is in the United States. This is not a happy country. It is not a successful country in any sense of the word known. It has a vast amount of suffering and poverty even under normal conditions. Nevertheless, what the United States means in the world is the extraordinary high level of comfort which the working class has reached here. Nowhere and at no time in the history of human advancement have such vast numbers of what the world calls ordinary people been so well supplied as in America with food, clothes, shelter, and even minor luxuries, or have so many human had a chance for education and social advancement. IP 4. This does not mean that America has reached or approached the millennium. We have still in the United States poverty, class distinction, color caste, lawlessness, injustice lynching, crime and murder. Nevertheless, the laboring class in the United States has gone further than elsewhere in the world. Not only that, but American citizens have a chance here through peaceful, legal political power, to achieve whatever further changes are necessary for their uplift and the realization of wider human ideals. The accomplishment of this is not to be sure hindered Easy from realizing this through a press and news service owned and dominated by wealth and the owners of organized industry; and every pressure and social power and punishment is brought to bear to keep the ordinary American from learning the facts or thinking straight.

Our minds are baffled & hindered today by religious, racial, economic & political

Nevertheless, there is no absolute prohibition. Men can think in America. They can know, if they have the will and the desire. It is a matter of moral strength and social sacrifice, but it does not usually end in fatal martyrdom or in the grave with Vanzetti.

IP 5 There is in America one class of persons who more than any

Closing of the way. Our children can learn to
read all sorts. Communists atheists can get mixed
hints. ~~We can't sometimes if not always say~~
~~openly what we think we have to be~~
~~veiled~~

other ~~colored~~ have a right to be dissatisfied with their social, political and economic tradition. And this is the ten million descendants of former slaves. They look back upon a bitter history of oppression, upon a ~~present~~ status of poverty and studied insult, and ~~upon~~ an uncertain future ~~back of a~~ determined color bar. To these persons the proposal is now being made that they join a revolutionary movement in order to better their condition. What answer shall they make? First of all, there is no ~~necessity of their~~ ~~getting hysterical~~. ~~They~~ have a right to consider their own welfare no matter what ~~their~~ welfare may involve. They have a right to listen to the arguments of Communists and the right of Communists to appeal to them should be strenuously maintained. Free speech does not mean that you should have a right as much as you please about the things which you think are right while the man who is advocating what you earnestly believe is vicious or wrong, should be clubbed, jailed and ~~silenced~~. Free speech means that wrong should have the same freedom as right to voice itself. ~~But what is right and wrong under these circumstances?~~ What does the great Russian experiment say to American Negroes? It has from the beginning taken a stand absolutely against racial prejudice and racial discrimination. It may be ~~argued~~ that as yet this has involved no penalities, sacrifice or responsibility because the color problem has really not touched Russia except in the case of the Chinese, and because in America the intransigeant attitude of young Communism on color discrimination has had as yet but few opportunities to test itself. But what is the Negro called upon to do in view of this? In the July CRISIS a Communist editor seeks to point out that there is no path of escape for the black American except through revolution. He says that organization of the consuming power of the Negro is worthless; that a segregated racial economy is impossible and that any collaboration with the white employing class

hyphenes on the band of white or colored textile because
this question has arisen, it was bound to arise.
Any time a textile are systematically and
continuously addressed women or Color they must
ask themselves: What I shall I do? Shall I fight?
How shall I fight — Violence or Love?

It drove out and conquered the Negroid aborigines against the Jews. It did more than any country & emancipate China it established absolutism & by the hundreds of millions in Russia & it enslaved the Negro black white brown & yellow alike in Africa.

In the U.S. the Communist party has not only drawn the color line but made the abolition of color demands and remains [illegible] & the friend and ally of its victims

Such a party [illegible] asks us advice and is [illegible], I consider it cowardly,

What is that advice? As voiced in the July Issue by a Communist editor it is ~~the~~ in plain terms this: There is one path for the American Negro to any progress except force, revolution and direct action; it is useless for Negroes to seek to escape poverty by Communist collaboration, or a segregated racial economy or ~~by~~ accomodating & gain its power & white friendship by understanding with workers.

Very well; suppose we admit this and argument that the organization of the Negro wage workers in the place of plantation

I will be decidedly different; ~~that~~ and a Negro economic system well-nigh impossible to day. Suddenly we grant this National ballot, & get a declaration of war against us and gain the bitter enemies among workers & only fair-weather friends among capitalists. What then? Even says the editor of The Daily Worker, you have failed to include workers & overthrown the whole fierce system by force

47-6-254

will merely rivet present shackles. If this is true, what does he propose? He proposes that the Negro unite with the white laboring class.

5. Most Negroes would be disposed to laugh angrily and suggest a proposal. What they have suffered from the white laboring class is for them almost too terrible to contemplate. From revolutionary times down to our day mobs and riots led by white workers have harried, killed, or driven out black workers. In New England, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Ohio and throughout the South, there have been two centuries of this sort of thing. Today, the Negro stands disfranchised in the Southern states because white workers voting for his disfranchisement and still are determined to maintain it. If the mass of the Negroes are still ignorant in the United States, it is because white workers refuse to allow them to have decent schools, and if the statute books of the South are stained with Jim-Crow legislation to impossible insult and caste upon Negroes, it is because these laws are initiated and maintained by white workers. It may be seen that the white workers did this and do it in ignorance; that they are the tools of the rich and the powerful who really gain by this division in the ranks of labor. There is much truth in this. The white laborers who lynch Negroes in the South are undoubtedly allowed license by white employers who use race enmity to lower wages and keep them low. But at the same time, no matter what the cause of this ignorance, injustice and oppression is, the results of it are just as disastrous for black folk, and to tell one miserable victim that his clear path for emancipation is to unite with nine ignorant bullies who are at present engaged in holding his face in the mud is to our humble opinion just slightly overdoing the matter of advice.

6. If the Negro should join and lead a revolutionary labor

Send to Williams

Education - Boston Post June 26

Communism

# The American Negro and Communism

The Scottsboro case has brought squarely before the American Negro the question of his attitude toward communism, and I wish to discuss this frankly and openly.

1. Of the important and world-changing meaning of the Russian Revolution and the rise of the revolutionary Union of Soviet Republics there can be no question. Russia is today making the greatest experiment in human relations and human industry which the modern world knows. That experiment seems to be increasingly successful. Russia is today recognized as a nation by every civilized country on earth except the United States, Spain, Portugal, Rumania and South America. Her system of government is daily attracting world wide attention.

There is today no reasonable doubt as to the stability of the Soviet Republic and of the possibility of realizing the Socialist form of industry in one of the largest and most important nations of the earth. Many persons may doubt if this organization of industry will be as effective as that of private capitalism or will give the mass of men as much happiness and comfort. Such questions only time can answer. But no reasonable human being can today doubt but that land and capital can be owned by the state, industry conducted by the state and the distribution of income successfully dominated by the state. It is probable that Russia is today pointing an industrial path which every civilized country will eventually follow. Indeed, the adoption of 5, 10 and 20 years' plans of state guidance and control of industry is a well-nigh universal demand.

2. Does that mean that every modern country must follow the identical path and copy the exact methods of Russia? It certainly does not. In the first place, the situation in Russia at the end of the

Czarist regime was humanly unbearable. There might have been a way out which did not involve bloody revolution, but that is very doubtful. Few who seriously read Russia's history from Peter the Great to Nicholas the Second, can question the inevitability of the Russian Revolution. If the French Revolution was justifiable—if the American Revolution was defensible,—the Russian Revolution was unavoidable. But this does not mean that war, murder and revolution is always and everywhere the only answer to human poverty and suffering. Surely somewhere and sometime rational reform can supplant murder in human uplift, and the difficulty of rational discussion with Communists today is their dogmatic insidence that the path to the Socialist state must always and everywhere follow the Marxian dogma of Revolution.

3. If anywhere in the world the situation is so different as to modify such a priori conclusion, it is in the United States. This is not a happy country. It is not a successful country in any sense of the word. Success. It has a vast amount of suffering and poverty even under normal conditions. Nevertheless, what the United States means in the world is the extraordinary high level of physical comfort which the working class has reached here. Nowhere and at no time in the history of human advancement have such vast numbers of what the world calls ordinary people been so well supplied as in America with food, clothes, shelter, and even minor luxuries; or have so many persons had a chance for education and social advancement.

4. This does not mean that America has approached the millennium. We have still in the United States poverty, class distinction, color caste, lawlessness, injustice, lynching, crime and murder. Nevertheless, the laboring class in the United States has gone further in most respects than the masses than elsewhere in the world. Not only that, but American citizens have a chance here through peaceful, legal political power,

to achieve whatever further changes are necessary for their uplift, their economic freedom and the realization of the widest human ideals. The accomplishment of this is not to be sure easy. We are baffled and hindered today from realizing this through a press and news service owned and dominated by private wealth and selfish personal interests, the owners of organized industry; our minds are shackled by religion; and every pressure of social power and punishment is brought to bear to keep the ordinary American citizen from knowing the truth or thinking logically. Nevertheless, there is no absolute closing of the way. Our children can learn to read and write. Communists and athiests can get into print. Men can think in America. Within limits, they can talk. They can know, if they have the will and the desire. The dissemination of the Truth and Right among us is difficult but not impossible; is a matter of moral strength and social sacrifice, but it does not usually end in jail with Mooney or in the grave with Vanzetti.

5. There is in American one class of persons who more than any other have a right to be dissatisfied with their social, political and economic tradition. The wonder has always been not that they are dissatisfied but rather why they have not long since gone crazy with dispair. And this is the ten million descendants of former African slaves. They look back upon a bitter history of oppression as bitter as anything Russia ever saw. They suffer today from a status of poverty, discrimination, injustice and studied insult, and they face an uncertain future behind an ever more determined color bar. To these persons the proposal is now being made that they join a revolutionary movement of direct action and force in order to better their condition. What answer shall they make?

First of all, there is no call for hysterics on the part of white or colored people because this question has arisen. It was bound to arise. Any time a people are systematically and continuously oppressed, sooner or later they must ask themselves: "What shall I do? Shall I fight?

How shall I fight—when and where?" American Negroes have a right to consider their own welfare no matter what that welfare may involve. They have a right to listen to the arguments of Communists and the right of Communists to appeal to them should be strenously maintained. At the same time and for similar reasons, Negroes have a right to listen to philanthropists and employers of labor and to the Christian Church and to Science and Art and to learn what hope and emancipation they offer to an enslaved people. Free speech does not mean that you should have a right to say as much as you please about the things which you think are right while the man who is advocating what you earnestly believe is vicious or wrong, should be clubbed, jailed and silenced. Free speech means that error and wrong should have the same freedom as justice and right to voice themselves.

Asserting and maintaing then our right to listen to communism, what does the great Russian experiment say to American Negroes? It has from the beginning taken a stand absolutely against racial prejudice and racial discrimination.

It has met and conquered prejudice against the Jews. It did more than any country to emancipate China. It established absolute equality among the hundreds of groups and sub-races in Russia and it welcomes to Russia black, white, brown and yellow students and workers.

In the United States the communist party has not only drawn no color line but made the abolition of color discrimination the main plank in its platform and the foremost aim of its actions.

Such a party has a right to proffer us advice and it is our duty to consider it carefully.

7. What is that advice? As voiced in the July Crisis by a communist editor, it is in plain terms this: There is no hope for the American Negro in any program except force, revolution and direct action; it is

hopeless for Negroes to seek to escape poverty by consumers' co-operation, or a segregated racial economy or in attempting to gain the favor of white employers by underbidding white workers. Very well; suppose we admit without argument that the organization of the Negroes' buying power in the face of chain stores will be desperately difficult; and a Negro economic system wellnigh impossible today. Suppose we grant that nation-wide scabbing to get and retain jobs is dangerous and gains us bitter enemies among workers and only fair-weather friends among whites. What then? Then says the editor of the Daily Worker, join hands with the white worker and overthrow the whole present system by force.

5. Most Negroes would be disposed to laugh angrily at such a proposal. What they have suffered from the white laboring class is for them almost too terrible to contemplate. From revolutionary times down to our day mobs and riots led by white workers have harried, killed, or driven out black workers. In New England, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Ohio and throughout the South, there have been two centuries of this sort of thing. Today, the Negro stands disfranchised in the Southern states because white workers voting for his disfranchisement and still are determined to maintain it. If the mass of the Negroes are still ignorant in the United States, it is because white workers refuse to allow them to have decent schools, and if the statute books of the South are stained with Jim-Crow legislation to impossible insult and caste upon Negroes, it is because those laws are initiated and maintained by white workers. It may be said that the white workers did this and do it in ignorance: that they are the tools of the rich and the powerful who really gain by this division in the ranks of labor. There is much truth in this. The white laborers who lynch Negroes in the South are undoubtedly allowed license by white employers who use race enemity to

42-6-263

lower wages and keep them low. But at the same time, no matter what the cause of this ignorance, injustice and oppression is, the results of it are just as disastrous for black folk, and to tell one miserable victim that his clear path for emancipation is to unite with nine ignorant bullies who are at present engaged in holding his face in the mud is to our humble opinion just slightly overdoing the matter of advice.

6. If the Negro should join and lead a revolutionary labor

Article

Percy L. Julian has been given the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Chemistry at the University of Vienna, Austria.

This simple statement has a history back of it. Mr. Julian took his A.B. at De Pauw University, where he received the Phi Beta Kappa Key and was Valedictorian. He was instructor in Chemistry for two years and received his Master of Arts at Harvard in 1923, where he held an Austin Fellowship. In 1923-25, he was Research Fellow in Chemistry at Harvard and in the summer of 1924-25 Research Assistant in Organic chemistry. In 1926-27, he taught chemistry at the West Virginia Colored State College and then was appointed Associate Professor of Chemistry at Howard University, receiving later two years' leave of absence to complete his work for the Doctorate. Logically, he should have received his Doctorage at Harvard but he needed money. He applied for the position of Teaching Assistant and after some haggling, the Chairman of the Committee of Awards requested him to relieve the department of embarrassment by withdrawing his application. In other words, Harvard did not have the courage to appoint a colored man as Teaching Assistant despite his brilliant record. While in Vienna, he gave a radio address which was heard all over Europe, and as a result of which three hundred letters were received. His subject was "Europe Does Not Know the Negro". He writes: "Two years in Europe were in every way satisfying.....I have the pleasure and pain of contact with all phases of Austrian life. The Jewish students who are beaten with clubs periodically at the University. The poor students who eat for twenty-five cents a day and happily do their work. The wealthy who sigh over good old days gone by ~~cannot pay~~, with Hungarians who curse Roumania, Roumania.

Austrians who hate Prussians and who laugh at American intellect and yet bow before American money, and the true Venese whose humanness is not to be found very often in any part of the world.

28-11-15

[November, 1931]

# Twenty-One Years of CRISIS Editorials

THE CRISIS began with the NOVEMBER number, 1910. The spiritual predecessors of THE CRISIS were "The Moon", a weekly paper published at Memphis, Tenn. for two years. Then, "The Horizon", published at Washington, D. C. with the co-operation of H. M. Hershaw and F. H. M. Murray. It was a miniature magazine and lasted from 1907 to July, 1910.

The name "CRISIS" was suggested by William English Walling, one of the founders of the N. A. A. C. P. The magazine was designed as the official organ of this Association, but also to be, as far as possible, self-supporting.

The first number began with four pages of "Color Line"; three pages of "Opinions" of others concerning the Negro problem; two pages of Editorials, one page concerning the N. A. A. C. P., and one short article. There were two small departments.

From this thin pamphlet of twenty pages the size slowly increased. In 1912, the number of articles was increased; in 1916, the editorials were put first and the "Color Line" last; and finally, in 1927, articles were put first and editorials appeared as "Postscript".

In 1910-1918, the price of THE CRISIS was 10¢ a copy and $1. a year. In 1920, the price was raised to 15¢, $1.50 a year.

Mary D. Maclean was the first Managing Editor, from the beginning until 1912. Jessie Fauset was Literary Editor from November, 1919 until 1926.

The first Business Manager was J. H. Belboder, now an Episcopal rector at Dayton, O. The second was Albon Holsey, now of the Negro Business League, who served 1911-1913. In September, 1913, came A. G. Dill, who was our Business Manager for fifteen years. He was succeeded by Pierce M. Thompson and Thomas Calloway in 1929-1930. The present Business Manager is Irene Malvan.

The Crisis has done some publishing outside the magazine. In 1920-21 it published the beautiful "Brownies' Book" for children, which is still remembered. It has also published three volumes. Maude Cuney's Life of her father; Mary White Ovington's "Hazel" and Elizabeth Ross Haynes' "Unsung Heroes".

The contributors to The Crisis covers a wide field. We have published comparatively few articles and have never sought great names. And yet, among those who have written for us are George Bernard Shaw, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Vachel Lindsay, Charles W. Chesnutt, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Zona Gale, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Claude McKay, William S. Braithwaite, Jean Toomer, Countée Cullen, Lord Olivier, Willen Hendrick van Loon, Carleton Beals, James Weldon Johnson, and bosts of others almost equally well-known.

43682

Our artists have reached from Henry O. Tanner to Laura Wheeler Waring, Albert Smith and Aaron Douglas.

We are selecting this month some of the editorials of past years which seem to us to express the spirit of this magazine.

Article undated

Hershaw

The name Hershaw carries to a large number of colored people in the United States and also to many whites a deep sense of satisfaction. They recall a man who is a perfect companion, beside whom one settles down over a cigar or a glass of beer to hear the world interpreted with truth, keenness and genial commendary. There is always a good story, well-told and to the point, and there is abundant human sympathy.

Lafayette M. Hershaw is more than a citizen of Washington. He approaches to be an institution. He was born in North Carolina in 1863; of a mother who was an unmarried slave with Negro and Indian blood. He was taught to read and write by the women members of the family that owned the mother and after the war in 1875, he was taken to Atlanta, Georgia. Here he was educated at Storrs School, one of the institutions of the American Missionary Association and afterward at another one of their institutions, Atlanta University, from which he graduated with his Bachelor's degree in 1886.

While in college, he had helped support himself by preaching in the country schools, and after graduation, the Board of Education made him Principal of the Eighth Grade Gate City School, where he stayed four years.

But Hershaw was always outspoken and sincere with a keen humor. When, therefore, in 1889 the colored people held a public meeting at the Court House against the Glenn Bill, Hershaw spoke. The Glenn Bill made it a criminal offense to teach Negro and white children in the same institution and it was aimed at Atlanta University. Glenn himself, the author of the Bill, spoke

38-13-41

and said that Negroes had reached the stage of progress where they attend to their own educational interests. Hershaw demurred and said that no people had ever progressed so far that they could proceed without contact and assistance from their fellows and neighbors and he illustrated this by reminding Mr. Glenn that the capitol building of Georgia just finished had been designed by a Northern architect and directed by Northern people and he concluded by remarking that if Northern capital were withdrawn from Atlanta it would become a second-class village.

38-13-5

At the next meeting of the Board of Education, Hershaw was dismissed from his position but Hoke Smith, then a member of the Board and Assistant Governor of Georgia and United States Senator intervened and Hershaw was reinstated. But this was a warning. Manifestedly, a man who wants to think outside a mental straight-jacket and who now and then was in the habit of expressing his thoughts in plain words, had no business in Georgia, particularly if he happened to be of Negro descent. Hershaw, therefore, took a competitive examination for the departmental service in Washington in 1889; received a high rating, and in July, 1890, became a clerk in the General Land Office of the Interior Department at a salary of $900 a year.

With an un_____ large number of persons this is the end of the story. They sink into the departments of Washington; the waters close over their heads and there is nothing else worth recording. But in the General Land Office Hershaw has had an eventful and yet extraordinary career. On July 16, 1931, he completed forty-one years of continuous service and the First Assistant Secretary Dixon in congratulating him said that his record for punctuality had to his knowledge never been paralled. During these forty-one years Hershaw has been promoted on merit alone until he has reached Grade

Seven of the administrative classification, and is now a law examiner. His duties embrace preparing papers for the Secretary's signature on bills pending in Congress, drafting bills for submission to Congress, examing contest cases relating to desert, titles and water rights. His promotions have come under both Republican and Democratic administration and during the last ten years he has been promoted three times.

In addition to that, he has studied law and been admitted to the bar, and particularly he has preserved keen interest in the general development of the world and of the Negro race. He has had no fears of hesitancies in taking his stand for what he thought was right. He was one of the twenty-nine original members of the Niagara Movement; he took part in the first conferences of the N. A. A. C. P.; he was long President of the Bethel Literary Association of Washington, an unusual effective local forum.

38-13-6

In 1888, Mr. Hershaw married Charlotte Monroe of Atlanta and they lived pleasantly together until 1930 when she died. There are three children, Mrs. Rosa Granada and the Misses Alice and Fay Hershaw. This curiously inadequate little sketch must be finished by a characteristic Hershaw story.

"It was in Boston when the Editor of THE CRISIS, then callow and impatient, had left a meeting in a huff and damned the minister of the Gospel to his face. The minister returned to the meeting incensed and declared that he could have nothing further to do with so profane a man. But Hershaw was on his feet. He speaks with a slight and intriguing hesitancy which emphasizes his points. "Ho!" said Hershaw. "Don't say that! Damn is a perfectly good English word. I use it some time myself."

Reclus

## Reclus and Miscegenation

One of the great scientists of the 19th Century was the Frenchman, Jean Jacques Elisée Reclus, born March 15, 1830 at St. Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, Gironde, France, and dying July 4, 1905. He was a geographer and travelled in England, Ireland, and North and South America. After that, he devoted himself to writing books of travel and geography, many of which were contributed as articles to the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and other periodicals. His best books are "La Terre", 1868, and "Ocean", 1872, and his greatest work "The New Universal Geography" in twenty volumes, finished in 1894.

On account of his connection with the Paris Commune, Reclus was in 1871 sentenced to transportation for life, but distinguished scientists interfered and he was allowed to live in Switzerland until the amnesty of 1879 when he returned to Paris.

His interest for our readers, however, arises from the fact that he passed two years, 1854-56, as a teacher on a plantation near New Orleans, belonging to a Mr. Fortier. The daughter of the white plantation owner fell in love with him but because of his strong antipathy to slavery and his pronounced ideas on the intermingling of races, he left and went to South America. In December, 1858, in his native town in the Gironde, he married the mulatto daughter of an American trader and a black woman of Senegal. This young woman had been brought up in France. Reclus and his wife lived together for ten years and had a very happy and congenial life. She died in 1869.

In a series of remarkable articles in "Revue des Deux Mondes",

Reclus sought to bring his impressions and ideas of slavery and miscegenation before the public. In 1867, he wrote a fine notice concerning John Brown, and his brother translated Sargent's book on the Confederate States and Slavery in 1864. In his great geography and his sociological "Man and Earth", published in six volumes, Reclus does full justice to the Negro race. He published a pamphlet on Miscegenation in 1864.

35-2-386

He was a great man; a great leader; a great scientist. Clara Mesniel in reminiscences published in Monde tells of her last interview with him:

"He drew up a chair for me and seated himself upon a longue near me, holding my hand in his. He lifted his eyes toward heaven, an April sky, marvelously limpid, and he began to talk of his dead wife Jeanneie. He drew a radiant portrait that I cannot reproduce but which painted a young and charming woman endowed with all the qualities most fitted to create happiness about her, goodness, grace, personality, the spirit of sacrifice, together with a lively and spiritual intelligence. He went on to say: "And now she is no more. We must not give ourselves to great grief but rather prepare for death. Learn, study, enrich yourself in every way. Listen to divine music. Admire the great works of art, present and past. All that we have accumulated about us or richness, aids in sustaining us during moments of great distress. That, and especially the richness of a sympathy like yours, my friend. " I had come to console him, but it was he who spoke the words of strength and encouragement.

Herndon

Dalton, Georgia.

By W. E. B. Du Bois

37-6-128

Juliette Derricotte was fatally injured in Dalton, Georgia. Dalton is the county seat of Whitfield County and is forty miles southeast of Chattanooga. It had in 1920, a population of 5,222, of which 744 were Negroes. There were among the whites, 284 ten years of age and over who were illiterature, and among the Negroes, 120. Dalton is a shipping point for cotton, cattle, grain and fruit, and has cotton mills with 976 looms and 94,000 spindles. It has canning factories, flour mills, foundries and machine shops. It was founded in 1848 and incorporated in 1844 and was the scene of some fighting when Bragg retreated there from Chattanooga in 1863. It is, of course, a religious town. There are churches of all denominations. It figured for a time as a health resort; is the seat of Dalton Female College. There are public schools and weekly newspapers and a national bank..

In particular, for our purpose, there is the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, with a complete modern equipment, and operated by an association of citizens. It probably receives aid from public funds, but of this we are not sure.

Miss Derricotte, with three other passengers, were travelling to her home in Athens, Ga. to settle certain business matters for her family. She had with her Nina Johnson, a senior at Fisk, Edward Davis, a student who lives in Athens, and Marian Price, another student who lives in Atlanta. They were travelling by automobile in order to avoid the Jim-crow cars of the South, and the difficulty in getting meals and other transportation.

Edward Davis says that on November 6:

37-6-129

Derricotte

"We left Chattanooga about three o'clock. Miss Derricotte was driving. I was in the front seat with her; Miss Johnson and Miss Price were in the rumble seat. We had been driving along at a fair rate of speed and were about a mile and a half out of Dalton. I was talking to Miss Johnson and Miss Price when I suddenly turned around and noticed another car very close to us. A second later the two cars hit each other. Miss Derricotte snatched the steering wheel to the right, turned it loose and called to me. When I reached for the steering wheel the car was beginning to turn and by the time I got hold of it the car was turning over. I then turned the wheel losse and threw up my hands in an effort to save myself. The last I remember then was hearing the crash.

"The next thing I remember, I was lying in a field. Miss Derricotte was lying near me groaning."

There immediately began a series of investigations. Mrs. Ethel B. Gilbert, an official at Fisk University, heard of the accident, telephoned and rushed to Chattanooga. Thence, she wrote various private letters. Other officials came from Fisk University, including Dr. Elmer S. Imes. The President of Fisk University then began an invesigation, but the Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. stopped in Chattanooga and inquired into the facts. Finally, the Inter-racial Commission on Co-operation made an investi ation at the request of Fisk University and oth r organizations interested in ascertaining the facts of the situation. After that, the participants in the accident were requested to make no further statements and the Y. W. C. A., so far as we know, did nothing. Let us compare now, the report of the Inter-racial Commission and statements from other sources. First, as to what happened dir ctly after the accident:

37-6-120

Derricotte

Mr. and Mrs. Helton, unhurt, climbed out through the broken windshield of their car and went immediately to Miss Derricotte's car. Mr. Helton stated that he hurried someone off to call for an ambulance.

Mrs. Gordon Mann, white, who lives nearby, and at the time of the collision was between her home and the highway, saw the collision and ran immediately for her car, and went directly to the scene of the accident where she was joined by her husband, who was nearby at a home he is having built and upon hearing the crash had hurried to the scene. Miss Johnson, who seemed to be the worst injured of the four, was put into the Mann car, with Mrs. Mann at the wheel and Mr. Mann holding Miss Johnson the the back seat, having one door open to allow her to be transported in an outstretched reclining posture. Mr. and Mrs. Mann report that they were away from the scene of the accident within five minutes after the crash, and that a couple of minutes later were in Dr. Steed's office on King Street in Dalton.

27-6-121

Miss Johnson was taken to the office of Dr. J. H. Steed, a physician with a record of many years' service in Dalton. Miss Derricotte was taken to the office of Dr. O. E. Shellhorse. Miss Price and Mr. Davis were taken to the office of Dr. G. L. Broaddrick. These three doctors, all white, have offices within two blocks of each other on King Street. Dr. Broaddrick's office is nearest the scene of the accident and Dr. Shellhorse's is farthest. Mrs. Mann halted at Dr. Broaddrick's office as did also the car which brought in Miss Derricotte, but he was away. By the time Miss Price and Mr. Davis had been brought in he had returned.

Mrs. Mann, who brought Miss Johnson in, stated that she inquired where Negroes could get treatment, and was told to go to a doctor's office, which she did.

Dr. Steed states that Miss Johnson was unconscious when brought to his office and never regained consciousness, and it was evident

from the first that she was seriously wounded. Either or both Dr. Steed or Dr. Woods was in constant attendance upon Miss Johnson in Dr. Steed's office for approximately an hour and a half.

Miss Derricotte was taken to Dr. O. E. Shellhorse's office and placed on his operating table. She was in a semi-conscious condition, being in possession of her faculties a part of the time, and indicating that she had severe pains in her chest and hip. Dr. Shellhorse states that he examined her thoroughly, saw the seriousness of her condition and called in for consultation Dr. Ault, who had an office next door, and that they agreed she should be kept warm and perfectly quiet and given stimulants and other treatment to enable her to recuperate from her condition of profound shock. She was in his office under his care for something like an hour and a half.

37-6-132

Shortly after six o'clock when Miss Price had been treated, Dr. Broaddrick's son called the Trimble home in Chattanooga, where Miss Derricotte and the three Fisk students had launched in the early afternoon, and Miss Price told of the accident and asked that an ambulance be sent. Miss Price also made calls to Fisk University informing people there of the accident.

When Miss Derricotte had been treated by Dr. Shellhorse, he called the local Negro undertaker, Mr. Johnson, and asked him to build a fire and prepare a room for Miss Derricotte in the home of Mrs. Alice Wilson, colored, 3 Emory Street, where the white physicians placed their colored patients who require local hospital treatment.

The physicians of Dalton have been taking patients to Mrs. Wilson's home for a number of years, and major operations have been successfully performed there.

Doctors Shellhorse, Steed, and Broaddrick stated that a colored

ward was neededat the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, and that some work had beendone to that end during the past two years.

Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson were placed on stretchers in the doctors' offices and transferred in a Chevrolet ambulance-truck to Mrs. Wilson's home.

37-6-132

Upon arrival at the Wilson home, Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson were placed on a bed and a couch respectively, and Doctors Wood and Shellhorse came to see them shortly.

Miss Price asked Dr. Shellhorse, according to Dr. Shellhorse's statements, if Miss Derricotte could be moved to Chattanooga. He advised against this in the presence of one of the men from Chattanooga who had come with the Trimble car and ambulance, and there was an understanding that Miss Derricotte would remain at the Wilson home.

Dr. Shellhorse, upon leaving the Wilson home, gave instructions to Mrs. Wilson and asked her to call him if Miss Derricotte got worse, saying he would come back early next morning if he had no call in the meantime. When he went to the Wilson home early next morning he was surprised to find that Miss Derricotte had been taken to Chattanooga.

Mrs. Wilson is without formal training and professional standing; that the Trimbles of Chattanooga were personal friends of Miss Derricotte. Miss Derricotte, although at first evincing a preference to remain at Mrs. Wilson's home, later expressed a willingness to follow whatever procedure was advised by Mr. Trimble, Dr. Patton, Dr. Woods and others present. Accordingly, Miss Derricotte was placed in the ambulance and taken to Chattanooga.

Without regaining consciousness, Miss Johnson was placed in the ambulance upon its return and died before reaching Chattanooga. Miss

Derricotte, who was placed at the Walden Hospital in Chattanooga, died about six o'clock the following evening (Saturday, November 7).

We mentioned above that Miss Duke, resident nurse in charge of the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, stated that no one of the Negroes in the accident had been brought there. When asked whether Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson would have been treated had they been brought to the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, Miss Duke hesitated and said: "I do not see that we could have done otherwise." She stated that there are no precedents for the answer to this question in that no Negro had ever been brought to the hospital for care, stating that it was generally understood that Negroes were not treated there, and that Negro patients were cared for either in the offices of doctors or in the home of a Negro woman, Mrs. Alice Wilson, who had beds available for the care of Negro patients.

37-6-134

Dr. J. H. Steed, who attended Miss Johnson, has an office across the hallway from Dr. Starr, who is co-owner of the x-ray machine at the Hamilton Memorial Hospital. Dr. Steed stated that he could have given Miss Johnson an x-ray examination with this machine at the hospital, and that if she had recovered sufficient he would have given her an x-ray examination there or at Dr. Rawlin's office where there is a $10,000 machine. He further stated that he could have operated on Miss Johnson at the Hamilton Memorial Hospital had the x-ray examination shown that such was necessary. Since there is no Negro ward at the hospital, he said he would have had to take his patient to Mrs. Wilson's to recuperate. Both Dr. Steed and Dr. Hellhorse stated definitely that neither Miss Derricotte nor Miss Johnson while in their charge had recovered sufficiently from the shock to make an x-ray examination possible.

Derricotte

Mrs. Ethel B. Gilbert, an official at Fisk University, rushed to Chattanooga. She wrote November 13:

"I telephoned the two doctors in Dalton who attended Miss Johnson and Miss Derricotte. The very earliest time for the accident had been fixed at 3:30 but it probably did not occur before 3:45. Before talking to the doctors I wrote down the questions that I would ask them and filled in their replies. I first called Dr. Steed who attended Nina Johnson. The conversation was as follows:

**I:** Dr. Steed, there is some difficulty in people's minds about the time that elapsed before the patients in the accident case received attention. Can you give me a fairly accurate idea of the time you received Miss Johnson?

Dr. Steed: I would say about 3:30—anyway, between 3:30 and 4:00.

I: How soon was she removed to "the house where Negro patients are taken"?

Dr. Steed: Just as soon as first aid was administered.

I: To your knowledge was any attempt made by anyone to get them into Hamilton Memorial Hospital?

Dr. Steed: Oh, no'm. We don't take 'em there.

I: By knowing the seriousness of this particular case, did no one attempt to get them in in spite of the usual procedure?

Dr. Steed: Oh, no m'a'm. You see we don't even have any wards for them there.

I next called Dr. Schellhaus who attended Miss Derricotte. Because of an engagement that he had in the office with a man for an insurance examination at 4:00 o'clock, he can fix the time

definitely between 4:00 and 4:15 when Miss Derricotte was brought to him.

I asked him the same question and he told me that she was there an hour and a half before she was removed to the home. I asked him if he believed at the time that she was fatally injured and he replied: "Why, yes. I was sure she was going to die." I asked him what he would say the cause of the death would be and he replied a severe shock. He also said in answer to my question in regard to an attempt to get them into the hospital, "No, not that I know of."

Professor Elmer S. Imes writes concerning the Dalton colored sanitorium:

37-6-136

"Mrs. Wilson stated to me that her house was used for colored people who needed hospital care and that the white physicians who operated on colored patients used a room in her house—the inference being that they could not be taken to a hospital. The house was in very bad order and there was no evidence of facilities for handling such cases as this there. The bed which Mrs. Wilson vacated to answer our knock was the bed in which Miss Derricotte or Miss Johnson had lain for five or six hours. It was a very uncomfortable looking and not very clean folding bed. She explained that the room that was ordinarily used for hospital purposes was temporarily in use by a couple."

Warner Lawson of Fisk University wrote November 6:

"Mrs. Wilson told us that her house was the place to which all Negro emergency cases were brought. The whole impression of this house was one of disorder and dirt which the owner explained by saying that she had only returned after seven months absence. It was sickening and heartbreaking to us to think of Miss Derricotte and

Miss Johnson having been allowed to lie there and suffer for five long hours in their critical condition, denied the care and medical treatment that might have possibly saved both lives. Finally, after realizing that they would certainly die if they remained here in Dalton, Dr. Patton, who had come from Chattanooga with an ambulance, in answer to Miriam's call, decided to try to get them to Chattanooga."

Edward Davis continues his story:

37-6-137

Mrs. Ethel B. Gilber, an official of Fisk University, who rushed to Chattanooga as soon as she heard news of the accident, writes as follows in a private letter:

"I do not know any of the horrible details yet of what happened in Dalton before I got there but the fact that the accident occurred shortly after four o'clock and that they did not reach a hospital in Chattanooga and then not a decent hospital until after midnight, to me condemns Dalton, the doctors involved, the hospital and whoever knew about it.

37-6-138

"I have found out that they were removed to the "house where Negroes are sent in emergencies." The three men visited that house, were met at the door by an ugly, barefooted woman who showed them the folding beds where the two seriously injured ones had been put. If anybody makes a report that says in effect "everything that could be done was done," it merely means that everything that could be done for Negroes was done.

"I am trying right now to give you more facts but I assure you that emotions enter in so strongly that I am nearly crazy. Juliette was dearer to me that almost any woman alive. I took that ride from Dalton to Chattanooga in the night, dressed in a woolen dress with a fur coat on and was chilled clear through from shock and anxiety. The road had a long detour, about fifteen miles, I should say, of rough dirt road. It is impossible to think of the horror of so severely injured a person being jolted over those roads after her hours of agony in Dalton. I shall always have to compare in my mind all of the things that were done that would not have been done to me if I had been injured. I shall always have to remember that within one half hour after the accident, I would have been in a modern hospital. I shall always have to think of Juliette dying in a place that could not be dignified by the name of a hospital except that the beds were a few inches higher than the beds would have been in a boarding house and

that they had a few bed pans. All of the people in that little place were kindness and courtesy itself, but that does not take the place of the clean walls, the soft-footed, sure-fingered nurses, the well-equipped operating room, the comfortable bed, the shaded lights, the efficient doctors, that I had when I was taken into a hospital for an emergency operation.

37-6-139

I feel very strongly that this incident should be used in some way, preferably in the way that Juliette would like best, to help this whole rotten situation down here. She was loved by a great many people who might pay attention to an injury to her who would not be deeply concerned if just anybody were involved. I wish that the Y. W. C. A. or some liberal magazine in New York could make an investigation and put material in all of our hands that could be used as widely as possible. And while we are doing it, I hope we will all remember that the whole system is rotten and wicked and unspeakably cruel, not simply because it operated to harm someone whom we love very much but because it would harm any poor ignorant, wicked, unfortunate victim of an accident if he happened to be a Negro. I think that is the approach Juliette would want to have made. If there is anything under heaven that I can do to help in any way, let me do it. I have been uneasy and unhappy in this situation for four years. No one understood my position better than Juliette did. From now on it will be increasingly difficult to bear at all. It makes being white about the hardest thing one has to put up with in a very sorry section of the world."

The result of all this horror was an investigation by the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation. The Report of this Commission,

while agreeing with the essential facts, changes and glosses over every real particular. Instead of the man who hit the Derricotte car demanding compensation, it turns out in this Report that his wife helped take Miss Derricotte to town. The Doctors are reported to have worked faithfully on the wounded persons and to have done everything except the one thing necessary, and that is to take them to a well-equipped hospital. They ordered Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson removed to a sanitorium where they came to see them "shortly", and above all, the Report says that they succeeded in inducing Miss Derricotte, the nurse in charge of the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, to hesitate and say that if the patients had been brought there, possibly they would have received treatment. A statement which has falsehood written all across it, but the deed is done. Juliette Derricotte is dead. The Y. W. C. A. is going to do nothing. Fisk University is going to do nothing. The Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation has already done nothing, and the whole affair having been carefully whitewashed and and for is going to pass into history, while the Hamilton Memorial Hospital continues to refuse Negro patients.

37-6-140

Inter-Racial Commission

Mr. and Mrs. Helton, unhurt, climbed out through the broken windshield of their car and went immediately to Miss Derricotte's car... Mr. Helton stated that he hurried someone off to call for an ambulance.

No ambulance came.

Mrs. Gordon Mann, white, who lives nearby, and at the time of the collision was between her home and the highway, saw the collision and ran immediately for her car.

Mr. and Mrs. Mann report that they were away from the scene of the accident within five minutes after the crash, and that a couple of minutes later were in Dr. Steed's office on King Street in Dalton.

Other Reports

About this time a white man dressed in overalls came up and asked me what I was going to do about his car. I asked what was the matter with his car. He told me it was his car we had hit. I told him I would have to wait until we had received medical attention. I did not see him any more.

Davis.

I then began to make appeals for help from the people standing around. One man informed me that they had already sent for an ambulance.

By this time Miriam had been placed in a car and I got in with her. The man took us into Dalton. We were near the center of the town when he asked a number of people where the hospital war. A few did not know; others said there was no hhspital for Negroes; and others said they would have to take us to some doctor's home. He drove on farther and asked a white boy about a hospital or a doctor. The boy

417-6-1103

told us his father was a doctor and lived right up the street. He took us to his home. This doctor's name was Dr. Broaderick. He set first Miriam's arm and then mine. When we asked his son about the other two young ladies he told us they had been taken to Dr. Sneed's, in town over an undertaker's office.

Davis.

Mrs. Mann, who brought Miss Johnson in, stated that she inquired where Negroes could get treatment, and was told to go to a doctor's office, which she did.

Dr. Steed states that Miss Johnson was unconscious when brought to his office and never regained consciousness, and it was evident

from the first that she was serious wounded. Either or both Dr. Steed or Dr. Woods was in constant attendance upon Miss Johnson in Dr. Steed's office for approximately an hour and a half.

Miss Derricotte was taken to Dr. O. E. Shellhorse's office and placed on his operating table. She was in a semi-

61-76-106

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47-6-410

conscious condition, being in possession of her faculties a part of the time, amd indicating that she had severe pains in her chest and hip. Dr. Shellhorse states that he examined her thoroughly, saw the seriousness of her condition and called in for consultation Dr. Ault, who had an office next door, and that they agreed she should be kept warm and perfectly quiet and given stimulants and other treatment to enable her to recuperate from her condition of profound shock. She was in his office under his care for something like an hour and a half.

When Miss Derricotte had been treated by Dr. Shellhorse, he called the local Negro undertaker, Mr. Johnson, and asked him to build a fire and prepare a room for Miss Derricotte in the home of Mrs. Alice Wilson, colored, 3 Emory Street, where the white physicians placed their colored patients who require local hospital treatment.....

The physicians of Dalton have been taking patients to Mrs. Wilson's



By this time Miriam was able to call in to Chattanooga to Mr. Trimble's home and he told her that he was sending an ambulance down as soon as he could. We asked Dr. Broaderick to send his son to get some information about Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson, which he did. The son reported that they had been taken from Dr. Sneed's to a colored sanitorium.

"Mrs. Wilson stated to me that her house was used for colored people who needed hospital care and that the white physicians who operated on colored patients used a room in her house--the interemce being that they could not be taken to a hospital. The house was in very bad order and there was no evidence of facilities for handling such cases as this there. The bed which Mrs. Wilson vacated to answer our knock was the bed in which Miss

home for a number of years, and major operations have been successfully performed there.
Mrs. Wilson is without formal training and professional standing.

Shortly after six o'clock when Miss Price had been treated, Dr. Broaddrick's son called the Trimble home in Chattanooga, where Miss Derricotte and the three Fisk students had lunched in the early afternoon, and Miss Price told of the accident and asked that an ambulance be sent. Miss Price also made calls to Fisk University informing people there of the accidemt.

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Dr. Imes.

"I have found out that they were removed to the "house where Negroes are sent in emergencies." The three men visited that house, were met at the door by an ugly, barefooted woman who showed them the folding beds where the two seriously injured ones had been put. If anybody makes a report that says in effect "everything that could be done was done," it merely means that everything that could be done for Negroes was done.

Mrs. Gilbert.

"Mrs. Wilson told us that her house was the place to which all Negro emergency cases were brought. The whole impression

4-7-6-111

of this house was one of disorder and dirt which the owner explained by saying that she had only returned after seven months' absence. It was sickening and heartbreaking to us to think of Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson having been allowed to lie there and suffer for five long hours in their critical condition, denied the care and medical treatment that might have possibly saved both lives. Finally, after realizing that they would certainly die if they remained here in Dalton, Dr. Patton, who had come from Chattanooga with an ambulance, in answer to Miriam's call, decided to try to get them to Chattanooga."

Warner Lawson

Miss Price asked Dr. Shellhorse, according to Dr. Shellhorse's statements, if Miss Derricotte could be moved to Chattanooga. He advised against this in the presence of one of the men from Chattanooga who had come with the Trimble car and ambulance, and there was an understanding that Miss Derricotte

We were taken around to the colored sanitarium which proved to be a very dirty home. We found Nina and Miss Derricotte in separate beds close to each other. There were no doctors there when we arrived. Nina was unconscious. Miss Derricotte was conscious and

would remain at the Wilson home.

Dr. Shellhorse, upon leaving the Wilson home, gave instructions to Mrs. Wilson and asked her to call him if Miss Derricotte got worse, saying he would come back early next morning if he had no call in the meantime. When he went to the Wilson home early next morning he was surprised to find that Miss Derricotte had been taken to Chattanooga.

Miss Derricotte, although at first evincing a preference to remain at Mrs. Wilson's home, later expressed a willingness to follow whatever procedure was advised by Mr. Trimble, Dr. Patton, Dr. Woods and others present. Accordingly, Miss Derricotte was placed in the ambulance and taken to Chattanooga.

Without regaining consciousness, Miss Johnson was placed in the ambulance upon its return and died before reaching Chattanooga. Miss Derricotte, who was placed at the Walden Hospital in Chattanooga, died about six o'clock the following evening (Saturday, November 8)

rather hysterical. Miriam left me to quiet Miss Derricotte as much as possible while she went to telephone their parents and to put in a call for their local doctor. About half an hour later a white doctor came in and attended to Nina; while he was there Mr. Trimble and Dr. Patton of Chattanooga came. A little later Dr. Sneed came in. About eleven o'clock it was decided to move Miss Derricotte to Chattanooga in the ambulance. They started off very slowly. Nina was put in another ambulance. They started off very slowly. Nina was put in another ambulance. Miriam and I were put in Mr. Trimble's private car and came in behind the ambulance. Miriam was taken to the Trimble home and I was taken to the Walden Hospital. Miss Derricotte was also taken to the Walden Hospital. I was given treatment and the next morning Mrs. Gilbert informed me that Nina had passed away during the night.

211-D-47-108

Inter-Racial Commission

Miss Duke, resident nurse in charge of the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, stated that no one of the Negroes in the accident had been brought there. When asked whether Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson would have been treated had they been brought to the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, Miss Duke hesitated and said: "I do not see that we could have done otherwise." She stated that there are no precedents for the answer to this question in that no Negro had ever been brought to the hospital for care, stating that it was generally understood that Negroes were not treated there.

Doctors Shellhorse, Steed and Broaddrick stated that a colored ward was needed at the Hamilton Memorial Hospital, and that some work had been done to that end during the past two years.

Other Reports

Saturday afternoon I was told that Miss Derricotte was dead."

Davis.

I: How soon was she removed to "the house where Negro patients are taken"?

Dr. Steed: Just as soon as first aid was administered.

I: To your knowledge was any attempt made by anyone to get them into Hamilton Memorial Hospital?

Dr. Steed: Oh, no'm. We don't take 'em there.

I: But knowing the seriousness of this particular case, did no one attempt to get them in in spite of the usual procedure?

Dr. Steed: Oh, no m'a'm. You see we don't even have any wards for them there.

Mrs. Gilbert.

I asked Dr. Shellhorse the same question and he told me that she was there an hour and a half before she wasremoved to the home. I asked him if he believed

at the time that she was fatally injured and he replied: "Why, yes. I was sure she was going to die." I asked him what he would say the cause of the death would be and he replied a severe shock. He also said in answer to my question in regard to an attempt to get them into the hospital, "No, not that I know of."

Mrs. Gilbert.

47-6-413

It must be remembered that the reports by the Northern white teacher, Edward Davis, Dr. Imes and Warner Lawson, were made on the spot within a few hours after the accident. While, on the other hand, the report of the Inter-Racial Commission was made some time after and with at best the unconscious purpose of making out a case for the South. There remain, naturally, irreconcilable discrepancies. The story that emerges is that very soon after the accident and at the appeal of Davis, white neighbors rushed the wounded persons to town. That the man who ran into them, at first demanded compensation for his car, and then disappeared. That in town, neither white nor colored people knew at first what to do but at last it was agreed that the patients must be taken to physician offices. The physicians gave them attention for an hour and a half. They knew that two of them were fatally injured and needed the utmost care. Nevertheless, they had them transported to a house with no facilities and left them there without professional attendance for several hours, until the Chattanooga ambulance arrived and took them away. In the light of this, what shall be said of the civilization of Dalton, Ga? We can say this best in the words of the Northern white teacher quoted above. She wrote directly after the accident in a private letter to a friend. She has long been connected with Negro education in the South and came to Dalton and Chattanooga immediately after the accident. She reported her facts and feelings in a private letter to a friend, which we venture to quote, without especial permission. Her words are so true and fair that they make a human document which must not be suppressed. She says:

# MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY

There is not enough in the written records to give an adequate picture of Florence Kelley's attitude toward the Negro. Typical of her alertness, however, to challenge clearly, vigorously and firmly any discrimination against the Negro might be cited the following:

1. Whenever any bill was introduced in the Congress for federal aid to education, Mrs. Kelley always searched through it with a fine-toothed comb to ferret out methods by which discrimination was intended and might be practiced under these bills. Both personally and through the N.A.A.C.P. she fought vigorously in every instance to prevent discrimination.

2. In 1929, hearing that the City Housing Corporation was not admitting Negroes to its housing projects at Radburn, N. J., and Sunyside Gardens, N. Y., Mrs. Kelley vigorously attacked this discrimination and though she was not able to effect a change in the rules, she did force a realistic facing of the "liberals" who were back of this project.

3. As an example of how every form of discrimination, small as well as large, gained her instant attention, Mrs. Kelley vigorously assailed the circulation of a questionnaire being used in certain schools in Arkansas, the import of most of the questions in this questionnaire being derogatory to the Negro. She termed this one of "a flood of fraudulent surveys based on meaningless questionnaires" and in her protest to the Arkansas school authoroties stated, among other things: "The Negro problem in the United States is an exceedingly difficult and delicate matter. It should be dealt with only by people of mature years, and profound and enlightened experience, in the humble spirit of the searcher after truth.

42-6-329

Unsolicited

1937

## Colored Editors on Communism

We have had in THE CRISIS a frank discussion of communism by Negro editors who speak weekly to at least five hundred thousand subscribers and several million readers.

Dungee of Oklahoma logically opens the discussion with his revealing statement which many others could repeat:

"For the last seven years, I have been perplexed about communism. I have argued that ruling whites have kept black and white labor apart, and that if they would come together in equality and brotherhood, they could solve their problem. Here now comes poor, white laborers who talks, preaches and acts this kind of equality."

Young of Virginia states the problem simply:

"Communism is one of the factors in a growing world-wide ideal to improve the conditions of the underprivileged and to those who labor a liberal share in the fruits of production."

It is manifest, however, that the main appeal of communism to the American Negro, so far, is emotional rather than logical. Communists ar suffering with the Negroes and even going to jail.

Or, as Dabney of Ohio says;

"Communists come not bringing charity but brotherhood."

Rhoades of Pennsylvania admires the ideals of Russia "because they give hope of that equality of opportunity which America denies Negroes."

And Murphey of Maryland says flatly:

"No white group is openly advocating the economic, political and social equality of Negroes, except Communists."

Granting, however, this emotional appeal, the logical conclusion is largely negative.

Franklin of Missouri puts it this way:

"America can not withstand the determined advance of American Negroes and the attempt to stop this advance may force Negroes in the direction of communism."

There is, however, some sharp, adverse criticism, particularly that of Atkins of Texas, who points out that Russian communism is planned by Russians from within, with careful attention to local conditions. While in the case of American Negroes, "communism is planned or worked from without." It does not make an experimental survey based on the problems of the American Negro as a minority group.

Others are skeptical of the success of communism.

Cole of Kentucky declares that "communistic experiments in the past have failed."

While Kelley of New York more specifically says"that the treatment of a few Negroes in Russia is no guarantee of just treatment to Negroes in America if white labor came into power."

37-6-15

Vann of Pennsylvania goes so far as to declare "If communism ever comes into power at all, it will treat the Negro just as the Negro is now treated by the Republicans and Democrats."

On the other hand, many, perhaps most of this group of writers, have been trained under the capitalistic system and believe in it.

Moore of New York says: "At heart the American Negro is bourgeois, and that while Negroes are glad of any alliance against lynching, disfranchisement and color prejudice, yet as Cole of Kentucky adds:

"Capitalism has given the American Negro whatever strength and protection he enjoys."

Other writers are distinctly timid. They fear anything that is unpopular among the whites. They lay stress on the Negroes religion and loyalty.

Manifestedly, few of these writers have made any study of classic, marxian socialism or the application of this socialism to Russiaan conditions, as outlined by Trozky and Lenin. On the other hand, every one of these writers knows the particular difficulties of the Negro problem and the labor situation in America much better than either Russian or American communists. They express grave doubt as to whether the mass of the working class in America is ever going to be brought to accept the the equality of colored workers. This is the real crux of the situation. It can not be dismissed by any assertion or by a dogmatic insistence. The history of American labor in all its phases gives only too strong support to the Negroes fears. It is true that the small and numerical, unimportant group of communists in America today are liberal and even radical on the color question. But what will they be when they grow in numbers as they hope to grow and when they attempt to permeate the mass of American labor? What will they do when they are faced with the temptation of gaining a million white laborers, if they will draw of a hundred thousand colored ones?

37-6-16

But always back of all this lies the basic question: Is communism, as illustrated in Russia and America, a theory good for the world and for the American Negro? The world is ill. It has desperate economic problems intertwined with its problems of Russian problems. It does not make any difference what communism says or does, these problems are there. It does not make any difference what present capitalism pays or as payed and do not in the past. It has left this sinister heritage of poverty, maladjustment and race prejudice. These problems must be solved, and only thought, study

and experiment can bring intelligent action on the part of Negroes as well as whites. We hope, therefore, that Negro editors and their readers will study and observe socialism and communism, and we append a list of books with which they ought to be familiar.

Carl Marx, "Capitalism"
Henry George, "Progress and Poverty"
Norman Thomas, "The Way Out"
Ilin, "The Five-Year Plan"
Scott Nearing, "Where is Civilization Going?"
Harry Laidler, "The Road Ahead"
Herbert A. Miller, "Races, Nations and Classes"

After all, our problems are not to be solved by emotions, but by deep concerted intelligence.

37-6-17

Washington

# The Secret City

## An Impression of Colored Washington

Strangers are always surprised at Washington. They know it as a large city of nearly half a million persons. It is the capitol of a great nation. But when they look upon Washington, they find an astonishing number of colored people.

Twenty-Seven percent of the population is colored, and the colored city amounts to 132,000 souls. Yet little is said of this population. Almost nothing is written about it. It forms a secret city, of which the capitol itself is acutely conscious, and yet almost every item of information concerning it is carefully suppressed.

37-5-31

The Secret City arose from the slaves whom the aristocratic Southerners brought as servants to the capitol of the nation before the war. Free Negroes and runaway slaves drifted in because of the opportunities, particularly in domestic service. During the Civil War it became a great haven of refuge for emancipated slaves and others and its population leaped. By 1890, this Secret City, which 75,000 colored folk, by 1920, there were over 100,000, and still it grows. It is a city of considerable intelligence. Its percentage of illiteracy today for those ten years of age and over is only a little over 4%. Of the grown people, most of them work. Eighty percent of the men and 52% of the women are gainful workers. The men have 10,000 in domestic and personal service, 5,000 in the building industry, 7,000 in public service, 4,000 working in wholesale and retail trade, 2,600 in professional service, 2,200 railway workers, and over 2,000 working onstreets and in transportation. The women

have 25,000 in domestic and personal service, 2,000 in professional service, 1,600 in public service, and 1,500 in mechanical and manufacturing industries.

Who are the leaders of this group. It is invidious to select such leaders by name and many people would disagree as to particular personalities, but we may name these in the first group, particularly because of the positions which they hold:

Congressman Oscar De Priest of Chicago but belonging officially to Washington.

37-5-32

Judge James A. Cobb, a presidential appointee to the Municipal Court.

Assistant Superintendent Garnet W. Wilkinson at the head of the colored public schools.

The three colored members of the school board: Mrs. Bertha McNeill, Dr. Hayden Johnson and the Reverend P. I. A. Bennett.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Presidentof Howard University.

Jefferson Coage, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.

Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian Minister to the United States.

Bishop E. D. W. Jones of the A. M. E. Zion Church.

These ten persons one might by common consent call the leading group of this city, and in a sense the leading group of the leading colored city in the world.

Judge Cobb knows the law and is a dignified jurist.

Garnet Wilkinson is the most effective head of the colored public schools since the day of Superintendent Cook.

The members of the school board are not all figureheads:

The Reverend Mr. Bennett does not hesitate to talk plain

English at times, and Mrs. McNeill has stood up and voted alone against the Board.

Congressman De Priest has made a better record than the average white Congressman.

President Johnson heads the leading Negro university of the world.

Mr. Bellegarde is a gentleman and a scholar and a man of outspoken convinctions.

Turning now to the professions, we may note, first, the medical men:

Dr. A. M. Curtis, well-known practitioner.

Dr. S. L. Carson, who specillizes in surgary.

Dr. Numa Adams, Dean of the Howard University Medical School.

Dr. Hamilton Martin.

In the other professions, are Charles H. Houston, the young Vice Dean of the Howard Law School, under whose administration it has become a Class A. school.

Carter Woodson, the historian.

Kelley Miller, the widely known teacher of Howard University and publicist.

The Washington public schools form an extraordinary set of institutions and merit a separate article. They have connected with them past and present unusual personalities. There is John C. Nalle and Miss Marian Shadd, both retired supervisors. One may mention H. H. Long, second Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools.

Dr. Anna Cooper, former Principal of the Dunbar High and Walter L. Smith, the present Principal.

G. David Houston of the Armstrong Technical.

Miss E. F. G. Merritt, a teacher who has made an enviable record.

Eugene Clarke is President of the new Miner Teachers' College, where Dr. Otelia Cromwell works, while Dr. Eva B. Dykes is at Howard University.

Dr. Lucy E. Moten, retired Principal of the former Miner Normal School has had wide influence, and among a host of other teachers, one may mention Miss Valeria E. Chase, Principal of the Brown Junior High School.

37-5-34

In a class by himself is Ernest Just, one of the great biologist of America, regardless of color, and a teacher at Howard.

Turning to the business world, we may note that Washington is not a colored business center, c either to Chicago or New York, but it has two banks, with John L. Hawkins at the head of one, and W. H. C. Brown at the head of the other.

Emmett T. Scott is the Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University and formerly Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

J. Finley Wilson is the most powerful fraternal leader in the colored United States.

Whitfield Mc Kinnley, who has long been a dealer in real estate.

Grayson McGuire is the leading undertaker.

A. M. Scurlock is the best known colored photographer in the country.

There are three gift shops, and several tea shops, private kindergartens, and dancing schools, and among the druggists are William H. Davis, W. L. Board, Benjamin H. Hunter and Vincent Thomas. There is a Reid's Music Corner and Maxwell's Publishing and Supply Company.

There are a large number of Negroes in government service, but under President Hoover there have been very few appointments or promotions. At present, Lafayette M. Hershaw is a Law Examiner in the Law Office, Charles E. Hall is head of a section in the Census Bureau, and there are the two presidential appointments mentioned above. It is interesting to learn that under the Democratic candidate, President Wilson, twenty-two colored clerks were promoted, including Mr. Hershaw, while under President Hoover not a single colored clerk has been either appointed or promoted.

37-5-25

In any colored group the clergemen must be prominent. The Dean of Washington clergeman is the Reverend Francis Grimké, of fine culture and splendid service to the Presbyterian Church. Others, are the Reverend W. L. Washington, a Baptist, the Reverend W. H. Thomas of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, and Reverend J. L. S. Holloman, a Baptist. The well-known Dr. Walter Brooks, and the Reverend W. H. Jernagin.

It is perhaps not altogether modern to mention women as a group but we may class together Mollie Church Terrell, former member of the school board, and widow of the late Judge Terrell.

Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, widow of the former Dean of Howard.

Miss Nannie Burroughs of the National Training School.

Mrs. Julia West Hamilton, President of the Y. W. C. A.

Mrs. Mattie McAdoo of the Y. W. C. A.

Miss Lucy Slowe, Dean of Howard.

Lillian Evanti, the sweet singer.

Among the artists, we put Georgia Douglass Johnson, the poet, Jean Toomer, grandson of Governor Pinchback, Alain Locke and Allison Davis, writers.

Duke Ellington was a Washington boy.

So large a group is naturally intrically organized in its social activities. It is separated from the White City by a rather strict Color Line, although a few colored people attend the President's New Year's Reception, and colored children hunt eggs. Before the Wilson Administration, certain colored district officials were invited to a few functions, but now Minister Bellegarde and Congressman DePriest are almost the only ones who cross the Color Line, although there are some meetings of teachers.

37-5-36

The economic power of the colored city is enough to insure them considerable respect in the white business world, although some shops and stores, where snobbery pays, discriminate.. Hotels, nearly always, and, of course, clubs. There are very little natural avenues where white and colored people may meet casually as human beings in the City of Washington. Naturally, with its large natural contingent, there are numbers of colored people who easily go from time to time where they please and do not mention their descent. A matter which curiously ittirates the White City, but after all, what can be done about it? Of course the inner social organization of the group is rich and varied, but not integrated or altogether unified. There is the oldest inhabitants club of some four hundred colored Washingtonians, who are either born in the city or have lived there thirty-five years or more. There are the Bachelor-Benedicts, and the Mus-o-lit Club. There is a powerful social service group, led by Mrs. Virginia McGuire, and the school group with the colored school officials. The literary lovers are guided by Mrs. Carrie Clifford. Then purely social groups, like the "Pollyannas", under the presidency of Mrs.

Ethel Murray. The younger set have the "Saps", "Cinderellas", the "Boobs", and "What Good Are We?", into whose intricate activities we can scarcely enter.

37-5-32

Washington, D. C.

The Secret City

A Study of Colored Washington

1890 —— 75 500
1900 —— 86 702

Colored population....1910..... 94,446
1920.....109,966
1930.....132,068

1910..... 28.5% of pop.
1920..... 25.1% " "
1930.....27.1%

1930.Male..62,225
Female.69,843

Male per 100 Females:
1910.....82.2%
1920.....86%
1930.....89.1%

Pop. 21 years and over:
1920.....73,448
1930.....88,388

Attending School:

5 years and over:
1930:
Whites..44.7%
Negroes.33.5%

6 years and over:
Whites..86.8%

Illiteracy

Total Negroes...10 years and over:
1930:.....111,224

Illiterate..... 4,591
4.1%

Negroes ..10-20 years of age:
1920..... 22,836

Illiterate.....102
4.1%

Negroes 21 years of age and over:
88,388

Illiterate..... 4,489
5.1%

Chief Occupations:

The figures include 887 "other colored".
Total colored population.....62,901 male
70,054 female

42-5-211

Persons 10 years of age and over.
Male.....52,492
Female.....59,496

Gainful workers:
Male.....42,253
Female.....31,423

Percentage of gainful workers to total population:

Male.....62.2%
Female.....44.9%

Percentage of gainful workers to population--
10 years of age and over:
Male.....80.5%
Female.....52.8%

Chief Occupations:
Male (Building Industry)
5,474

Construction of streets and roads and sewers
953

Railroad workers
2,245

Transportation and communication
1,473

Wholesale and retail trade
4,736

Public Service
6,715

Professional service
2,613

Domestic and personal service
9,998

Industry not specified
2,449

42-5-213

Females:

| | |
|---|---|
| Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries | 1,537 |
| Trade | 606 |
| Public Service | 1,646 |
| Professional service | 1,985 |
| Domestics and Personal Service | 25,251 |
| Industry not specified | 237 |

47-5-212

Washington

# The Secret City

## A Study of Colored Washington

### Colored Population

| | |
|---|---|
| 1910 | 94,446 |
| 1920 | 109.966 |
| 1930 | 132,068 |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 1910 | 28.5% of pop. |
| 1920 | 25.1% " " |
| 1930 | 27.1% " " |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 1930 (Male) | 62,225 |
| (Female) | 69,843 |

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### Male Per 100 Females

| | |
|---|---|
| 1910 | 82.2% |
| 1920 | 86 % |
| 1930 | 89.1% |

### Population 21 Years of Age and Over

| | |
|---|---|
| 1920 | 73,448 |
| 1930 | 88,388 |

### Attending School

| | Native Whites | Native Blacks | Negroes |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | [illegible] | [illegible] | 33.5% |
| 6 | 88.3% | | 74.4% |
| 7-13 | 98 % | | 96.6% |
| 14,15 | 96.4% | | 92.9% |
| 16,17 | 72% | | 56.7% |
| 18-20 | 33.3% | | 21.2% |

305-5-24

## Illiteracy

Total Negroes 10 years of age and over.....1930.....111,224

Illiterate..... 4,591

.....4.1%

Negroes, 10-20 years of age.....1920..... 22,836

Illiterate..... 102

.....4.1%

Negroes 21 years of age and over..... 88,388

Illiterate..... 4,489

.....5.1%..... 5.1%

## Chief Occupations

The figures include 887 "other colored". Total colored population:

Male..... 52,492

Female..... 59,496

Gainful workers:

Male..... 42,253

Female..... 31,423

Percentage of gainful workers to total population:

Male.....62.2%

Female.....44.9%

Percentage of gainful workers to population 10 years of age and over:

Male.....80.5%

Female.....52.8%

47-5-208

## Chief Occupations

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Male | (Building Industry) | 5,474 |
| | (Construction of streets and roads and sewers | [illegible]53 |
| | (Railroad workers | 2,245 |
| | (Transportation and communication | 1,473 |
| | (Wholesale and retail trade | 4,736 |
| | (Public Service | 6,715 |
| | (Professional service | 2,613 |
| | (Domestic and personal service | 9,998 |
| | (Industry not specified | 2,449 |
| Female | (Manufacturing and mechanical industries | 1,537 |
| | (Trade | 606 |
| | (Public service | 1,646 |
| | (Professional service | 1,985 |
| | (Domestic and personal service | 25,251 |
| | (Industry not specified | 237 |

## The Big Six

Judge Cobb

Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Wilkinson

Congressman De Priest

Colored member of the School Board

Recorder of Deeds Coage

President Johnson of Howard

The Haitian Minister Bellegarde

## The Professions

~~Dr. [illegible]~~ Dr. Curtis Curtis

Carter Woodson

Alain Locke

44-5-204

## Business

The Banker

The Leading Undertaker

## Churches

The Leading Preachers

## Women

Coralie Franklin Cook

Mrs. Mcadoo

## Society

Clubs and sets, travel, Arundel, Europe, automobiles, golf, old families income.

## The Color Line

In official life, in business and shopping, in banking and real estate.

Passing.

## The Artists

Georgia Douglas Johnson

Jean Toomer

## The Teachers

Mrs. Emma F. G. Merritt, the President of the N. A. A. C. P.
The High School Principals

The Supervisors

The leading teachers

Howard and the Normal School

Dr. Otelia Cromwell

MEMORANDUM ON WASHINGTON

1. The most prominent and influential colored citizens.

   A. Judge Cobb
   B. Superintendent Wilkinson
   C. Congressman De Priest
   D. The colored member of the School Board
   E. President Johnson of Howard
   F. Recorder of Deeds Coage
   G. The Haitian Minister Bellegarde

2. Prominent persons in the profession.

   Dr. A. M. Carter
   Mr. Carter Woodson
   Alain Locke
   Dr. Anna Cooper
   Dr. Otelia Cromwell

3. The leading figures in the schools.

   Miss Merritt

4. The Negro in business.

   The banker Hawkins
   The leading undertaker

6. The churches.

   The six or more leading preachers

7. Prominent Women

   Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook
   Mrs. Meadoo

8. The artists.

   Georgia Douglas Johnson
   Jean Toomer
   Duke Ellington

9. Society.

   The chief clubs and sets, travel, Arundel, Europe, automobiles, golf, old families, wealth and income.

10. The Color Line.

    Official life; in business and shopping, in banking and real estate; passing.

43-5-209

Washington

## [illegible] OF WASHINGTON

1. The most prominent and influential colored citizens:

   Judge Cobb
   Superintendent Wilkinson
   Congressman De Priest
   The Colored member of the School Board
   President Johnson of Howard
   Recorder of Deeds Longe
   The Haitian Minister Bellegarde

2. Prominent persons in the profession:

   Dr. A. L. Carter
   Mr. Carter Goodson
   Alain Locke
   Dr. Anna Cooper
   Dr. Otelia Cromwell

3. The Leading figures in the schools:

   Lisa Harris

4. The Negro in business:

   The bankers [illegible]
   The leading undertaker

5. The churches:

   The six or more leading ministers

6. Prominent women:

   Mrs. Cornelia Bruzlin Cook
   Mrs. Mondeo

7. The artists:

   Georgia Douglas Johnson
   Jean Toomer
   Duke Ellington

8. Society:

   The chief clubs and sets, travel, Amundel, Europe, automobiles, golf, old families, wealth and income.

9. The Color Line:

   Official life; in business and shopping, in banking and real estate; passing.

4-5-30

[Speech at 23rd NAACP Conference, May, 1932, Washington, D.C.] [1932]

Conference Speech
Washington
Du Bois

These are the four criticisms of the N. A. A. C. P.:

1. It has laid itself open to the charge of being a high brow organization, and while the work it has done has been in the main work for the masses, it must in the future recognise that the interests of the masses are the interests of this Association, and that the masses have got to voice themselves through this Association.

2. The N. A. A. C. P. has got to decentralise the power of the central office and learn that great lessons of democracy to use the store of experience and knowledge which the masses of people possess. We must, therefore, increase the ~~attitude~~ activity and power of the branches and of the Annual Conference.

3. We must have a positive program rather than mere negative attempt to avoid segregation and discrimination. We need a program of economic guidance of united effort for the realization of racial and inter-racial ideals and a program which recognizes the color and race problems of the world as part of our Negro problem here in America.

4. Finally, we must get the strength and courage for this readjustment of our objects by attracting and assisting and welcoming Youth to our organization.

30-27-23

Young Voters

~~From Louisiana~~

The Editor of the Louisiana Weekly writes:

"I shall appreciate very much a letter from you encouraging the young colored men of our city to increase their interest in politics. The older men have discouraged them and refused to act with them because of envy. A letter from you to the young men, urging them to carry on in spite of this selfish handicap, would go a long way toward kindling hope anew."

The situation of an intelligent, young colored man who wants to use his right to vote effectively in the South is exceedingly difficult. He is not admitted to the Democratic Party, and can not easily take part in their white primary. This is still true despite the continued efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. to stop it, and thus to break up one party government in the South.

On the other hand, the Republican Party in the South is not a party; it is mainly a group of selfish men, white and black, who are using the party organization for personal gain. Sometimes, under strong and honest leaders, like Cuney of Texas or Cohen of Louisiana, and in a few other cases, this group may be strengthened and organized so as to exercise some real political power and can bring appointments of well-equipped Negroes to office. Under such circumstances every efficient Negro officeholder is a protection and power

49-35-43

~~for good to the mass of Negroes.~~ But when this political group falls, as it always must eventually, into the hands of mediocre self seekers, or into the hands of local white politicians who use it simply for personal aggrandisement or who are in secret alliance with the Democratic Party, ~~so far as Federal appointments are concerned,~~ then the situation of the young and honest Negro voter is indeed difficult.

Nevertheless, there are certain clear lines of effort. First of all, the Negro must register and fight continually for the right of registration. The situation in Louisiana in this respect is disgraceful and the Negroes of Louisiana ought literally to pound the courts with cases until they get the right to register. One or two thoroughly arranged cases before the Supreme Court of the United States would show ~~learn~~ that of 415,000 Negroes in Louisiana in 1930, 21 years of age and over, less than 3,000 are registered, and this in spite of the fact that nearly 300,000 can read and write.

All Negroes who register should vote. First, they should seek to vote in the Democratic primary as this is the only voting that really counts. If they are denied this right, they should be especially careful to vote in those elections where the primary cannot function, as, for instance, in bond ~~issues~~ elections, and various referenda. In all bond issues, they should vote "no", unless they are able to get a categorical promise, ~~which~~ concerning the use of the money thus raised. They should especially vote for local officials and on local issues whenever and wherever they get a chance, and

they should form political organizations with the specific object, ~~and of getting jo~~ of equalizing taxation, stopping discrimination in civil life and ~~in~~ stopping discrimination in appropriations ~~and~~ for streets, schools and parks, ~~increasing~~ efforts in sanitation, and getting rid of venal and prejudiced public officials. They should write strong letters of protest, regularly and often to the papers, to the Congressmen, and to the President of the United States. They should thus build up an active and interested political life and ~~[illegible]~~ back it by just as many votes as they are able to cast.

49-25-45

Communism

## From Louisiana

The Editor of the Louisiana Weekly writes:

"I would appreciate very much a letter from you encouraging the young colored men of our city to increase their interest in politics. The older men have discouraged them and refused to act with them because of envy. A letter from you to the young men, urging them to carry on in spite of this serfish handicap, would go a long way toward kindling hope anew."

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for good to the mass of Negroes. But when this political group falls, as it always must eventually into the hands of mediocre seekers, or into the hands of local white politicians who use it simply for personal aggrandisement or who are in secret alliance with the Democratic Party, so far as Federal appointments are concerned, then the situation of the young and honest Negro voter is indeed difficult.

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they should form political organizations with specific object not of getting jobs but of equalizing taxation, stopping discrimination in civil life and in stopping discrimination in appropriations and streets, schools and parks, quickening efforts in sanitation, and getting rid of venal and prejudiced public officials. They should write strong letters of protest, regularly and often to the papers, to the Congressmen, and to the President of the United States. They should thus build up an active and interested political life and power and by just as many votes as they are able to caste.

30-4-7

## As the Crow Flies

We learn with apprehension that Japan, having read Spivak's "Georgia Nigger", will refuse to recognise the United States Government until slavery is abolished under the supervision of the League of Nations.

376-33

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Mr. Al Smith is Editor of the renewed Outlook. If Lyman Abbot has not already turned over in his grave, we are certain that investigation would at least find his bones seriously disarranged.

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We've got an eye on two birds in this campaign. One, is Roosevalt's first-born prodigy, who regularly hoggs about half the lens in all the campaign pictures and looks over-ready to talk. And the other, is the talking-wonder from Oklahoma, whom is wife introduced to fame, and who has already done is dammedest to spoil what few chances Hoover ever had. Between both these kids, there's hope for Thomas.

•

A sales tax is "absorbed easily", because the poor people who pay the bulk of it can hire neither lawyers, lobbists nor newspapers to pppose it. In the same way, increased rates for small users of gas and electricity give increased dividends for stock-holders.

•

It is rumored, although we don't believe it, that Jimmy Walker is returning to take the leading role in "Of Thee I Sing".

•

Will someone please tell us if the League can investigate treaties in Asia, why not in Haiti? And is this the reason the United States keeps outside the League, and if the League is right in Asia, why

[illegible] in the League for Liberia

37-6-34

(Continued--As the Crow Flies.)

and out of it for Haiti?

•

There is today in the world but one living maker of miracles, and that is Mahatma Gandhi. He stops eating, and four hundred thousand Indians, together with the British Empire, hold their breath until they can talk sense. All America sees in Gandhi is a joke, but the real joke is America.

•

We have got in the United States two and one-half million white people and one and one-half million Negroes who acknowledge that they can not read and write, according to the Census. We must have at least fifty millions of all colors who read nothing, even though they can.

•

In 1931, the Utility Industry, collected from the people who used electricity, gas, telephone and telegraph, [illegible] million Dollars. Some of which went to pay costs, but most of which went to pay profits. There is no reason why we shouldn't get twice the electricity at half the sum.

•

We note that the railway unions have asked Mr. Hoover to keep wages up, but none of their distinguished officials were able to find no one representing the Pullman Porters. From which we may assume that their wages do not interest the American Federation of Labor.

(Continued--As the Crow Flies.)

•

Harvard finds that American business leaders are becoming a caste, and that laborers do not rise to be business men because they haven't the ability. It seems to us that we have heard this before in different phrase.

•

That couplet, which was smeared on Grant's tomb in red paint, certainly has an intriguing lilt:

"The good but starve; the order of
the day
Is prey on others or become a prey."

•

37-6-35

Here's to Spain! She grinned and bore it for so long that the world got in the habit of leaving her out of the count. And then suddenly, she turned around; kicked out a king; took the landaway from the nobility; permitted local government to raise its head; simplified divorce, and did so many things in so short a time that most people haven't realized it yet.

W. E. B. Du Bois

# If I Had A Million Dollars.

If someone should give you a million dollars to spend in the settlement of the Negro problem over a period of twenty years, how would you spend it? One piquant answer to this question is furnished by the Twenty Year Report of the Phelps Stokes Fund, showing its activities from 1911 to 1931. During that time, the Fund has disbursed $1,244,447.55. If we subtract from this the expenses of administration and certain sums spent exclusively for white folk and American Indians, we have a net sum of $929,010 spent for Negroes.

The exact figures, omitting the cents, and with some re-classification of items from the published report, are as follows:

37-6-36

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Funds Expended | | | $1,244,447 |
| Subtract from these: | | | |
| Administration Expense | $107,628 | | |
| Housing for Whites | 195,059 | | |
| For Indians | 12,750 | | 315,437 |
| | | | $ 929,010 |
| Net Expenditure for Negroes: | | | |
| 1. Educational Services and Research | 200,543 | | |
| Surveys, United States | 49,984 | | |
| Surveys, Africa | 121,977 | $372,504 | |
| 2. Negro Schools | | | |
| United States | | | |
| Gifts | 190,585 | | |
| Scholarships | 6,015 | | |
| Educational Organizations | 25,168 | | |
| Africa | | | |
| Scholarships | 18,426 | | |
| Colored Schools and Teachers | 6,489 | 246,683 | |
| 3. Race Relations | | | |
| United States,-General | 97,803 | | |
| White Schools and Scholarships | 41,000 | | |
| Africa,—General | 47,122 | | |
| White Schools and Scholarships | 27,905 | 213,830 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Colored Y. M. C. A. Dormitories New York City | 75,000 |
| 5. | Liberia | 20,993 |
| | Total | $ 925,246 |

Nearly 40% of the money has been spent for ascertaining the facts concerning the Negro, and especially his educational status. This has involved the setting up of an educational office with experts at an expense of $200,000, through which surveys were made costing nearly $50,000 in the United States, and over $120,000 in Africa.

Of the value of the facts brought together in these surveys there can be no doubt. On the other hand, THE CRISIS has had frequent occasion to disagree with conclusions drawn from these facts.

37-6-37

The expenditure for Negro schools has taken nearly $250,000,—a modest sum, when one considers the needs of Negro education. Of this amount, half has gone to Hampton and Tuskegee, the Penn School, and schools of that type. Recognized colleges, like Howard, Fisk and Tuskegee have received only $42,000. The rest has gone in small amounts to small schools. The education of Negroes of Africa has been directly helped only by $18,000 worth of scholarships and about $7,000 in grants. The rest of the money has gone mainly to white people working more or less directly for the education of Africans or of white public opinion.

Race relations has loomed large in the Phelps Stokes program, involving $41,000 worth of scholarships and endowment for white folks in America to induce them to study the Negro problem and $97,000 for general work in race relations. In Africa, most of this money has gone to white exports, who have been persuaded to visit America and

make comparisons between the Negro here and in Africa. For this they have been paid $23,450 in honoraria alone. Beside this, $21,000 has gone to Liberia, chiefly for education, and $75,000 for Y. M. C. A. dormitory facilities in New York City. Several valuable conferences have been promoted and helped--$10,000 for the Le Zoute Conference of 1926; $3,000 for the Jerusalem Conference and $14,000 for conferences on native education.

The Editors of the report come to several conclusions concerning the Negro, some of which we quote:

"The American Negro and the civilized African native have been passing during this period through a transformation hardly paralleled in history. It has carried with it enormous advances in education and improvement in economic and living conditions. With these have come inevitably certain extremely difficult problems of readjustment.

"The most encouraging single factor in race relations during the period has been the formation of interracial groups for study and action in various localities. These have brought some of the highly educated white group in contact with the highly educated Negro group to the advantage of both. As a result we have seen the beginning of constructive planning on many important problems affecting Negro people.

"The most significant single transformation of twenty years in public opinion is that no man can now command any thoughtful hearing who tries to draw a barrier to progress and say "thus far and no further" as far as Negro potentiality is concerned. That potentiality has been proved beyond question. Given the right educational oppor-

tunity and the right environment the individual Negro of talent has proven himself capable of high achievement in every field of effort, whether it be art, or literature, or education, or religion, or medicine, or science.

"The question of civil rights of the black population is increasingly to the fore and will not down. It is realized that just as Abraham Lincoln was right in stating that this nation could not endure "half slave and half free," so those are right who maintain that this nation and every other democratic nation that wishes to survive must make its tests of citizenship objective and applicable to all who can meet them, irrespective of religion or race. There should be no disfranchisement or abrogation of other civic rights based on a man's birth alone."

37-6-41

The greatest accomplishment of the trustees of the Phelps Stokes Fund has been the education which they and their friends have received and by which they have gradually advanced from a point of view which looked for the salvation of the Negro race chiefly in intelligent white philanthropic leadership, to a height where they recognize that Negro leadership is indispensable for the uplift of the Negro race and that race relations are only of real value as they bring together equals to strive for mutual advancement.

(1932)

~~Sept 12, 1932~~

Hoover

Herbert Hoover

The indictment which Americans of Negro descent have against Herbert Hoover is long, and to my mind, unanswerable. The chief counts are the following:

1. He did not hesitate in 1928 to use the old methods of manipulating Southern delegates in order to secure his nomination. Notwithstanding this, when he was elected to the presidency, he adopted in toto the program of the "Lily-Whites", and sought to disfranchise Negroes in the councils of the Republican Party. At the same time, he kept in his councils white Southern Republicans, like Creager and Slemp. In other words, Mr. Hoover tried to get rid of Negroes and not dishonesty in Southern politics. And the basic cause of dishonesty, illegal disfranchisement, he never mentioned.

2. During the campaign of 1928, when Mr. Hoover was seeking Southern votes, it was necessary for the leaders of the Negro race, including nine officials of national Negro organizations, three bishops of Negro churches, four public officials, four college presidents, and two leading editors, to protest bitterly against the methods of Hoover's Southern friends. Never since Emancipation and the bargain of 1876, was a more dangerous attack made on the right of Negroes to vote. The protest said:

"We are asking in this appeal, for a public repudiation of this campaign of racial hatred. Silence and whispering in this case are worse than in matters of personal character and religion. Will white America make no protest? Will the candidates continue to remain silent? Will the Church say nothing? Is there in truth any issue in this campaign, either religious tolerance, liquor, water-power, tariff or farm relief, that touches in weight the transcendent and fundamental question of the open, loyal and unchallenged recognition of the essential humanity of twelve million Americans who happen to be dark-skinned?"

(Continued—Herbert Hoover.)

To this national protest, Herbert Hoover did not answer a single word. On the contrary, his 'Lily-White" policy continued the campaign.

3. Mr. Hoover's persistence in this attitude was further proven by his willingness to appoint to public office known enemies of the Negro race. In the face of wide protest and plain facts, he appointed William N. Doak as Secretary of Labor, knowing that Doak was active ~~as a trade union leader~~ in West Virginia in depriving Negroes of the right to work ~~by excluding them from unions~~ especially on the railways. The recent systematic campaign against Negro firemen in the South is a ~~direct result of Doak's attitude~~ movement in the Doak direction and ~~has~~ resulted alone ~~the~~ last year in seven Negro firemen killed and fourteen seriously injured by their white fellow workers.

Mr. Hoover nominated as Justice to the United States Supreme Court John J. Parker of North Carolina, in spite of the fact that Parker had opposed the right of Negroes to vote. We have been told that Parker was willing to repudiate this stand but that the White House refused to let him; at any rate, while Mr. Hoover hastened to explain Parker's labor decisions, he treated his anti-Negro attitude with disdainful silence and despite advice and pleading, insisted upon sending this nomination to the Senate. It was finally defeated by a narrow margin by the influence of the Negro and labor vote and despite every effort of the administration to force it through.

37-6-85

4. Mr. Hoover in his attitude toward Negro governments in Haiti and Liberia has ~~been~~ blown both hot and cold, and ended most unfortunately in both cases. He refused to appoint a Negro member to the Haitian Commission, and while his commission made excellent recommendations, Mr. Hoover followed them slowly and with long periods of hesitation, and he still insists, at the dictation of great financial interests, that the United States keep indefinite control of Haitian finances.

was the head of a Union Trade... which openly excludes Negroes and this for years he

(Continued—Herbert Hoover.)

In the same way, in Liberia, he is refusing his assent to the excellent plan of reform drawn up by the League of Nations and demanding a dictator who ~~can~~ will destroy the independence of Liberia. The United States refuses to be represented at Geneva but the Firestone Rubber Company has headquarters there, in the same hotel with Mr. Hoover unofficial adviser dictates Mr. Hoover's policy, demands the right to name the proposed dictator, and refuses to recognize a Negro government which has lived more than a century.

5. Mr. Hoover has permitted and ordered outrageous discrimination based on color. He sent colored Gold Star mothers on separate ships with inferior accommodations to visit their son's graves; in officers' training camps, he refused nearly all Negro applicants. He was begged to stop open discrimination against Negroes in Red Cross relief, following the Mississippi flood in 1927; he first denied the facts, and when they were confirmed by his own committee, he suppressed their report, and never applied adequate remedies.

37-6-86

In the same way, he is today allowing the War Department to white-wash the equally unjustifiable discrimination against Negroes and bad treatment of workers in the government contracts in flood control.

6. Herbert Hoover practically promised in his 1928 campaign speech At Elizabethton, Tenn., that he would appoint to office no persons to whom white Southerners objected. He has more than carried out this promise and has ~~not~~ made ~~a single~~ fewer first-class appointments of a Negro to office than ~~during his administration.~~ any President since Andrew Johnson. His few minor appointments have been mediocre and political. Particularly, in cases like Haiti and Ethiopia, where logic and courtesy gave him unusual opportunity to recognize Negroes, he flatly ignored them. In the Civil Service, he has allowed eligible Negroes systematically to be refused appointment, and colored appointees to be dismissed from their positions; while in the diplomatic and consular service, he has reduced the number of

(Continued—Herbert Hoover.)

incumbents and made few new appointments.

7. Especially has it been true that President Hoover, knowing as he must, the extraordinary and unprecedented struggle of the American Negro, his handicaps and disadvantages, not to mention his continuing illegal oppression, has in the four years that he has been in the White House, made only the vaguest reference to this race and its needs. He has said absolutely nothing about disfranchisement, peonage nor racial segregation, and next to nothing about lynching and mob law, although fifty-seven Negroes, unconvicted by any court of any crime, have been lynched during his administration. He has done nothing to correct discrimination in the distribution of government educational funds, although he knows that of the more than six million dollars a year, divided by the government among seventeen Southern states for education, only $340,000 goes to black people who form one-fourth of the population. He has exhibited an almost laughable disinclination to receive Negro visitors or delegations or to be photographed in their company.

37-6-87

It may be said that the above arraignment, even if true, is partial and one-sided, in that it judges the acts of a public official elected to serve 123 million people from the point of view of the special interests and desires of 12 million.

If the demands of 12 million colored Americans were antagonistic to those of their 111 million fellows, there would remain a grave question of duty and sacrifice and a nice dilemma as to how far a nation can ask a tenth of its souls to commit suicide.

But we Negroes contend that our problem is but a microcosm of the nation and that the president who fails us fails all.

Take the great national problems: the Depression of Industry; the International Debts; the Tariff; ~~the Medium of Exchange.~~ In

all these, President Hoover has been either wrong or helplessly inadequate and each of these failures affects us. Stubbornly and blindly, the President for three years ~~had~~ denied that there was any depression; ~~has~~ allowed the figures of unemployment to be falsified, and ~~has~~ refused to sanction adequate and thorough-going relief. When he was forced to face relief, he went to the rescue of banks, railroads and corporations. Yet, we Negroes were the first and severest sufferers from depression and the last to be relieved.

The world owes this nation a fantastic sum which it cannot pay and never will. Led by Herbert Hoover, we stand pat, insist on the latter of the ~~bond~~ and refuse to discuss it. As a result, ~~all~~ peace industry, ~~all trade~~ and international good will suffer. America becomes the best-hated nation on earth. No one credits her with either good sense or good contentions, and yet all must dance attendance on her organized and despotic economic power. And this economic power crushes Negro labor at home, just as it ~~crushes~~ retards European recovery abroad.

As a manufacturing nation, we need to sell goods all over the earth. We can only sell to those who can pay. Nations pay for imports with exports. Herbert Hoover signed a bill which taxed imports so highly that nations cannot afford to buy our goods. Hoover knew the rates were too high, yet he signed the bill. Our exports decline, our factories close and we starve. And we Negroes starve first and longest.

Moreover, we cannot as a nation secure ~~trust~~ control of industry and politics as long as the rotten boroughs of the South, with political power based on disfranchised black and white labor, make a third party movement impossible. No one in our day has helped disfranchisement and race hatred more than Herbert Hoover by his "Lily-White" policy, his appointments to office, and his failure to recognize or appreciate the plight of the Forgotten Black Man.

For these reasons, I urge and beg every black voter to help defeat Herbert Hoover for President.

It is arming for war as fast as it can. Here Mr. Hoover's leadership is vacillating and contradictory. He calls for a temporary moratorium and then refuses to discuss the problems it raises. He evolves a formula for peace which makes others disarm and allows us to increase armament + ~~as a result of this stubby shillying~~ He demands that the League of Nations rule in Manchuria but not in Liberia. He wants treaties observed by Japan in China but not by the United States in Haiti

"For Unto Us a Child is Born".

The man to whom the world is boredom and humdrum routine, easily forgets its miracles: the waxing and waning with the seasons, the marvel of sunrise, and the glory of sunset, but even one who finds life tasteless or Sunny can not without trembling and amazement face the miracle of birth.

Comes, first, the ecstasy of the pain; the shattering, the tearing, wrenching, physical agony such as one reads of afar, but seldom in a lifetime hears within one's own doors. Then there is the new born child, an astonishing perfect microscosm of a bewildering universe; with lacework of fingers and toy toes, and great enveloping, disconcerting, unfathomable eyes. So fragile a bit of machinery yet working perfectly rythmically with blood, breath, heartbeat and moving muscle. What is Machinery to this Miracle. The cynic who is hard-boiled; who knows that life is cheating and singing and hating, stops whether he will or no and worships at a cradle.

We colored folk of this generation are foregoing the joy of children in wide degree. We recoil at the beastly pain, the primitive dirt, the endless work, the high cost. We remember in our own family hordes of unkempt, squalling brats, the slattern, haggard mother, the overworked, irritable father. When with discriminating care we choose the pleasures of life, in larger and larger numbers, we are choosing everything but children.

This younger generation,—not the youngest, but people of twenty-five, thirty, forty,—want comfortable homes, a small car, a chance to entertain friends now and then with cards and lunch, the theatre and the cinema, some travel, books and study. And yet those who have chosen this come singularly soon to recognise gaps. There is nothing like the tragedy of childless age. There comes rather suddenly to the man, and par-

ticularly to the woman of forty, a cutting off from present and future life which they cannot at first understand and deeply resent. They are no longer young and they have fewer and fewer young companions. Youth and children about them speak a new and unintelligible language. Strange antagonism and petty criticism arises between them and children and youth. At last, as they grow still older, they realize that before death they are dead, because they are separated from a new and re-created world.

37-6-155

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There is no need of deceiving one's self at the cost of children. Macey's advertises a baby carriage at $59. The young mother in my family is continually astonished at the time the new baby consumes in mere eating. She has no sooner fed it, than "Wow!", she must feed it again. There is washing and dressing and undressing and bathing. Nurse-maids are for the rich and at that costly in more ways than one. Even laundries are dangerous to health and pocketbook. And this is but the beginning of trouble. "You will never sleep quietly again." said a mother to the mother of my first born, who had complained of the 5 A.M. waking habits of her child. Cost, care, work, worry, all these children demand and must get.

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Yet those who would re-make the world; those who have within the unearthly joy and verve of the creative artist, can accomplish, nothing that compares with giving birth to, molding and raising a generation of men. With thought and effort, with pattern and ideal, the world in these coming children becomes a new and possible and explicable thing. Not all men, not all women, either by heritage or inclination, are suited to this high task. Few mothers have the physical strength, and few fathers the time and money for the raising of more than one or two children. But those who have the vision and the power, and who can bring a few children into the world, and give those children what children

ought to have, in food and manners, clothes, training and ideals,—these are the ones and the only ones whose eyes behold the Glory of the Coming of the Lord,— whether He comes in Papal Rome or Soviet Russia or the low swamps of Mississippi.

37-6-158

# MAX YERGAN, UPLIFTER OF SOUTH AFRICA
By Helen R. Bryan.

Miss Helen R. Bryan, Secretary of the Committee on Race Relations of the Philadelphia Friends, in order to broaden her outlook on problems of race, took last summer a trip to South Africa and her most interesting discovery was Max Yergan, the young colored man who established Y. M. C. A. work among the Negroes of that land. The South Africans did not want him. They tried various methods of keeping him out, and some Americans co-operated. But at last, by dint of steady pressure, he got the chance to sacrifice his life in a great cause. And this is what he is doing.

OK Pres Coleman Sent to Pres 9 Cross Lent. Nov 15, 32

Dec 1932

37-6-149

How Guilty Is Liberia?

I most emphatically think that the Negro has a better chance in Liberia than any where else in Africa. I haven't been everywhere but the Gold Coast is supposed to be the very best colony in all Africa. I was seven weeks there. Let me tell you one incident. I was walking down the street by the market in Accra. The sidewalk was so crowded that the people were also filling the street. Most of them women and children. I did not see the first part of this incident but what must have happened was this: An Englishman in a car turned the corner very rapidly. A young Negro, well-dressed, very well-bred looking must have called out to the Englishman to be careful on account of the women and children in the street. He couldn't have called loudly or rudely or I should have heard. I was only a few steps away but looking in another direction. What I saw and heard was this: The Englishman stopped his car at the curb, jumped out upon the sidewalk and slapped the young man in the face and shouted (I heard him very easily.) "How dare you call out to me like that? Don't I know more about running a car than you. I'll have you arrested if you dare to call out to a European." The young man said absolutely nothing. Then turning, the Englishman saw me, (I seemed to be the only European in sight), and said: "This is outrageous. Such insolence!" And I said: "You are showing them such a good example of self control, aren't you?" He turned redder than he was, but he couldn't turn much redder than he was, but he couldn't turn much redder, and said: "It's you missionaries who ruin them." I didn't argue with him and tell him I wasn't a missionary. What was the use! He walked to his car and as he got in he turned to the perfectly silent crowd and said: "If any of you dare to shout at a European , I'll have you arrested." And not one native made any protest. They evidently knew it would be perfectly useless.

(Cont. "How Guilty Is Liberia?")

Contrast this with the story Mr. Buell tells about a Firestone man slapping a Liberian native.

The Liberian Government is not blameless, but its worst sins are shared by the would be reformers. If they forced men to go to Fernando Po and Libreville, the partners in the forcing were the owners of the European ships and the Spanish and French concessionaires or governments. The brutalities of the Frontier Force are brutalities practiced by soldiers everywhere—Americans in the Philippines, the English in Ireland, and the French, everywhere. The Liberian Government didn't have this standing army until the English and French forced them to. And as for taking lands and forced labour at home—Where have there been in Liberia such forced labour as in the French Congo, such spoilation of land as in South Africa and Kenya?

37-6-150

I believe the graft the most serious blot, but as in Latin America, is it those who buy and benefit or those who are bought and are tempted who are most to blame? Mr. King was no worse than those presidents kept in Cuba in Peru, and in Venezuela by American capital and the American Department of State owned by capital. The trouble with Liberia is that Liberia is objecting to the boa-constrictor—a proper hare should enjoy being swallowed.

I hope and pray that the Liberian Government will see that these taxes for their salaries are as wicked as the National City Bank and Firestone extortions. But we, of the country of the National City Bank and Firestone, have no right to throw stones. And as for law and order, you know one is safer in Liberia than in New York. As poor Lindbergh.

I know that Liberia is not able to spend so much on education as the British colonies, or the West Coast spends on the education of the Africans, but knowing how to read is not everything. Some Englishmen

(Cont. "How Builty Is Liberia?")

twitted Madariaga about Spain's wishing to have a permanent seat in the council, saying: "Why, the large majority of Spaniards are illiterate! Madariaga retorted: "Does it show greater lack of intelligence not to be able to read—or to be able to read The Daily Mail?" I still think that Liberia gives more in giving a greater sense of dignity, though not so many are able to read The Daily Mail, as in the British Colonies.

37-6-151

Chas Edlund

# LISTEN, JAPAN AND CHINA

37-6-46

Colossi of Asia and leaders of all colored mankind: for God's sake stop fighting and get together. Compose your quarrels on any reasonable basis. Unite in self-defense and assume that leadership of distracted mankind to which your four hundred millions of people entitle you.

Listen to a word from twelve little black millions who live in the midst of western culture and know it: the intervention of the League of Nations bodes ill for you and and all colored folk. There are philanthropists and reformers in Europe and America genuinely interested in all mankind. But they do not rule, neither in England nor France, not in Germany nor in America. The real rulers of the world today who stand back of Stimson, Macdonald and Herriot are blood-sucking, imperial tyrants who see only one thing in the quarrel of China and Japan and that is a chance to crush and exploit both. Nothing has given them more ghoulish glee than the blood and smoke of Shanghai and Manchuria or led them to rub hands with more solemn unction and practiced hypocrisy.

Unmask them, Asia; tear apart their double faces and double tongues and unite in peace. Remember, Japan, that while America despises and fears you. Remember, China, that England covets your land and labor. Unite! Beckon to the three hundred million Indians; drive Europe out of Asia and let her get her own raped and distracted house in order. Let the yellow and brown race, nine hundred million strong take their rightful leadership of mankind. Let the young Chinese and Japanese students and merchants of America and Europe cease debate and recrimination while gleeful whites egg them on. Get together and wire word to Asia. Get together China and Japan, cease quarrelling and fighting! Arise and lead! The world needs Asia.

[illegible, 1938]

12-11-31

Howard Again

In the April 1932 issue of the Crisis there appeared an editorial entitled "Again Howard." The statements contained in that editorial were based upon information emanating from sources which the Editor believed to be reliable. These statements came from sources favoring but one side of a controversy involving the President, Secretary-Treasurer, and a certain group of the Trustees of Howard University.

I desire to make it perfectly clear that it was furthest from my mind to injure Dr. Scott or to reflect upon his integrity, ability, or zeal in behalf of Howard University.

If the statements contained in said editorial have injured the Secretary-Treasurer in any way, I am sorry and cheerfully withdraw any word of mine that reflected upon him or upon any member of the Board.

Julia Peterkin [Autho. 1937]

C O P Y

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12-11-51

Howard [NAACP, 1932]

THE CRISIS learns that at a recent meeting of the Board of Trustees of Howard University decisions were taken which will eventually end the chief sources of controversy.

THE CRISIS is gratified since the only object of its recent comments has been the welfare of our leading university and the reputation of the Negro race, and it had no personal or petty ends to serve.

We are aware that in our editorial of last April we presented only one side of the controversy—the side which we believed essentially right. Perhaps, in full fairness, we should have asked the Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University to present his side also. If our failure to do this has injured him in any way, we are sorry and cheerfully withdraw any word of ours that reflected on his personal integrity. What we desired and desire is the continual advance of Howard University.

12-11-49

[March, 1932]

Not hard copy

Scott

HOWARD AGAIN.

In the April 1932 issue of The Crisis there appeared an editorial entitled "Again Howard". The information contained in that editorial came from sources which the Editor believed to be absolutely reliable. Unfortunately it represented but one side. The Editor realizes that it is unfair in the bitter controversy between the President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and a certain group of the Trustees of Howard University to give the point of view of one faction only.

Accordingly the Editor regrets the publication of the editorial in the April issue of The Crisis and takes this occasion to withdraw it.

## HOWARD AGAIN

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12-11-50

Miss Wilson

Copy this. Keep 1 copy

Send 1 copy to Arthur Spingarn with a note

Send 1 " " Crawford, with a note

W.E.B.D

Mar

CAN A WOMAN BE A PHYSICIAN?

Down in Philadelphia in one of its characteristic narrow streets some twenty-one blocks north of Market, there is a typical Philadelphia house of the middle-class, neat brick, with a physician's sign outside, Dr. Virginia Alexander.

Within, there is a waiting room, a doctor's office, a little operating room, a dining room and a kitchen. Upstairs, there is what the English call a bed-sitting room, and two rooms fitted up as hospital wards. Above, are two more bedrooms. This is the _____ sanitorium, and here _____ children have been born in the last _____ years, and _____ patients treated, and an extraordinary work for health, advice and uplift carried on by one girl.

A good many people looking at Virginia Alexander would say she was too young and too good-natured to be a successful physician. Some folk have made tragic mistakes by not being able to recognize her extraordinary skill, and far and beyond that, her splendid sacrifice and devotion. As a business woman, she is the joke of her friends; forgetting to collect her fees, handing them back to the poor, furnishing medicine for nothing, and working endlessly with her strong, young body. But among physicians and among patients who know, Virginia Alexander has answered the question as to whether a colored woman can succeed in her profession.

She was born in Philadelphia on _____ Street, one of four children, two boys and two girls. The oldest boy, Raymond Pace Alexander, is one of the best colored lawyers of the present generation. Virginia went through the High School with a brilliant record and entered the University of Pennsylvania. Her mother died

(Cont. Can A Woman Be A Physician?)

and her father early lost his position of riding master. She had to work, turn-twist; she served as waitress, as a maid, as a clerk, anything and everything, until she had pushed herself through college. Then, there was the wall of the Medical School. It seemed at first impossible, but by work and outside aid of a Quaker friend, Virginia went through. The difficulty, however, was not simply that of money. The Women's College at that time and perhaps even now distinctly did not want colored students. The difficulties which they threw in the way of this and one or two other colored girls, are almost inconceivable. There was one professor who took especial delight and pains in re-telling to his classes, where there were colored students, everything discreditable, dirty and insulting story about colored people that he could think of, and when on complaint the Dean had to interfere, the professor simply walked in and lectured these girls about trying to get above their people. It did not make any difference what they tried to accomplish; they must remember that they were still Negroes. But Virginia got through, and today, she is Consulting Physician in_____on the staff of the Woman's College of Medicine in Philadelphia. She practices also in _____hospitals; has a large clientele among colored people and some whites; has had extraordinary success in obstetrical work, and carried on her little sanitorium. With all this she keeps on studying. She continues with lectures in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania; she has helped operate at Temple University, and at other places. Her unique plan of a group of young colored specialists, with technicians, working together for the health of the Negro race, is not yet realized, but it is begun.

Can you be a physician? That depends in the long run, not on your sex or color, but on you.

35-2-536

Brookhart.

Employment

One of the most astonishing statements in the last presidential campaign was that made by Ex-President Coolidge at Madison Square Garden, in which he declared that "People can not be furnished with suitable permanent employment unless someone can derive a reasonable profit from employing them." The extraordinary thing about this statement is the fact that it raised so little discussion, or rebuttal. And yet it contains in one sentence the essence of the indictment which all intelligent men have against our present economic order. As a statement of alleged truth, it is absolutely false. The real truth being that in the long run no permanent employment can be furnished any people if that employment is based solely on private profit.

37-6-153

(Pres Conf.)

Edward Wilmot Blyden

One Hundred Years ago, there was born in the Virgin Islands, while they were still subject to Denmark, a boy who become one of the greatest leaders of the Negro race.

At seventeen, Blyden tried to secure education in the United States, but no university would admit him. He went to Liberia in 1851, where he studied and taught at Liberia College and travelled in Africa and the East. Here he gained a keen sympathy with the Mohammedan religion. He was twice a member of the ~~British~~ Liberian Cabinet and for eight years Minister to England. In England, he became an Honorary member of the Athenaum Club, one of the most aristocratic clubs of London. Becoming estranged from Liberia, he cast in his lot with the English Colony of Sierra Leone and there ended his days. His greatest work is ""Christianity, ~~Iceland~~ Islam and the Negro Race".

37-6-152

Marx
Articles

# Karl Marx and the Negro

Without doubt the greatest figure in the science of modern industry is Karl Marx. He had been a center of violent controversy for three-quarters of a century, and for that reason there are some people who are so afraid of his doctrines that they dare not study the man and his work. This attitude is impossible, and particularly today when the world is so largely turning toward the Marxian philosophy, it is necessary to understand the man and his thought. This little article seeks merely to bring before American Negroes the fact that Karl Marx knew and sympathized with their problem.

37-6-70

Karl Henrich Marx was born in 1818 and died in 1883 and was a German Jew. His adult life, therefore, reached from the panic of 1837 through the administration of President Hayes. The thing about him which must be emphasized now was his encyclopedic knowledge. No modern student of industry probably ever equaled his almost unlimited reading and study. He knew something about the situation from his German comrades who migrated to the United States, but these imigrants were of little help so far as his final conclusions were concerned. Kriege, a German radical, who came to the United States, said frankly in 1846, that "We feel constrained to oppose abolition with all our might." Weitling, a Communist, paid scant attention to the slavery question. The German Labor Convention at Philadelphia in 1850 was dumb on slavery. Even Weidemeyer, Marx's personal friend, said nothing about slavery in his Workingmen's League, which was founded in 1853, although the next year he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. When the League was re-organized in 1857, it still said nothing about slavery, and a powerful branch of the League which succeeded in 1857 advocated widespread serfdom of blacks and Chinese. Then came the

(Cont. Karl Marx and the Negro.)

war and Marx began to give the situation attention.

"The present struggle between the South and the North," wrote Marx in 1861, "is....nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. Because the two systems can no longer live peaceably side by side on the North American continent, the struggle has broken out."

p.5. Herberg, Will, The Heritage of the Civil War.

37-6-71

He was well acquainted with those splendid leaders of the English workers who kept England from recognizing the South and perhaps entering the Civil War, and who organized those monster mass meetings in London and Manchester late in 1862 and early in 1863. It is possible that Marx had some hand in framing the addresses sent to President Lincoln with which they congratulated the Republic and found nothing to condemn except "The slavery and degradation of men guilty only of a colored skin or African parentage." The Manchester address congratulated the President on liberating the slaves in the District of Columbia, putting down the slave trade, and recognizing the Republics of Haiti and Liberia, and concluded that "you cannot now stop which are a complete uprooting of slavery." It was after this, in September, 1864, that the International Workingmen's Association was formed in which Marx was a leading spirit, and his was the pen that wrote the address to Abraham Lincoln, in November, 1864,

(Insert.)

(Cont. Karl Marx and the Negro.)

To this the American Ambassadore to London replied sympathetically. After Lincoln's assassination, Marx again drafted a letter to Andrew Johnson in behalf of the International Association.

(Insert.)

And after the war had closed, in September, 1865, still another letter went to the people of the United States from the same source. In June of that year, a few months after Johnson had become President, Marx, writing to Engles, senses the beginnings of Reconstruction.

"I naturally see what is repulsive in the for of the Yankee movement," wrote Marx, "but I find the reason for it in the nature of a bourgeois democracy...where swindle has been on the sovereign throne for so long. Nevertheless, the events are world-upheaving..."

p. 12-13.

37-6-72

Naturally, Marx stood with the Abolitionist democracy, led by Sumner and Stevens.

"Mr. Wade (a leading Radical, president of the Senate.-W.H.) declared in public meetings that after the abolition of slavery, a radical change in the relations of capital and of property in land is next upon the order of the day."

p. 15.

He was suspicious of Johnson and wrote Engles in 1865:

"Johnson's policy disturbs me. Ridiculous affectation of severity against individual persons; up to now highly vacillating and and weak in the thing itself. The reaction has already begun in America and will soon be strengthened if this spinelessness is not put to an end to."

(Cont. Karl Marx and the Negro.)

And finally, in 1877, after the Negroes had been betrayed by the Northern industrial oligarchy, he wrote:

"The policy of the new president (Hayes) will make the Negroes, and the great exploitation of land in favor of the railways, mining companies, etc...will make the already dissatisfied farmers into allies of the working class."

It was a great loss to the American Negroes that the great mind of Marx and his extraordinary insight into industrial conditions could not have been brought to bear at first hand upon the history of the American Negro between 1876 and the World War. Whatever he said and did concerning the uplift of the working class must, therefore, be modified so far as Negroes are concerned by the fact that he had not studied at first hand their peculiar race problem here in America. Nevertheless, he did know the plight of the working class in England, France and Germany, and American Negroes must understand what his panacea was for those folk if they would see their way clearly in the future.

37-6-73

Jan 11, 1933
Baltimore

COLOR CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES

There are a large number of well-meaning citizens of this country who seem to be under the impression that the main lines of the Negro problem are settled, and that while there is a great deal more advance to be made, nevertheless, that the average Negro who is not too impatient should be willing to proceed toward his ultimate goal by quiet progress and unemotional appeal.

This is not true. It is so far from the truth that if any free inhabitants of a modern country, like France, England or Germany, were subjected to the caste restrictions which surround American Negroes they would without hesitation burst into flaming revolution. Let us consider the facts. We may begin with marriage.

A Negro in this country may not, in most of the states, marry the person whom he wishes to marry. Even if he has been married legally elsewhere, he may not live with his wife in the Southern States, unless she is also of Negro descent. A colored girl who has been seduced has in most of the states of the United States no legal way of making her child legitimate. The very fact of having Negro blood is regarded in most states as being such a stigma that the false allegation of it may be a crusade for

The Negro married couple may not live where they wish or in a home that they are able to buy. By law or custom, by covenant or contract, or by mob rule, they are almost everywhere in the United States restricted and must for the most part live in the worst parts of the city on the poorest land in the country, and receive from the government the least attention. When it comes to occupations, Negroes are restricted in a peculiar way. If they are farmers in the South, they are in many districts prevented from selling their crops, except through white men or from improving their property, save at the risk of mob violence. In other and larger regions, they can-

(Cont. Color Caste in the United States.)

not take part in co-operative farming or farmers' organizations, except the organization which is composed entirely of Negroes. There are certain sections where it would be practically suicide for a Negro farmer to try to buy land. They are restricted and systematically cheated in the selling of their crops. They have little chance for the education of their children and they have no voice in their own government and taxation. As miners, they can seldom become foremen. If they do not join the Union, they get a chance to work only by excepting the lowest wages. If they do join the Union, they are assigned the lowest wages to work. In manufacturing and mechanical industries, they cannot get capital to carry on such jobs unless they raise it in small sums among themselves. In case they do, they have small chance in the North, small credit at the banks. If they learn mechanical trades they are restricted by the unions, most of which either buy actual legislation or by the action of local unions will not allow them to join the Union. If they do not join the Union, the Union keeps them out, and they only get a chance to enter as scabs, in which case they are in danger of mob violence and open slander by their fellow workers. If they attempt to form their own unions, they have difficulty in finding enough people with the requisite skill to take over any considerable units of work. They must, therefore, compete mostly for unskilled and semi-skilled labor at the lowest current rate of wages. They do not usually receive any promotion. They have no voice in the conduct of industry, and they can be dismissed with the least consideration of any of the workers. Particularly, when it comes to new kinds of work and new machines and new methods. They are the last to be given an opportunity to learn and they are admitted to a minimum of wage and consideration. In transportation, they can only work as common

37-7-101

(Cont. Color Caste in the United States.)

laborers. The railway union of engineers' conductors and firemen by constitutional enactment will not admit them. The colored Firemen's Union has been fought in every way by the white Firemen's Union until the last few years they have resorted to open murder. In trade, Negroes are greatly restricted. Their small banks are entirely at the mercy of the big credit organizations. The retail stores stand little chance in competition with the chain stores, and in the chain stores for the most part no Negroes are hired as managers and few as clerks. In insurance, their opportunity is restricted by the white insurance officials and by their opportunities for investment of their funds. In public and civil service they are especially restricted because three-fourths of the Negroes who meet all the legal requirements are illegally disfranchised. Inall the states of the Southern South any black man, whether he can read or write, or own property, or whatever his qualifications, can be kept from effectively exercising the right to vote. In those Southern States where eight of the twelve million Negroes live there is not a single Negro member of the legislature, not a single Negro who is a member of a city council, not a single Negro who holds a county office, or very few Negro policemen. They are taxed absolutely without representation and receive scant consideration from the officers of the administration. In the North, there are a few members of the Legislature and City Councils and some representatives in the civil service, but in nearly all cases the representation is far below that which proportional representation would give.

On the stage, the Negro actor is paid less and has less opportunity for his genius because the public will not endure, save in special cases, any portrayal of a Negro except as a ministrel and a monkey. There have been some few exceptions to this but they are

(Cont. Color Caste in the United States.)

so few today we can name them on the fingers of the hand. Artists and writers stand a somewhat better chance but if they write what they wish and feel and know the white audience refuses to read or look. Their chance, therefore, for any wide recognition is very slim. Negro lawyers stand almost no opportunity in the courts of the South and restricted opportunity in those of the North. For the most part, the Negro is arrested by a white policeman and his arrest named conviction. He is liable to no legal defense, even if innocent, and to receive the limit of the law. His crime in the South is traded in so that states like Mississippi actually make a surpluse income on selling the work of criminal to private profiteers. The courts for years in the South have been made instruments for reducing the Negro to peonage and slavery. Any attempt to measure the real amount of Negro crime by counting the persons arrested and convicted is nonsense. Negro clergemen can only preach in Negro churches and Negro physicians and dentists must confine themselves largely to Negroes. Hospitals discriminate against Negro physicians no matter what their ability and give them only slight chance for study. In domestic and personal service, the lower the grade of work the more unprotected the women are, the larger opportunity is given to Negroes wherever the service is standardized and given a decent wage they are excluded. The opportunity of the Negro for education is limited. Most of the black children born in the South, outside of a few large cities, do not have a chance to learn to read and write, and in the cities the schools are overcrowded, poorly housed, taught to considerable degree by poorly trained teachers and neglected by the white supervising officials. The health of the Negro is made worse by forcing him to live in slums, by giving him inadequate hospital attention and by lack of trained nurses. In the spending

37-7-103

(Cont. Color Caste in the United States.)

of his money made under such difficult circumstances, the Negro is met by difficulties at every turn. In the South, he cannot travel without the insult of separate and inferior cars, for which he pays the standard price. He cannot take part in recreation on equal terms. He cannot assert his civil rights in parks, in public buildings and public lectures and entert inments. He is not admitted to competition on equal terms. He does not get a chance to take advantage of scientific foundations so that the whole field of science is practically closed to him. He lives under a stigma which is increased by deliberate propaganda; by the teaching of professors and schoolteachers, by the words of textbooks, by the distorted message of history. And above all, it is practically impossible for any Negro in the United States, no matter how small his heritage of Negro blood may be, to meet his fellow citizens on terms of equality without being made a subject of all sorts of discriminations, embarassments and insults.

37-7-104

It would, of course, be untrue to say that of all these restrictions happen to all Negroes at all times. There are innumerable exceptions; there are numbers of local exceptions. Nevertheless, by and large, this is a true picture of the caste situation in the United States today. Those people, white or black, who say that color discrimination has decreased are in a sense right. There was a time when a white man had a perfect right to knock a Negro down for any offense, real or fancied and walk away without danger or arrest. That time has passed, except in certain back districts of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia and Texas. Nevertheless, today in any altercation between a white and black man the burden of proof is on the black man and the chances of his getting the worst of it at the hands of the law are infinitely greater than those

(Cont. Color Caste in the United States.)

of the white man. This, then, is the situation, and thequestion is, what are modern, educated people going to do about it, whether they are white or black?

37-7-105

Raymond P. Alexander

Willie Brown

The case of Willie Brown in Philadelphia is worth public attention. He is a seventeen year-old, half-witted Negro who was sentenced to death for the murder of a seven year-old girl. The evidence upon which he was convicted was purely circumstantial. He was arrested, put in a small, hot room at the police stationm beatened and starved into an alleged confession. When he was tried, the Trial Judge, Harry S. McDevitt, made an extraordinary exhibition of prejudice. He characterized the plea of the colored attorney, Raymond Pace, as a "harangue", to which thejury need pay no attention. He declared that third degree methods by the police were sometimes defensible and he undertook to confirm as proven facts the allegations of some of the witnesses. Finally, he ordered that the jurors need not take into account the life and surroundings and unfortunate history of the culprit. Mr. Alexander immediately appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and early in January, a decision by Justice George W. Maxey was handed down which characterized the attitude of the Trial Judge as patently irregular and unfair and ordered a retrial for Willie Brown.

37-10-119

(Returned Mem. to
Mrs. White's Sec.)
Jan. 27.

# MARXISM AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Karl Marx was a Jew born at Treves, Germany in March, 1918. He came of an educated family and studied at the University of Bohn and Berlin, planning first to become a lawyer, and then to teach philosophy. But his ideas were too radical for the government and he turned to journalism, and finally, gave his life to economic reform, dying in London in 1883, after having lived in Germany, Belgium, France, and for the last thirty-five years of his life in England. He published in 1867, the first volume of his monumental work, "Kapital".

37-6-74

There are certain books in the world which every searcher for truth must know: the Bible, the Critique of Pure Reason, the Origin of Species, and Karl Marx, "Kapital".

Yet until the Russian Revolution, Karl Marx was little known in America. He was ~~greeted~~ treated condescendingly in the universities, and regarded even by the intelligent public as a radical agitator whose curious and inconvenient theories it was easy to refute. Today, at last, we all know better, and we see in Karl Marx a colossal genius of infinite sacrifice and monumental industry, and with a mind of extraordinary logical firmness and grasp. We may disagree with many of the great books of truth that I have named, and with "Kapital", but they can never be ignored.

At a recent dinner to Einstein, another great Jew, the story was told of a professor who was criticized as having "no sense of humor" because he tried to explain the Theory of Relativity in a few simple words. Something of the same criticism must be attached to anyone who attempts ~~simply~~ similarly to indicate the relation of ~~the~~ Marxian philosophy and the American Negro problem. And yet, with all modesty, I am essaying ~~such a~~ The task knowing that it will be but tentative and subject to such criticism, both on my own part and that of others. The task which Karl Marx

(Tables Elsewhere)

(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

set himself was to study and interpret the organization of industry in the modern world. And his starting point was that the economic organization of any time or country is the basic phenomona out of which other human thoughts and expressions and activities arise. In other words, their organized work is the basic thing on which is built literature, art and religion. Moreover, an equally important, this fundamental economic activity is in process of constant change and evolution. An evolution that parallelsthat of the physical and biological world. And that this progressive change and evolution brought social revolution, new ideas of property and wealth, new relation of employer and employee, new conceptions of labor, wage and income. One of Marx's earlier works, "The Communist Manifesto", issued in 1848, on the eve of the series of Democratic revolutions in Europe, laid down this fundamental proposition.

37-6-75

"That in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class (the bourgeoisie) without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction and class-struggles."

(Page 318.)Kapital. Karl Marx.

(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

All will notice in this manifesto phrases which have been used so much lately, and so carelessly, that ~~in the mouths of irresponsible propagandists~~ they have almost lost their meaning. But behind them still is living an insistent truth. The class struggle between ~~the~~ rich and ~~the~~ poor is a living reality. ~~The form in which its invested itself in our day is opposition between the capitalists or bougeoisand the wage laborer or proletariat.~~ The capitalist owns machines, materials, and wages with which to buy labor. The laborer owns ~~land, or nothing except~~ little more than his ability to work. A wage contract takes place between these two and the resultant manufactured commodity or service is the property of the capitalists. Here Marx begins his more scientific analysis based on mastery of practically all economic theory ~~and s up it is time~~ before his time and ~~and opinion, an~~ extraordinary thoroughgoing, personal knowledge of industrial conditions over all Western Europe. His conclusions were never all properly published. He lived only to finish the first volume of his "Kapital", and the other two volumes were completed from his papers and notes by his friend ~~Engles~~ Engels. The result is an unfinished work extraordinarily difficult to read and understand and one which the master himself would have been ~~the~~ first to criticize as properly representing his mature and finished thought. Nevertheless, that first volume, together with the fairly ~~manifest~~ evident meaning of the others, lays down a logical line of thought, ~~and~~ The gist of that philosophy is that the value of products regularly exchanged in the open market depends upon their cost of production and that cost of production is the labor necessary to produce them; That capital consists of machines, materials and wages paid for labor; That out of the finished product, ~~as the~~ when materials have been paid for and the wear and tear and machinery replaced, and the rent and wages paid, there remains a surplus value. This surplus value arises from labor and is the ~~division~~ difference between what is actually paid ~~the~~ laborers for their wages and the market value

37-6-76

(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

~~in exchange~~ of the commodities which the laborers produce. It represents, therefore, exploitation of the laborer, and this exploitation inherent in capitalistic production, is the cause of poverty, industrial crises, and ~~social unrest~~ eventually a social revolution ~~This social revolution whether we regard it as~~ ~~All this Marx believes indicates that capitalistic production~~ will be the ~~is a~~ last manifestation of the class struggle, and ~~that~~ will come by inevitable change induced by the very nature of the conditions under which ~~this~~ present production is carried on, ~~a revolution must~~ will come ~~through which~~ by the action of the great majority of men, ~~composing~~ who compose the wage-earning proletariat, ~~will~~ and it will result in common ~~afford~~ ownership of all capital, ~~doing away with~~ the disappearance of capitalistic exploitation, and ~~dividing~~ the division of the products and services according to ~~maeds~~ human needs, and not accirding to the will of the owners of capitalists.

~~It makes no difference whether we accept in whole or in part the philosophy thus laid down, certain facts are clear~~: over

1. That the continued recurrence of industrial crises and wars based largely on economic rivalry are forcing the world ~~continuously~~ & condemning the possibility of fundamental change in our economic methods & this means nearer the brink of revolution; ~~that is,~~ of thorough-going change, whether it be violent ~~and bloody~~, as in France or Russia, or peaceful ~~and legal~~ as seems ~~perfectly~~ just as possible; ~~nevertheless, his~~ in any case Revolution ~~there~~ seems bound to come. Perhaps nothing illustrates this better than recent actions in the United States: ~~The~~ Our reexamination of the whole concept of Property; our banking moratorium, the ~~new~~ exchanges agriculture bill, the plans to attack unemployment and similar measures. What now has ~~this~~ all to do with the Negro problem? First of all, it is manifest that ~~while~~ the mass of Negroes in the United States belong ~~distinctly~~ to the working proletariat, and even their more properous classes ~~will have put~~ has but small connection with the ~~capitalistic~~ exploiters of wage ~~class~~ Rulers Nevertheless, this black proletariat is not a part of the white proletariat. ~~They do~~ Black & White work together in many cases, and influence each others rates of wages. They have ~~the same~~ similar complaints against ~~the~~

And just as true & the Marxian formula

Und fundamental basis, understanding

over

377-778

Of every thousand working Negroes
less than a hundred belong to ~~the professional~~
~~& business classes~~ any class that could fiscally
be considered dangerous.

~~Poland~~
voluntary revolt or the inevitable working of a
vast cosmic law of social evolution

---

It goes without saying that every step of
this reasoning and every presentation of underlying
facts ~~has~~ have been bitterly assailed.
The classic theory of value has been denied; the
theory of surplus value refuted; and inevitability
of revolution scoffed at; while industrial
crises — at least until the present one — have
been defended as normal operations having the
sole purpose of moderate profits.

But with the Russian experiment & the
world depression most thoughtful men today
are beginning to admit!

---

Labor rather than gambling is the true foundation of value and
whatever we call it — exploitation, theft or business acumen —
there is something radical wrong with an industrial system that
turns out simultaneously hundreds of millionaires & sets a world
starving because it has too much food

(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

capitalists, except that ~~in the case~~ of the Negro ~~his wages being~~ ~~smaller, and his conditions of work more difficult, he has naturally~~ ~~a stronger complaint.~~ But this ~~fellow~~ his ~~excludi~~ ages by ~~work bes~~ ing to ~~socially~~ ng him ~~change w~~ evolutionary ~~them or~~ seem to ~~a~~ to its

And while Negro labor in America suffers because of the fundamental inequities of the whole capitalistic system, the lowest and most fatal depression of his suffering comes not from the capitalist but from this fellow white laborer. It is white labor that destroys the negro's right to vote, denies him education, denies him affiliation with trade unions, expells him from decent homes & neighborhoods where him is in sullen masses of open color discrimination. It is no settlement answer to say that Capital encourages this oppression ~~& uses~~ it for its own ends. This may have special truth & application in the case of some Russian peasants today. But the bulk of American white labor is neither ignorant nor ~~fanatical~~ & knows exactly what it is doing & means to do it. William Green & Matthew Woll of the A.F. of L. have no excuse of illiteracy or ~~fanaticism~~ religious to ~~[illegible]~~

Marx's words are more fundamental & inexorable today as they do — since the day of Karl Marx from Chattel slavery & the worst taint, smeared, & mobbed & cheated labor in any civilized land

37-6-78

to keep them deliberate intention ~~to keep~~ Negroes and Mexicans and any other elements of Common labor in a lower proletariat as subservient to their interests as they are to the interests of Capital

The new development of a petty bourgeoisie ~~within~~ within the American laboring class is a post-Marxian phenomenon and the result of the tremendous & world wide development of Capitalism in the 20th century. The marked increase in Capitalistic production has gained and effective world wide organization Industrial technique & mass production has ~~has~~ brought possibilities in the production of goods & services which outran even this immense market. A new class of technical engineers & managers have arisen forming a working class economy between the older proletariat and the absentee owners of ~~Capital~~ Capital. The real owners of Capital as small as well as large investors — workers who have deposits in saving banks and small holdings in stocks & bonds, ~~but~~ families buying homes and refrigerators, commodities on installment as well as the large & rich investors. Salaried investors & owners of Capital should today the bankers and financiers who distribute capital & direct the engineers

27-6-29

Then the engineers, and the saving & better paid workers form a new petty bourgeois class whose interests are bound up with those of the Capitalist and antagonistic to those of common labor. On the other hand, common labor in America & while ~~should~~ for being motivated by any reason of ~~not~~ revolt against Capitalism ~~has become industrialized~~ has been blinded by the American dream of the possibility of larger

after wages of the workers escaping into the wealthy class & becoming managers & employers of labor. Thus in America we have seen a wicked & ruthless scramble of labor groups over each other in order

~~... & the Americans have psychology~~
~~has built up a rich & varied economic~~
~~ruthless waste and stark cruelty~~
~~Capital has encouraged Skilled labor~~
~~& common labor~~ & climbed wealth
on the backs of black labor & foreign
immigrants. The Irish climbed
on the "Negro". The Germans scrambled
over the Negroes & swindled the Irish.
The Scandinavians fought & forged
~~3~~
~~2~~
next & the Germans and the Italians
& "Bohunks" are crowding out Negro
Negroes' skill as the bottom channel for helplessness
hired by slavery then by disfranchisement & always by the color bar
The second influence ~~on~~ on white labor both in America & Europe
has been the fact that the development of the world market by
imperial & dominant industry has established a world-wide
new proletariat of colored workers, toiling under the most
Conditions of 19th capital, herded as slaves and serfs & paying
by the lowest standard of living in modern history, a stream of raw
material for industry. Upon this labor the capitalists have
~~based~~ consolidated their economic power, nullified universal
suffrage & bribed the white workers by high wages, visions
of wealth & the opportunity to drive "niggers", Soldiers
and Sailors ~~draw~~ down the white workers are used to keep "darkies"

37-6-80

In their "place" and white foremen & engineers have been as
(attested as irreplaceable cabinets ~~are~~ in China & India, Africa
& the West Indies backed by the organized & centralized owners of
reactionaries, raw materials, financial commodities & land monopoly over the
white world

How then does the ~~the~~ philosophy of Karl Marx apply
today & to colored labor? First of all they have no
common ground with white labor. No soviet of technocrats
trained in Anglo land exploit colored labor in order to raise the
status of whites. No revolt of white proletariat could be started
if its object was to make black workers their economic
political or social equals. It is for this reason that American
socialism for 50 years has been dumb on the Negro problem, and
the ~~United States of America~~ communists cannot even get a respectful
hearing in America unless they begin by expelling Negroes.

On the other hand, in the ~~United States~~ Negro groups, in
the U.S., in West Africa, in South America & in the West Indies
really dangerous groups are being trained. In South America & the West Indies
groups drawn off skill & intelligence and the white groups & leave the
black labor [illegible] ignorant and leaderless some for an occasional
demagogue.

In West Africa a Negro bourgeoisie is developing with increased
culture & employment of natives & is only kept from the commanding
cabinet positions demanded by the aspirations & training of white colonial,
& white mining & engineers who represent it locally and dictating
bitter treasuries & tyranny & by white European labor which backs
arms, navies & ~~the~~ Empire law & preference by arms & navies.
Black labor & colonial are therefore compelled & need alliance &
common ground

37-6-42

In the United States also a petty bourgeoisie is being developed consisting of clergymen, teachers, farm owners, professional men & retail business men. The position of this class however is peculiar: they are not rich enough or even large investors in Negro labor & consequently they bear the brunt of color prejudice. They express in word & work the aspirations of black folk for emancipation. The revolt of any black proletariat would therefore be logically directed against this class, not against this class plus either white capitalist, white engineer or white worker & therefore color bar.

IP

(Under these circumstances:)

ts What shall be said of the Marxian philosophy and of its relation

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(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

to the American Negro? We can only say, as it seems to us, that the Marxian philosophy is logical and absolute as a diagnosis of the situation in Europe in the middle of the 19th Century. It must be modified in the United States of America especially so far as the Negro group is concerned. The Negro is exploited to a degree that means poverty, crime, delinquency and indigence. And that exploitation comes not from a black capitalistic class but from the white capitalists and the white proletariat. His only defense is such internal organization as will protect him from both enemies & such practical economics may at least prevent much the race grows any larger development of capitalistic exploitation.

Meantime comes the Great Depression. It levels all in a mighty catastrophe. The fantastic industrial structure of America is shattered with a blow. The trade unions of skilled labor are ~~dazed~~ double-tongued & helpless. Unskilled & common white labor is ~~one~~ so fingered at Negro ~~Negroes~~ competition & attempted united action. The reformist program of Socialism recedes far from the whole proletariat because it offers no escape to wealth and no effective ~~hope~~ to black labor. The whole cry of a few communists is not even heard & because ~~of all~~ & solely because it seeks to break down barriers between black & white & [illegible] in the hearts ~~hands~~ of black laborers about new ~~the~~ ideals of democracy in politics & industry which may in time make the workers of the world effective ~~declaim~~ of civilization.

37-6-83

There is not at present the slightest indication that a Marxian revolution based on a united class-consciousness of the proletariat is anywhere on the far horizon. Rather race antagonism & labor group rivalry is still undermining the world's catastrophic

A Christian Program of Race Relations.

Last August, thirty young persons, leaders in Congregational churches of Massachusetts, attended a Young Peoples' Conference at Star Island, Isle of Shoal. Under the direction of Dr. Ralph Harlow of Smith College, they led and discussed race problems and listened to addresses. They finally adopted the following resolutions, which were to be published in denominational papers and taken back to their church groups:

(Paste)
(sent down)

37-6-157

Copy

# THE ROSENWALD CONFERENCE

The Conference recently held in Washington, under the auspices of the Rosenwald Fund, has not been fully comprehended by most Negroes. It was not the usual conference, and it did not turn out exactly as it was planned, because two elements in its composition were absent. The plan was to have employers of Negro labor meet organized white labor and the representatives of colored workers; and there, in the presence of scientific students, to seek to work out an economic program for the Negro race with reference to these various interested parties. Unfortunately, however, the employers of labor refused to take part. We are told that five hundred letters sent all over the United States, inviting them to come and sit in conference, were ignored, except in a single case, where one head of a personnel department was present. In the same way, the American Federation of Labor refused to sit in conference with the Negroes. ~~They raised~~ This left a conference dominated by statisticians and social workers. The result was, naturally, a bit one-sided, although of undoubted value.

The conference studied the population and occupational trends of the Negro in the whole country and in New York City. Monroe Work pointed out that the distribution of Negroes in the main classes of occupations has changed considerably, from 1890-1930. The most striking change is the decrease in the percentage of those engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service, and the increased percentage of those engaged in professional service, in trade and transportation, and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. Manufacturing and mechanical industries during this time have increased from 5.6% of the population to 18.6%, while trade and transportation have increased from 4.4% in 1890 to 10.6% in

(The Rosenwald Conference.)

1930.

37-7-22

In studying the relation of the Negro to unemployment, there was a sincere effort to show that Negroes were holding their own in construction work, steel, food products and coal. That is, that proportionately to the numbers employed, at least where the numbers were large, they were not being discharged more largely than the whites. The difficulty with this statistical proof is the difficulty with all statistics. Usually, statistical proof falls into two parts:

1. A study of a given area or example.
2. A judgment as to how typical this example is of the whole situation.

In the first part, the statistician is a scientist whose conclusions may be followed. But in the second part, he may be doing some wide guessing or making absolutely invalid assumptions or resting in deepest ignorance. For instance, Joseph H. Willits of the Wharton ~~Horton~~ School of Science, University of Pennsylvania, came to certain conclusions about unemployment among Negroes in Philadelphia. These conclusions were based upon a study of certain small sections of the Negro population, and Mr. Willits' assumption was that these areas were typical of the whole Philadelphia Negro population. There was absolutely no proof or even probability that his assumption had any validity whatsoever. And this illustrates the difficulty of statistical presentation which is not willing, frankly and fearlessly, to acknowledge the limitations of its conclusions.

Some conclusions were of interest. F. S. Tyson of the University of Pittsburgh said of the Negro in the Steel Industry

37-7-23

Tyson D2 4

ployment, some 70,000 families are on the relief lists. It is estimated that 10,000 of these are Negroes. Only 6% of the city and 8% of the county population is colored. As the Census returned only 19,271 colored families, roughly one in two is on relief.

The Negro worker in basic industrial areas hardest hit by the depression has borne its ill effects most, as the new-comer to industry. His position is much like that of the immigrant in earlier depressions. Fortunately for him, relief is much more extensive and better organized than in earlier depressions.

37-7-24

In conclusion, the generalization seems warranted that despite the severity of the depression the Negro worker has maintained his sure foothold at the base of American industry. Again, a number of the reports indicate that selective processed have been taking place and that an increasing number of the Negro employees are being retained at semi-skilled, or, at least, higher than common labor positions. In several large plants these groups are well in excess of one half of all Negroes employed. And there is no reason to doubt that with the resumption of industrial production, the expansion of employment of the Negro in the Iron and steel industry will be renewed.

Francis Tyson

5

Professor H. L. Moore of Fish and Coal!

37-7-25

## Conclusion

The mining industry is in the throes of making some major readjustments which will effect employment. Along with all other industries it has suffered from the depression but the passing of the depression will not solve the problems of the industry. The industry is over developed and productive capacity must be adjusted to normal coal requirements. The increase in output per man per day due to mechanization of the mines will doubtless continue apace. This will hasten the bankruptcy of the marginal mines and will tend to concentrate production in the more efficient operations.

All of this means that the labor supply which centers around the tipple must be reduced if the miners who remain in the industry are to make a living wage. The passing of the depression will not eliminate unemployment in the coal camps.

Negroes have made a place for themselves in the bituminous coal industry. The evidence in West Virginia seems to point to the fact that they have not suffered more severely from displacement in the industry than have other miners. The Negroes, along with other miners, have suffered as much from partial employment and irregular employment as from unemployment. The miner who gets only one or two days work a week with the present low wage scale is apt to be in a worse economic condition than the unemployed miner who receives relief.

6.

Charles Johnson, Ida Mayo in the
skilled trades

37-726

E Lane-Leeper

I Arrived Will Read a Waring
word on Negro work Psychology

Negro groups will be dependent upon those changes which, measured in terms of consequent unemployment, are the most violent of all divisions of industry.

Summary

Negroes have a history in the skilled trades beginning with the founding of the American colonies. Their position in these trades, in the new industrial direction and emphasis, has seriously declined in importance. While contributing 9.7 per cent of the population and 6.3 per cent of the workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries, they are as yet but 3.12 per cent of the workers in important skilled crafts. Their greatest numerical importance at present is in those crafts which are waning, and their smallest unit concentrations are in the fields of new industrial emphasis. The greatest single loss, over the past decade, was in the number of carpenters, a condition which reflects both technological improvement and displacement by white workers, largely on racial grounds. However, the rates of Negro increase in all these skilled lines, considered as a whole, is twice as rapid as the increase for all workers. Significantly, the older concentrations of Negro skilled workers are being broken up, scattering skilled Negro workers in smaller numbers over more fields.

There are consistent gains for both skilled and unskilled Negro workers in the building construction, but this is a field which, in terms of unemployment, has suffered most violently of all large industries from seasonal and cyclical depressions, and from technological development.

37-7-27

> not only this same difficulty but in addition to that, the merciless and almost inescapable competition of white business and organized corporations with endless capital. Qualified Negroes find little scope for talent and they are crowded down on top of the masses into socially despised and ill-paid callings."

and T. Arnold Hill comments:

> "The genius of Negro business men offers little incentive. It is logical with the Negro's religious idealism that the principal professional and business activities of the race have always been concerned with delaying or preparing for life beyond. The Negro physician is the most prosperous professional person. The Negro undertaker is the most prosperous business man. The insurance company is the most prosperous business, and the Negro church the most prosperous organization."

Our professional group is, for the first time, pressed with the demand for finding a market for its services. Habituated to being called upon for its services, it is increasingly ill at ease. Its average income has never been on a par with the standard of living demanded. For the miserably paid professor there is no escape to business for larger income. In other words, the Negro professional is "worse off than he used to be," having "prosperity without peace of mind."

In the field of business, it must be remembered that the development of a sound, efficient and effective business and owner class means the development of a highly individualized business economy - a business conceived in the spirit of individualism, organized for profits and perpetuated by its motives. Yet, instances of capitalistic enterprise in fields other than finance are still extremely rare, and almost uniformly short-lived. It seems, therefore, amazingly inconsistent that one should advocate the development of this "ragged" individualism as a method of permanently improving the economic

status of the whole Negro group. The more development will result in less racial cohesion. It is equally as amazing that so little effort has been devoted to the joint operation of business enterprises by whites and blacks, working together for a common market rather than one with a limited racial appeal.

37-7-29

But, Negroes have slavishly taken over the form and spirit of modern industrialism when they might have given some attention to (1) the development of cooperative economic techniques in which the Negro mass might share in both the control and the profits; or to (2) the organization of interracial business enterprises reaching for a security not otherwise obtainable, avoiding the tragic waste we have experienced with separate white and black institutions, but conserving the social values which led us to organize them.

Exploration into the economic status of the Negro business and professional classes is at once arresting and inspiring, at times ludicrous, always stimulating. If there has been any real advance toward security among these classes, it has been in the group's individualistic activity. The successful motivation and concentration of this activity is the ultimate test of its efforts.

Southern agriculture was discussed mainly by people who knew nothing about the Negro but who assumed that what was true for agriculture in general was true for Negro agriculture, an astonishing assumption. The one fine exception to this was Arthur Raper's discussion of the Negro farmer in the South. For plain speaking and fearless telling of the truth, nothing in the conference equalled this paper.

same group purchased other machinery such as a flour mill and mills for grinding up stock feed. These cooperative purchases have been a great factor in improving livestock production in this community.

2. In the second place, it seems that in order that such a program as is contemplated in the rural community center idea mentioned above, may get going within a reasonable time, some financial stimulation is necessary from outside cooperating agencies which might function in some such way as the Julius Rosenwald Fund has been able to cooperate in the betterment of rural education for Negroes in the South. Through this cooperative effort, both white people and colored people could be inspired and led to work together in order that a large number of model, rural community centers might be produced all over the South. It is believed that such community centers would exert a large stimulating influence towards securing more satisfactory service for Negro farmers on the part of governmental loan agencies. At any rate, it would be difficult to gainsay the fact that the rural community properly directed and stimulated offers a more satisfying life than we now have in the communities in the farm South.

37-7-30

B. F Hubert Read This ? say of Small Farms

~~CONCLUSION~~

The Role of the Small Southern Farm then in the Future Land Utilization Program presents a very serious problem. The masses of American farmers today are in the small-farm class. Whatever national programs are made should be formulated with the welfare of the masses in mind. Large scale, corporate farming will not be likely to displace the small-sized, efficiently operated family farm in the South provided the small farm operator observes a proper system of balanced farming that assures increasing soil fertility and self-sufficiency; producing feed and food crops necessary for home consumption and cotton, tobacco, peanuts, dairy and poultry products wherever practicable as surplus crops for market.

11. The Findings Committee found nothing and probably will not, which is no great loss.

37-7-31

T. Arnold Hill 12 But T. Arnold Hill had one excellent suggestion.



37-7-32

ship. The loss in Negro railway mail clerks was almost 20 per cent, the gain for the country was 9.6 per cent. Negroes have recently been denied the right to join the organizations surrounding them - an A. F. of L. national - one of the conventions passed resolutions requesting that Negroes be no longer employed to run in charge. The present administration looks with favor on the principles of collective bargaining. The Negro worker is insecure to the extent that he is unidentified with the organized labor forces of the country.

## IV THE WORK PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEGRO

Nothing is more certain than that Negroes need to give more thought to their vocational problems. Their education must provide for correlation between formal academic studies and occupational information. If there is one human factor peculiar to the employment problem of Negroes it is that they have been so long denied opportunity to compete with others in employment that they fail to evaluate essentials necessary for success. Adequate re-employment of Negroes will not come unless they identify themselves with progressive economic thought. Mere identification with organized labor without penetrating into the fundamentals and tenets upon which labor's demands are based will not be sufficient.

Whatever schools, employers and organizations may do for Negro workers will avail little unless their own psychology is in tune with such efforts. A distinct improvement has been noted since unemployment set in and there is reason to feel that the ground work upon which a strong structure

37-7-33

might be built has been laid. Negro workers are more critical of those who do not render proficient service than they used to be. Upon a critical analysis of their own worth and a determined stand to conquer despite handicaps they can rest their case. Without this all plans for their re-employment, regardless of what the factors conditioning them might be, will be of little effect.

My final word then is that any program planning the re-employment of Negroes must include an item for insulating Negro workers with industrial information and with an appreciation of what this means for their future in all realms of life.

Frazier 14 cf.

Frankly- Frazier has a good summary of results of the discussion on the Negro family

In connection with the effect of the depression on the morale of the Negro family some thing should be added concerning the altered relations of the family to the community. Reduced income and lack of clothes have been responsible for a decrease in church attendance. Since the church has been the chief institution of control in the Negro community this has meant a decline in this form of authority. In Seattle, Omaha, and Tucson, Arizona, and Kansas City, Missouri, it appears that Communism has not only supplanted the church in this respect but has come to take the place formerly held by the fraternal organization in Negro life.

37-7-34

**Summary**

The migration of about two and a half million Negro peasants from the rural South to northern and southern cities since the opening of the present century has been accompanied by a severe struggle to survive in the keen competition in the urban environment. Considerable family disorganization, as indicated by high rates of dependency, non-support, desertion, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency, has been one of the main features of this struggle to survive. Moreover, this struggle has required that the Negro wife and mother become, to a large extent, a wage earner. But in proportion as Negro men have succeeded in getting a foothold in industry the Negro woman has been freed from this responsibility. The present economic crisis has tended to aggravate all of these aspects of family disorganization. Dependency has increased to the extent that in cities, where Negro families have been dependent largely upon the employment of Negro men in single basic industries, as high as forty to fifty per cent of the family are dependent upon charity. Because of the unemployment of men in industry complete or partial responsibility for the support

of the Negro family has been thrown back to a large extent upon the Negro woman. This burden has been increased because of the large proportion of Negro families with female heads. Lower standards of living, as the result of the depression, have resulted in wiping out of financial reserves; the loss of homes, insurance policies, and furniture; the borrowing of money from friends and relatives; inadequate clothing and food; and in some places a reduction in the school attendance of children. The unfavorable effects upon family unity and morale have been indicated in the addition of relatives and strangers to the family group; the necessity to send children to relatives and friends; increases in desertions and juvenile delinquency; and a loss of work habits especially on the part of men together with a loss of the spirit to carry on the determined struggle which the competitive life of our cities requires.

37-7-35

[1933?]

# THE ROSENWALD CONFERENCE

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The plan was to have employers of Negro labor meet organized white labor and the representatives of colored workers; and there, in the presence of scientific students, to seek to work out an economic program for the Negro race with reference to these various interested parties.

Unfortunately, however, the employers of labor refused to take part. We are told that five hundred letters sent all over the United States, inviting them to come and sit in conference, were ignored, except in a single case, where one head of a personnel department was present. In the same way, the American Federation of Labor refused to sit in conference with the Negroes. This left a conference dominated by statisticians and social workers. The result was, naturally, a bit one-sided, although of undoubted value.

47-7-177

The conference studied the population and occupational trends of the Negro in the whole country and in New York City. Monroe Work pointed out that the distribution of Negroes in the main classes of occupations has changed considerably, from 1890-1930. The most striking change is the decrease in the percentage of those engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service, and the increased percentage of those engaged in professional service, in trade and transportation, and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. Manufacturing and mechanical industries during this

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

time have increased from 5.6% of the population to 18.6%, while trade and transportation have increased from 4.4% in 1890 to 10.6% in 1930.

In studying the relation of the Negro to unemployment, there was a sincere effort to show that Negroes were holding their own in construction work, steel, food products and coal: that is, that proportionately to the numbers employed, at least where the numbers were large, they were not being discharged more largely than the whites. The difficulty with this statistical proof is the difficulty with all statistics. Usually, statistical proof falls into two parts:

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Some conclusions were of interest. F. D. Tyson of the University of Pittsburgh said of the Negro in the Steel Industry:

"The generalization seems warranted that despite the severity of

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

the depression, the Negro worker has maintained his sure foothold at the base of American industry. Again, a number of the reports indicate that selective processed have been taking place and that an increasing number of the Negro employees are being retained at semi-skilled, or, at least, higher than common labor positions. In several large plants these groups are well in excess of one-half of all Negroes employed. And there is no reason to doubt that with the resumption of industrial production, the expansion of employment of the Negro in the Iron and Steel industry will be renewed."

Professor H. L. Morris of Fisk said of Coal:

"Negroes have made a place for themselves in the bituminous coal industry. The evidence in West Virginia seems to point to the fact that they have not suffered more severely from displacement in the industry than have other miners. The Negroes, along with other miners, have suffered as much from partial employment and irregular employment as from unemployment. The miner who gets only one or two days' work a week with the present low wage scale is apt to be in a worse economic condition than the unemployed miner who receives relief."

Charles Johnson spoke of the Negro in the skilled trades:

"Negroes have a history in the skilled trades beginning with the founding of the American colonies. Their position in these trades, in the new industrial direction and emphasis, has seriously declined in importance. While contributing 9.7 per cent of the population and 6.3 per cent of the workers in manufacturing and mechanical industries, they are as yet but 3.12 per cent of the workers in important skilled crafts. Their greatest numerical importance at present is in those crafts which are waning, and their smallest unit concentrations are in the fields of new industrial emphasis. The greatest single loss, over the past decade, was in the number of carpenters, a condition which

417-7-179

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

reflects both technological improvement and displacement by white workers, largely on racial grounds. However, the rates of Negro increase in all these skilled lines, considered as a whole, is twice as rapid as the increase for all workers. Significantly, the older concentrations of Negro skilled workers are being broken up, scattering skilled Negro workers in smaller numbers over more fields.

There are consistent gains for both skilled and unskilled Negro workers in the building construction, but this is a field which, in terms of unemployment, has suffered most violently of all large industries from seasonal and cyclical depressions, and from technological development."

Ira Reid spoke of the professional and business group:

"Our professional group is, for the first time, pressed with the demand for finding a market for its services. Habituated to being called upon for its services, it is increasingly ill at ease. Its average income has never been on a par with the standard of living demanded. For the miserably paid professor there is no escape to business for larger income. In other words, the Negro professional is "worse off than he used to be," having "prosperity without peace of mind."

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117-7-180

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

Negro group. The more development will result in less racial cohesion. It is equally as amazing that so little effort has been devoted to the joint operation of business enterprises by whites and blacks, working together for a common market rather than one with a limited racial appeal.

But, Negroes have slavishly taken over the form and spirit of modern industrialism when they might have given some attention to (1) the development of cooperative economic techniques in which the Negro mass might share in both the control and the profits; or to (2) the organization of interracial business enterprises reaching for asecurity not otherwise obtainable, avoiding the tragic waste we have experienced with separate white and black institutions, but conserving the social values which led us to organize them."

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B. F. Hubert had this to say of small farms:

"The role of the small southern farm then in the future land utilization program presents a very serious problem. The masses of American farmers today are in the small-farm class. Whatever national programs are made should be formulated with the welfare of the masses in mind. Large scale, corporate farming will not be likely to displace the small-sized, efficiently operated family farm in the South provided the small farm operator observes a proper system of balanced farming that assures increasing soil fertility and self-sufficiency;

47-7-181

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

producing feed and food crops necessary for home consumption and cotton, tobacco, peanuts, dairy and poultry products wherever practicable as surplus crops for market."

The Findings Committee found nothing and probably will not, which is no great loss.

But T. Arnold Hill had one excellent suggestion:

"Nothing is more certain than that Negroes need to give more thought to their vocational problems. Their education must provide for correlation between formal academic studies and occupational information. If there is one human factor peculiar to the employment problem of Negroes, it is that they have been so long denied opportunity to compete with others in employment that they fail to evaluate essentials necessary for success. Adequate re-employment of Negroes will not come unless they identify themselves with progressive economic thought. Mere identification with organized labor without penetrating into the fundamentals and tenets upon which labor's demands are based will not be sufficient.

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(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

Franklin Frazier had a good summing up of results of the situation on the Negro family:

"The migration of about two and a half million Negro peasants from the rural South to northern and southern cities since the opening of the present century has been accompanied by a severe struggle to survive in the keen competition in the urban environment. Considerable family disorganization, as indicated by high rates of dependency, non-support, desertion, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency, has been one of the main features of this struggle to survive. Moreover, this struggle has required that the Negro wife and mother become, to a large extent, a wage earner. But in proportion as Negro men have succeeded in getting a foothold in industry the Negro woman has been freed from this responsibility. The present economic crisis has tended to aggravate all of these aspects of family disorganization. Dependency has increased to the extent that in cities, where Negro families have been dependent largely upon the employment of Negro men in single basic industries, as high as forty to fifty per cent of the family are dependent upon charity. Because of the unemployment of men in industry complete or partial responsibility for the support of the Negro family has been thrown back to a large extent upon the Negro women. This burdan has been increased because of the large proportion of Negro families with female heads. Lower standards of living, as the result of the depression, have resulted in wiping out of financial reserves; the loss of homes, insurance policies, and furniture; the borrowing of money fromfriends and relatives; inadequate clothing and food; and in some places a reduction in the school attendance of children. The unfavorable effects upon family unity and morale have been indicated in the addition of relatives and strangers to the family group; the necessity to send children to relatives and friends; incfeases in desertions and juvenile

47-7-183

(Cont. The Rosenwald Conference.)

delinquency; and a loss of work habits especially on the part of men together with a loss of the spirit to carry on the determined struggle which the competitive life of our cities requires."

After all, the tremendous advantages of a conference like this are the human contacts. It is difficult to realize this or definitely to provide for it. If one asks a couple of hundred people interested in the Negro problem; white and black, to come together and get acquainted with each other, probably most of them would not think it worth the time. But after a long and somewhat tiresome program is set out, and abstruse compilations carefully and conscientiously treated, although most of the conferees cannot and will not listen to the papers, they do listen to each other. They come to understandings concerning personalities and methods of conclusions, and if on such occasions the lunch places could be centralized and the hours indefinite in length; if the recesses could be longer than the sessions; if in some way the conferees could come to understand that they themselves were more important than their thoughts, the settlement of human problems would be easier.

For these and other reasons, the Negro race is under obligations to Mr. Embree and Mr. Arthur for the hard work of organizing and financing this conference, and it is going to mark an epoch in the development of the American Negro, not for a definite accomplishment or new body of knowledge, but for the wider acquaintanceship of colored and white Americans.

As compared with the funny conference which the Sage Foundation conducted in the same place a few years ago this was a vast improvement: discussion was free even to Communists; fear was absent and so was the woman who knew it all and did all the talking.

477-184

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37-7-36

Karl Marx

## OUR CLASS STRUGGLE

In the Marxism patois, the class struggle means the natural antagonism and war between the exploiter and the exploited. That is, between those persons who own capital in the form of machines, raw material and money, and who can command credit, and that other large mass of people who have practically nothing to sell, but that labor. Between these two classes, there can be no peace because the profit of the capitalist depends on the amount of surplus values he can extract from the work of the laborer.

37-6-65

One no sooner states a thing like this than the expert would say immediately of such class struggle, there is no trace among American Negroes. On second thought, however, he might modify this and say the occupational differences of American Negroes show at least the beginnings of differentiation into capitalists and laborers.

Of Negroes, 10 years of age and over in gainful occupations, there are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Skilled laborers | 331,839 |
| Semi-Skilled | 734,951 |
| Farmers | 873,653 |
| Common laborers | 3,374,545 |
| Trade and Business | 52,957 |
| Professional | 119,827 |
| Civil Service | 15,763 |
| Total | 5,503,535 |

Of the farmers, 181,016 were owners. Theothers, were tenants. We may, therefore, say that the capitalistic class among Negroes would be from among the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Trade and Business | 52,957 |
| Professional | 119,827 |
| Farm Owners | 181,016 |
| Civil Servants | 15,763 |
| Total | 369,563 |

Most of these depend for their income on labor rather than capital. Those in trade and business, include clerks, as well as investors. And the professional men are not capitalists, except as some of them have

(Cont. Our Class Struggle.)

saved money. The same thing can be said of the civil servants. The farm owners are by vast majority peasant proprietors, most of whom hire little or no labor, except the family. The most that can be said is that many of the people in this group have the American ambition to become rich and "independent." To live on income, rather than labor, and thus their idiology ranks them on the side with the white capitalists. On the other hand, the laborers, skilled and semi skilled, and the tenants, are all a proletariat, exploited by white capital. One has, therefore, a rather curious arrangement, with the real class struggle not between colored classes, but rather between colored and white folk.

37-6-66

There is, however, an inner division that calls for attention because it emphasizes class distinctions within the race. And that is the existence of delinquency and of criminals and paupers. What is the extent of this class among American Negroes and what is the relation of the class to the workers and the more properous elements who have begun to accumulate property?

During the earlier history of the colored race, there was a natural social and class difference that came through the existence of mulattoes. In the West Indies, by French law, these mulattoes were free and often inherited wealth from their fathers. In many cases, they were carefully educated and formed a distinct social class whose rank depended upon wealth, education and personal freedom. In the later history of the French colonies, and even more in Spanish and American colonies, a persistent attempt reduced this class to a semi-servile position, and it was the resentment against this that led the mulattoes and the blacks to unite in the Haitian Revolution and overthrow the whites.

(Cont. Our Class Struggle.)

In the United States, this color caste was dealt a death blow by the law that made children follow the condition of the mother, so that white fathers sold their colored children into slavery, and the mulatto ceased to be, in most cases, a freeman. He inherited no property from his father, and, for the most part, lost his right to education, although, so far as he was free, he promoted schools, in centers like Washington, Charleston and New Orleans. The color caste idea persisted after Emancipation, but was gradually driven out by the new economic organization. In this new economy there arose the criminals and paupers; The direct result of the poverty of a suddenly emancipated class who had gained little or no capital, The apparent criminality, however, of the Negro race was greatly exaggerated. for two reasons:

First, accusation of crime was used systematically in the South to keep Negroes in slavery, and secondly, Negroes received but scant justice in the courts. Most writers, today, have assumed on the basis of statistics, that because the Negro is arrested more often than the whites and because the Negro population in jails and penitentiary is proportionately much larger than the white population, that, therefore, the Negro is absolutely criminal. But as Thorsten Sellin has pointed out in his note on the Negro criminal, the Negro is arrested on less provocation than the whites; he is much more apt to be convicted; receives heavier and longer sentences, and there is no proof that the Negro is responsible for proportionately more real crime than the whites. But, on the other hand, it is true as Sellin says:

"Nothing in the above pages points to a conclusion that the Negro's real criminality is lower or as low as the white's. The American Negro lacks education and earthly goods. He has had very little political experience and industrial training. His contact

(Cont. Our Class Struggle.)

with city life has been unfortunate, for it has forced him into the most dilapidated and vicious areas of our great cities. Like a shadow over his whole existence lies the oppressive race prejudice of his white neighbor, restricting his activities and thwarting his ambitions. It would be extraordinary, indeed, if this group were to prove more law-abiding than the white, which enjoys more fully the advantages of a civilization the Negro has helped to create.

37-6-68

"The assumption that the Negro presents the higher rate of real criminality is, therefore, no indictment of the Negro race. The responsibility lies where power, authority, and discrimination has its source, the dominant whitegroup. To that group the existence of a high rate of crime among Negroes is a challenge which cannot be brushed aside by platitudes about "race inferiority," "inherited depravity," or similar generalizations. The only way to meet it is by a conscientious and determined search for the causes of crime in general and among Negroes in particular. In this search, the quantitative method can play but an auxiliary role."

The American Negro . P. 64.
American Academy of Political and Social Science

One thing, then, the peculiar result of the assumed fact that Negroes are criminal is that within side the race a Negro accused and convicted of crime immediately suffers a tremendous penalty, not only of ostracism, but of lack of sympathy. Negroes make comparatively little effort to defend the accused; they do not systematically ; the churches take little interest in delinquents and the general attitude of the race is one of irritation toward their fellows who have brought the whole race into disrepute. This makes a peculiar bitter feeling among the unfortunate of the race who have gotten once in the toils of the law and the more successful. So far as dependents are concerned, again the material which we have to measure ,

(Cont. Our Class Stnuggle.)

the amount of dependents is inconclusive and unsatisfactory. There are such differences in policy in various states, such ~~difference~~ in treatment that it is hard to say what the condition is. It would seem, by a study of states where there is a substantial uniform policy toward the feeble-minded and paupers, regardless of race, that there is a higher rate of institutionization among Negroes than among whites. And this would be natural, unless corrected by taking into account the unequal economic and social conditions. Here again, within the race, there is an index of general inability to name the progress which the Negro thinks he must make regularly as a person becomes a subject of charity or must be put into an institution. The real question, then, in the Negro race, is how far the group can and should assume responsibility for its delinquents and dependants, and how far differentiation into class can keep economic exploitation from becoming a settled method of social advance.

These questions call for thought and investigation on the part of students.

37-6-69

1933

# The Negro College

By W. E. B. Du Bois

This is part of an address on " The Field and Function of a Negro College", delivered at the annual alumni reunion during commencement week at Fisk University last June. The complete address ~~will be~~ has been issued in pamphlet form ~~later~~ by the University

It has been said many times that a Negro University is nothing more and nothing less than a university. Quite recently one of the great leaders of education in the United States, Abraham Flexner, said something of that sort concerning Howard. As President of the Board of Trustees, he said he was seeking to build not a Negro university, but a University. And by those words he brought again before our eyes the ideal of a great institution of learning which becomes a center of universal culture. With all good will toward them that say such words-it is the object of this paper to insist that there can be no college for Negroes which is not a Negro college and that while an American Negro university, just like a German or Swiss university may rightly aspire to a universal culture unhampered by limitations of race and culture, yet it must start on the earth where we sit and not in the skies whither we aspire. May I develop this thought.

In the first place, we have got to remember that here in America, in the year 1933, we have a situation which cannot be ignored. There was a time when it seemed as though we might best attack the Negro problem by ignoring its most unpleasant features, It was not and is not yet in good taste to speak generally about certain facts which characterize our situation in America. We are politically ham-strung. We have the greatest difficulty in getting suitable

47-7-196

( Cont. The Negro College )

and remunerative work. Our education is more and more not only being confined to our own schools but to a segregated public school system far below the average of the nation with one-third of our children continously out of school. And above all, and this we like least to mention, we suffer social ostracism which is so deadening and discouraging that we are compelled either to lie about it or to turn our faces to the red flag of revolution. It consists of the kind of studied and repeated and emphasized public insult of the sort which during all the long history of the world has led men to kill or be killed. And in the full face of any effort which any black man may make to escape this ostracism for himself, stands this flaming sword of racial doctrine which will distract his effort and energy if it does not lead him to spiritual suicide.

We boast and have right to boast of our accomplishment between the days that I studied here and this 45th Anniversary of my graduation. It is a calm appraisal of fact to say that the history of modern civilization cannot surpass if it can parallel the advance of American Negroes in every essential line of culture in these years. And yet, when we have said this we must have the common courage honestly to admit that every step we have made forward had been greeted by a step backward on the part of the American public in caste intolerance, mob law and racial hatred.

I need but remind you that when I graduated from Fisk there was no "Jim Crow" car in Tenessee and I saw Hunter of '89 once sweep a brakeman aside at the Union Station and escort a crowd of Fisk students into the first-class seats for which they had paid. There was no legal disfranchisement and a black Fiskite sat in the Legislature; and while the Chancellor of the Vanderbilt University had annually to be re-introduced to the President of Fisk, yet no white Southern group presumed to dictate the internal social life of this institution.

Manifestly with all that can be said, pro and con, and in extenuation, and by way of excuse and hope, this is the situation and we know it. There is no

human way by which these facts can be ignored. We cannot do our daily work, sing a song or write a book or carry on a university and act as though these things were not.

If this is true, then no matter how much we may dislike the statement, the American Negro problem is and must be the center of the Negro American university. It has got to be. You are teaching Negroes. There is no use pretending that you are teaching Chinese or that you are teaching white Americans or that you are teaching citizens of the world. You are teaching American Negroes in 1933, and they are the subjects of a caste system of in the Republic of the United States of America and their life problem is primarily this problem of cast.

Upon these foundations, therefore, your university must start and build. Nor is the thing so entirely unusual or unheard of as it sounds. A university in Spain is not simply a university. It is a Spanish university. It is a university located in Spain. It uses the Spanish language. It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards,-not for them as they may be or ought to be, but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities.

47-7-198

In other words, the Spanish university is founded and grounded in Spain, just as surely as a French university is French. There are some people who have difficulty in apprehending this very clear truth. They assume, for instance, that the French university is in a singular sense universal, and is based on a comprehension and inclusion of all mankind and of their problems. But it is not so, and the assumption that it is, arises simply because so much of French culture has been built into universal civilization. A French university is founded in France; it uses the French language and assumes a knowledge of French history. The present problems of the French people are its major problems

( The Negro College. Cont.)

and it becomes universal only so far as other peoples of the world comprehend and are at one with France in its mighty and beautiful history.

In the same way, a Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition. Without white-washing or translating wish into fact, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstances in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work and determination will permit.

Is this statement of the field of a Negro university a denial of aspiration or a change from older ideals ? I do not think it is, although I admit in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method. The system of learning which bases its self upon the actual condition of certain classes and groups of human beings is tempted to suppress a minor premise of fatal menace. It proposes that the knowledge given and the methods pursued in such institutions of learning shall be for the definite object of perpetuating present conditions or of leaving their amelioration in the hands of and at the initiative of other forces and other folk. This was the great criticism that those of us who fought for higher education of Negroes thirty years ago, brought against the industrial school

The industrial school founded itself and rightly upon the actual situation of American Negroes and said:" What can be done to change this situation?" And its answer was: " A training in technique and method such as would incorporate the disadvantaged group into the industrial organization of the country, and in that organization the leaders of the Negro had perfect faith.

47-7-109

( Cont. The Negro College )

Since that day the industrial machine has cracked and groaned. Its technique has changed faster than any school could teach; the relations of capital and labor have increased in complication and it has become so clear that Negro poverty is not primarily caused by ignorance of technical knowledge that the industrial school has almost surrendered its program.

In opposition to that, the opponents of college training in those earlier years said: " What black men need is the broader and more universal training so that they can apply the general principles of knowledge to the particular circumstances of their condition."

Here again was the indubitable truth but incomplete truth. The technical problem lay in the method of teaching this broader and more universal truth and here just as in the industrial program, we must start where we are and not where we wish to be.

As I said a few years ago at Howard University both these positions had thus something of truth and right. Because of the peculiar economic situation in our country the program of the industrial school came to grief first and has practically been given up. Starting even though we may with the actual condition of the Negro peasant and artisan, we cannot ameliorate his condition simply by learning a trade which is the technique of a passing era. More vision and knowledge is needed than that. But on the other hand, while the Negro college of a generation ago set down a defensible and true program of applying knowledge to facts, it unfortunately could not completely carry it out, and it did not carry it out, because the one thing that the industrial philosophy gave to education, the Negro college did not take and that was that the university education of black men in the United States must be grounded in the condition and work of those black men!

On the other hand,it would be of course idiotic to say, as the former industrial philosophy almost said, that so far as most black men are concerned education must stop with this. No, starting with present conditions

47-7-200

and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and the conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to reach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe.

And this is a different program than a similar function would be in a white university or in a Russian university or in an English university, because it starts from a different point. It is a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology and art. In no other way can the American Negro College funtion. It cannot begin with history and lead to Negro History. It cannot start with sociology and lead to Negro sociology.

Why was it that the Renaissance of literature which began among Negroes ten years ago has never taken real and lasting root ? It was because it was a transplanted and exotic thing. It was a literature written for the benefit of white people and at the behest of white readers, and starting out privately from the white point of view. It never had a real Negro constituency and it did not grow out of the inmost heart and frank experience of Negroes; on such an artificial basis no real literature can grow.

On the other hand, if starting in a great Negro university you have knowledge, beginning with the particular, and going out to universal comprehension and unhampered expression, you are going to begin to realize for the American Negro the full life which is denied him now. And then after that comes

47-7-201

( Cont. The Negro College )

a realization of the older object of our college-to bring this universal culture down and apply it to the individual life and individual conditions of living Negroes.

The university must become not simply a center of knowledge but a center of applied knowledge and guide of action. And this is all the more necessary now since we easily see t at planned action especially in economic life, is going to be the watchword of civilization.

If the college does not thus root itself in the group life and afterward apply its knowledge and culture to actual living, other social organs must replace the college in this function. A strong, intelligent family life may adjust the student to higher culture; and, too, a social clan may receive the graduate and induct him into life. This has happened and is happening among a minority of priveleged people. But it costs society a fatal price. It tends to hinder progress and hamper change -- it makes Education, propaganda for things as they are. It leaves the mass of those without family training and without social standing misfits and rebels who despite their education are uneducated in its meaning and application. The only college which stands for the progress of all, mass as well as aristocracy, functions in root and blossom as well as in the overshadowing and heaven-filling tree. No system of learning-no university can be universal before it is German, French, Negro. Grounded in inexorable fact and condition, in Poland, Italy or elsewhere, it may seek the universal and haply it may find it-and finding it, bring it down to earth and us.

We have imbibed from the surrounding white world a childish idea of Progress. Progress means bigger and better results always and forever. But there is no such rule of life. In 6000 years of human culture, the losses and retrogressions have been enormous. We have no assurance this 20th century

47-7-202

( Cont. The Negro College)

civilization will survive. We do not know that American Negroes will survive. There are sinister signs about us, antecedent to and unconnected with the Great Depression. The organized might of industry northa and south is relegating the Negro to the edge of survival and using him a labor reservoir on starvation wage. No secure professional class, no science, literature nor art can live on such a sub-soil. It is an insistent, deep-throated cry for rescue, guidance and organized advance that greets the black leader today, and the college that trains him has got to let him know at least as much about the great black miners strike in Alabama as about the age of Pericles.

We are on the threshold of a new era. Let us not deceive ourselves with outworn ideals of wealth and servants and luxuries, reared on a foundation of ignorance, starvation and want. Instinctively, we have absorbed these ideals from our twisted white American environment. This new economic planning is not for us unless we do it. Unless the American Negro today, led by trained university men of broad vision, sits down to work out by economics and mathematics, by physics and chemistry, by history and sociology, exactly how and where he is to earn a living and how he is to establish a reasonable life in the United States or elsewhere-unless this is done, the university has missed its field and function and the American Negro is doomed to be a suppressed and inferior caste in the United States for incalculable time.

Here, then, is a job for the American Negro university. It cannot be successfully ignored or dodged without the growing menace of disaster. I lay the problem before you as one which you must not ignore.

To carry out this plan, two things and only two things are necessary,- teachers and students. Buildings and endowments may help, but they are not indispensable. It is necessary first to have teachers who comprehend this program and know how to make it live among their students. This is calling for a good

( Cont. The Negro College )

deal, because it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro unicersity of the sort that I am visioning. No teacher, black or white, who comes to a university like Fisk, filled simply with general ideas of human culture or general knowledge of disembodied science, is going to make a university of this school. Because a university is made of human beings, learning of the things they do not know from the things they do know in their own lives.

And secondly, we must have students. They must be chosen for their ability to learn. There is always the temptation to assume that the children of privileged classes, the rich, the noble, the white, are those who can best take education. One has but to express this to realize its utter futility. But perhaps the most dangerous thing among us is for us, without thought, to imitate the white world and assume that we can choose students at Fisk because of the amount of money which their parents have happened to get hold of. That basis of selection is going to give us an extraordinary aggregation. We want, by the nicest methods possible, to seek out the talented and the gifted among our constituency, quite regardless of their wealth or position, and to fill this university and similar institutions with persons who have got brains enought to take fullest advantage of what the university offers. There is no other way. With teachers who know what they are teaching and whom they are teaching, and the life that surrounds both the knowledge and the knower, and with students who have the capacity and the will to absorb this knowledge, we can build the sort of Negro university which will emancipate not simply the black folk of the United States, but those white folk who in their effort to suppress Negroes have killed their own culture.

Men who in their desperate effort to replace equality with cast and to build inordinate wealth on a foundation of abject poverty have succeeded

47-7-204

in killing democracy, art and religion.

Only a universal system of learning, rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up toward the stars is worth the name. Once builded it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and starshine and impregnated the mud.

The chief obstacle in this rich land endowed with every national resource and with the abilities of a hundred different peoples-the chief and only obstacle to the coming of that kingdom of economic equality which is the only logical end of work, is the determination of the white world to keep the black world poor and make themselves rich. The disaster which this selfish and short-sighted policy has brought, lies at the bottom of this present depression, and too, its cure lies beside it. Your clear vision of a world without wealth, of capital without profit, of income based on work alone, is the path out not only for you but for all men.

Is not this a program of segregation, emphasis of race and particularism as against national unity and universal humanity ? It is and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply because you want to. A Negro university from its high ground of unfaltering facing of the Truth, from its unblinking stare at hard facts does not advocate segregation by race; it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law, and that this separation is growing in strength and fixation; that is is worse today than a half century ago and that no characted, address, culture or desert is going to change it in our day or for centuries to come. Recognizing this brute fact, groups of cultured, trained and devoted men gathering in great institutions of learning proceed to ask: What are we going to do about it ? It is silly to ignore the gloss of truth; it is idiotic to proceed as though we were white or

( Cont. The Negro College )

yellow, English or Russian. Here we stand. We are American Negroes. It is beside the point to ask whether we form a real race. Biologically we are mingled of all conceivable elements, but race is psychology, not biology; and psychologically we are a unified race with one history, one red memory and one revolt. It is not ours to argue whether we will be segregated or whether we ought to be a caste. We are segregated; we are a caste. This is our given and at present unalterable fact. Our problem is: How far and in w at way can we consciously and scientifically guide our future so as to insure our physical survival, our spiritual freedom and our social growth ? Eithe we do this or we die. There is no alternative. If America proposes the murder of this group, its moral descent into imbecility and crime and its utter loss of manhood, self-assertion and courage, the sooner we realize this the better. By that great line of McKay:

" If we must die, let it not be like hogs"

But the alternative of not dying like hogs is not that of dying or killing like snarling dogs. It is rather conquering the world by thought and brain and plan; be expression and organized cultural ideals. Therefore let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it and above all to give ti unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature. It is the council of fear and cowardice to say this cannot be done. What must be, can be and it is only a question of Science and Sacrifice to bring the great consummation.

What that will be, none knows. It may be a great physical segregation of the world along the Color Line; it may be an ecomomic rebirth which ensures spiritual and group integrity amid physical diversity. It may be utter annihilation of class and race and color barriers in one ultimate mankind, differentiated by talent, susceptibility and gift--but any of these

47-7-206

( Cont. The Negro College )

ends are matters of long centuries and not years. We live in years, swift-flying, transient years. We hold the possible future in our hands but not by wish and will, only by thought, plan, knowledge and organization. If the college can pour into the coming age an American Negro who knows himself and his plight and how to protect himself and fight race prejudice, then the world of our dream will come and not otherwise.

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds ? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten? some precious thing
We have lost, wandering in strange lands ?

47-7-207

Jan 8, 1934

## SUGGESTIONS FOR COLOR LINE

A friend in Chicago writes:

> "The 'Son of God' was beautiful—rarely beautiful. I wonder how many have caught the undying truth which it indicates."

Percy L. Julian, formerly professor of Chemistry at Howard University, is Research Fellow and Lecturer in the Department of Chemistry at De Pauw University, Greencastle, Indiana. He has Junior students in Elementary Organic Chemistry; Seniors in an advanced problem course in Organic Chemistry, and is supervising two students who are writing their Master's thesis. He has a Research Assistant, Doctor Pikl of Vienna, and his laboratory was given several thousands dollars worth of new equipment during the past summer. Two papers by Doctor Julian have just appeared in the Journal of the American Chemical Society. The college paper of October 9 contains a long article on Doctor Julian's experiments and and an editorial mentioning his "excellent research work."

Doctor W. Napoleon Rivers, Jr. of the A. and T. College, Greensboro, North Carolina, has published a study of the modern foreign languages in thirty Negro colleges. He finds in these institutions 69 teachers, giving all or most of their time to this field. Of these, 6 were Doctors of Philosophy and 31 Masters of Art. Salaries varied from $1,000 to $3,200. These teachers have issued 1 text and 15 articles. In the thirty institutions, 3,503 were enrolled in language courses, 2,053 in French, 765 in German, 569 in Spanish. There were 21 French clubs, 8 German clubs and 7 Spanish clubs. In 9 cases, the instructors were foreign born. Twenty institutions offered four years' course in French; 8 a four years' course in German; 6 a four years' course in Spanish. Italian was offered in only three institutions. Only one institution conducted a graduate course.

(Cont. Suggestions for Color Line.)

In the thirty institutions by way of equipment there were 14 phonographs, 2 dictaphones and 8 song charts. In many cases this equipment was the personal property of the teachers. The institutions studied were curiously limited and did not include either Atlanta University, Fisk, Spelman or a number of well-known colleges. The report was printed in the Journal of Negro Education for October, 1933.

A traveler returning from India says:

"I suppose the present financial crisis is hard for you as for most other causes. But you represent a cause that we must not let fail. I am glad to see as I return after six years abroad that there is a definite improvement in American race relations but we have still a long way to go and too many people on both sides seem quite willing to let well enough alone. During my furlough, I shall try to make as much contribution to the cause as possible. I have gathered that you do not consider missionaries especially sincere in their efforts to permeate human relationships with brotherly love. I have appreciated your criticism and have been helped by them. However, as a missionary, let me say that for years I have been watching your magnificent approach and efforts to solve America's greatest problem. Every principle which you advocate I can most sincerely and unreservedly back and I consider that I have no greater duty to the God I serve or to the America I love than to use all the influence I have to help bring about the time when America shall indeed be a land of equality in every sense as regards opportunity for all of her citizens."

(Cont. Suggestions for Color Line.)

H. W. Wilson Company of New York has issued "Authors Today and Yesterday", a companion volume to "Living Authors". It is edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and contains a short autobiography of Robert Hichens, Edwin Markham, Jim Tully, W. E. B. Du Bois and many others.

The University Players of Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges presented recently "The Live Corpse" from the Russian of Leo Tolstoy. The play was under the direction of Miss Anne M. Cook and had a cast of 22 students. The leading role "Fedya", was taken by George Smith, and other roles, "Lisa" by Curtis Miller, "Anna Pavlovna" by Mary L. Bythwood, "Victor Carenina" by Lawrence Hall. The rendition was smooth and beautiful and dramatically well-sustained.

A tailoring school is conducted in Richmond, Virginia by J. L. Loving, Jr. The school which occupies a building in E. Leigh Street and gives courses in tailoring for men, including bushelling, pants making, coat making and cutting. It also teaches dressmaking for women, including tailoring, drafting and designing. Mr. Loving is a graduate of Hampton and studied cutting an designing in New York.

Through the recommendations of Hon. Robert L. Vann, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, George H. Gould was appointed to the position of Superintendent of Wylie Branch, Pittsburgh Postoffice, and John Denning as his assistant. James Blaine Monroe was also appointed to the position of foreman in the dispatching section, main postoffice. This is the first appointment to the position of foreman and superintendent in the state of Pennsylvania.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR THE COLOR LINE

Photograph...No. 1.

De Lawd of Green Pastures visits Atlanta University and is greeted by President Hope, Will Alexander and Doctor Du Bois.

Photograph...No. 2.

Thomas Adolphus Clark, III., of Philadelphia.

This has been on hand sometime and should be used as soon as possible.

1934

The N. A. A. C. P. and Race Segregation

There is a good deal of misapprehension as to the historic attitude of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and race segregation. As a matter of fact, the Association while it has from time to time discussed the larger aspects of this matter, has taken no general stand and adopted no general philosophy. Of course its action, and often very effective action, has been in specific cases of segregation where the call for a definite stand was clear and decided. For instance, in the preliminary National Negro Convention which met in New York May 31st and June 1st, 1909, segregation was only mentioned in a protest against Jim-Crow car laws and that because of an amendment by William M. Trotter. In the First Annual Report, January 1, 1911, the Association evolved a statement of its purpose, which said that "it seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere." Later, this general stagement was epitomized in the well-known declaration: "Itdonceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the great Emancip tor began. It proposes to make a group of ten million Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery, physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult." This phrase which I first rewrote myself for the Annual Report of 1915 still expresses pregnantly the object of the N. A. A. C. P. and it has my own entire adherence.

It will be noted, however, that here again segregation comes in only by implication. Specifically, it was first spoken of in the Second Report of the Association, January 1, 1912, when the attempt to distroy the property of Negroes in Kansas City because they had moved into a white sect on was taken up. T is began our fight on a specific phase of segregation; namely, the attempt to establish a Negro ghetto by force of law.

(Cont. The N. A. A. C. P. and Race Segregation.)

This phase of segregation we fought vigorously for years and often achieved notable victories in the highest courts of the land. But it will be noted here that the N.A.A.C.P. expressed no opinion as to whether it might not be a feasible and advisable thing for colored people to establish their own residential sections, or their own towns and certainly there was nothing expressed of implied that Negroes should not organize for promoting their own interests in industry, literature or art. Manifestly, here was opportunity for considerable difference of opinion, but the matter never was thoroughly threshed out.

The Association moved on to other matters of color discrimination. The Full Crew Bill which led to dismissal of so many Negro railway employees. The Jim-Crow car laws on railway trains and street cars. The segregation in government departments. In all these matters, the stand of the Association was clear and unequivocal. It held that it was a gross injustice to make special rules which discriminated against the color of employees or patrons. In the Sixth Annual Report issued in March, 1916, the seven lines of endeavor of the Association include change of unfair laws, better administration of present laws, justice in the courts, stoppage of public expenditure, the investigation of facts, the management of distinguished work by Negroes and organizations.

Very soon, however, there came up a more complex question and that was the matter of Negro schools. The Association had avoided from the beginning any thoroughgoing pronouncement on this matter. In the resolutions of 1909, the conference asked: "Equal educational opportunities for all and in all the states, and that public school expenditure be the same for the Negro and white child." This of course does not touch the real problem of separate schools. Very soon, however, their program was presented to the Association. The exclusion of colored girls from the Oberlin dormitories in 1919, the discrimination in the School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Cincinnati fight against establishing a separate school for colored children brought the matter squarely to the front. Later, further cases came; the Brooklyn Girls' High School, the

matter of a colored High School in Indianapolis, and the celebrated Gary case. Gradually, in these cases the attitude of the Association crystalized. It declared that further extension of segregated schools for particular races and especially for Negroes was unwise and dangerous, and the Association undertook in all possible cases to oppose such further segregation. It did not, however, for a moment feel called upon to attack the separate schools where most colored children are educated throughout the United States and it did not do this not because it approved of separate schools, but because it was faced by a fact and not a theory. It saw no sense in tilting against windmills. It will be seen that in all these cases the Association was attacking specific instances and not ateempting to lay down any general rule as to how far the advancement of the colored race in the United States was going to involve racial action and organization of Negroes for certain ends.

To be sure, the overwhelming and underlying thought of the N.A.A.C.P. has always been that any discrimination based simply on race is fundamentally wrong. On the other hand, they faced certain unfortunate but undeniable facts. For instance, war came. The Negro was being drafted. No Negro officers were being commissioned. The N. A. A. C. P. asked for the admission of Negroes to white officer schools. This was denied. There was only one further thing to do and that was to ask for a school for Negro officers. There arose a bitter protest among many Negroes against this movement. Nevertheless, the argument for it was absolutely unanswerable, and Joel E. Spingarn, Chairman of the Board, supported by the students of Howard University, launched a movement which resulted in the commissioning of seven hundred Negro officers in the A.E.F. In all the British Dominions, with their hundreds of millions of colored folk, there was not a single officer of known Negro blood. The American Negro scored a tremendous triumph against the Color Line by their admitted policy of segregation. This did not mean that Mr. Spingarn or any of the members of the N.A.A.C.P. thought it right that there should be a separate Negro camp, but they thought a separate Negro camp and Negro officers was infinitely better than no camp and no Negro officers,

and that was the only practicaly choise that lay before them. Similarly, in the question of the Negro vote, the N.A.A.C.P. began in 1920 an attempt to organize the Negro vote and cast it in opposition to open enimies of the Negro race who were running for office. This was a species of advocated segregation. It was appealing to voters on the grounds of race, and it brought for that reason considerable opposition. Nevertheless, it could be defended on the ground that the election of enemies of the Negro race was not only a blow to that race but to the white race and to all civilization. And while our attitude, even in the Parker case, has been criticized, it has on the whole found abundant justification.

The final problem in segregation presented to us is that of the Harlem Hospital. Here was a hospital in the center of a great Negro population which for years did not have and would not admit a single Negro physician to its staff. Finally, by agitation and by political power, Negroes obtained representation on the staff in considerable numbers and membership on the Board of Control. It was a great triumph. But it was accompanied by reaction on the part of whites who had opposed this movement, and an attempt to change the status of the hospital so that it would become a segregated Negro hospital, and so that presumably the other hospitals of the city would continue to exclude Negroesfrom their staffs. And with this arose a movement to establish Negro hospitals throughout the United States. Here was an exceedingly difficult problem. On the one hand, there is no doubt of the need of the Negro population for wider and better hospitalization, and for the demand on the part of Negro physicians for opportunities of hospital practice. This was illustrated by the celebrated Tuskegee hospital where nearly all the Negro physicians are segregated but where an efficient Negro staff has been installed. Perhaps nothing illustrates better than this the contradiction and paradox of the problem of race segregation in the United States, and the problem which the N.A.A.C.P. faced and still faces. One of the most prominent members of its board, [illegible] fought with unfaltering courage the fight to make Harlem Hospital a general hospital open to all with competent Negroes represented

(The N.A.A.C.P. and Race Segregation.)

on its staff and to oppose any movement to establish specific Negro hospitals. On the other hand, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People knows and we all know that from the overwhelming majority of the best hospitals in the land Negro physicians, no matter what their attainment, are rigidly excluded because of race and Negro patients receive less than the proper care.

But all this simply touches the whole question of racial organization and initiative. No matter what we maywish or say, the vast majority of the Negroes in the United States are born in colored homes, educated in separate colored schools, attend separate colored churches, marry colored mates, and find their amusement in colored Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A's. Even in their economic life, they are gradually being forced out of the place in industry which they occupied in the white world and being compelled to seek their living among themselves. Here is segregation with a vengeance. And add to this voluntary and purposeful segregation of ourselves, as shown by this clipping from the Atlanta Constitution:

37-8-84

It stands as a flat and undeniable fact. What are we going to do about it? It is this problem which THE CRISIS desires todiscuss during the present year in all its phases and with ample and fair representation to all shades of opinion.

undated

Texas article

# A JOURNEY TO TEXAS AND NEW ORLEANS

In mid-February, I was asked to visit Texas to lecture for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and I went because I wanted to see Texas again, after thirteen years, and to look at some Reconstruction data in New Orleans. I rode from Atlanta to New Orleans on a Pullman and reached the city just at the beginning of the carnival but could not stop but hurried on. From New Orleans to Houston, I rode in the Jim-crow car; clean and fairly comfortable. Southwestern Louisiana surprises one by its extent and the evidence of its old agriculture and semi-tropical vegetation. We crossed the Mississippi by ferry. There was a troubled flood of grey and yellowist brown, touched with morning gold and dusty with night. At Houston, I was met by an automobile and whisked forty miles north to Prairie View. This state Negro school looks like a small town with its forty-one buildings, clustered on a prairie, lighted by its own electric light plant and heated by its own steam. The buildings were a bit crowded, and varied from a few that are old and poorly constructed to others new and even beautiful. But above its buildings and its great mechanical plant, its new dormitories and recitation halls, is a distinct sense of organization. I had but a three-day glimpse of the school but I got a distinct feeling of things going steadily forward under competent, purposive and intelligent direction. I sat with Principal Banks and his Cabinet, the thirteen men who direct all the different activities of the school, and under whom the faculty and teachers work. It was a meeting, with frank interchange of information and ideas, and especially with a good spirit, with no evidence of the sort of sulking and under-current of opposition that one finds, especially in state schools, and often in others. Mr. Banks was called out for fifteen minutes or more. The proceedings went right on without a break. Then, later, I tried to answer questions for all the teachers and their families. There were questions and opinions and differences of opinion. It was a lively hour.

38-12-10

(A Journey To Texas And New Orleans.)

There are, of course, problems at Prairie View, and economic problems. The students can draw less and less upon their parents. The state appropriations must suffer cuts or certainly not receive needed expansion. But the budget is always carefully and meticulously balanced. But beyond that, how is this college and industrial school going to train for actual work? Its teachers of economics, on the whole, are reactionary. They are teaching Carver and Harvard and Eastern Capitalism. The teachers of industry are making brooms and mattresses and boxes and tables, but not on a commercial scale, and one doubts if this old program can ever fit modern and changing technique. In mechanics and electricity, there is more hope, but there are also more trade unions with their color bar.

38-12-11

The work in health and home economics faces a much more practical program. The hospital is under-staffed and deficient and has its color problem, when the white people round about want service from the colored doctors. A health survey of the colored schools of the whole county is being carried out and other surveys planned. A visit to Prairie View is an adventure.

My audience in Houston packed seven hundred or more persons in the Odd Fellows Hall. This building occupying half a block, and another half-block occupied by the United Brothers of Friendship, are owned by the colored people. They had the sense to buy them outright and when the depression came there was no mortgage. Other buildings owned by colored groups were lost. The audience was enlivened by a band of high school girls in blue uniform with shekoes and a drum major. They listened hard and quietly for an hour to an "Economic History of the Late 19th and Early 20th Century". There is a Y. W. C. A. in close collaboration with the white branch and with some sympathetic inter-racialism. There was a luncheon where everybody agreed in praising Houston, mentioning some excellent things that the colored people had done, but was lauding the white city somewhat to my alarm. It may all be quite true, for there were some evidences of cordial relationship between the white and colored city. But the color line showed wide

and clear through this famous commercial capital which has stolen the former pre-eminence of Galveston by digging a fofty-mile ditch and sailing the steamers straught up to the heart of the city.

I am not sure that I have quite a clear idea of the colored theology in Houston and Texas. There is a great deal of every-day talk, implying personal acquaintance with God and minute knowledge of the plan of salvation. I went to the City preachers' meeting. There were some intelligent men there, but a great deal of oratory and some statements that I could not fathom. One well-dressed and well-educated man who replied to my rather halting remarks, made a long speech in which he assured me that Jesus Christ was leading them just as the same Jesus Christ led Moses and the children out of the Egyptian wilderness. I was a bit nonplussed by the anachorism, and yet the man was in earnest. I wondered just how literally he was being interpreted by the men present, and by the rank and file, and if so just how the people distinguished between such facts as I stated and the ordinary facts of every-day life. It was very puzzling. In this part of Texas and almost more so further West, one sees the triple Color Line between the whites and the Mexicans, between the whites and the Negroes, between the Mexicans and the Negroes. The Mexicans are legally white but actually yellow and brown. The Negroes are legally black, but actually white, yellow, brown and black. In the Houston depot, there is a big window rotunda and then one smaller niche to the right as one enters. It is all a part of the main hall, but over the niche is the inscription "colored". The Mexicans seem to hover in the part of the rotunda next to the niche. We all use the same ticket office.

In Beaumont, I stopped at a brand-new, well-appointed home, laid out in a suburban section, and with well-kept surroundings. I visited all of the colored schools. They were, of course, much poorer than the white schools, situated usually on unpaved streets, but in some cases with new and pretty, well-equipped buildings. Here and throughout Texas I was impressed by the guild of teachers. The problem of teaching in the colored schools of the South presents various

difficulties. Not only are there separate schools, but the teachers in the colored schools are selected by the white school authorities. This practically deprives the colored people of any voice in the direction of their own schools, or any chance to determine the kind of textbook and teaching which their children will have. In extreme cases, the teachers of a colored school system in a particular town may be simply the tools of reactionary whites, and the colored schools may be badly taught or wrongly taught, or poorly administered. In Texas, however, the influence of the colored community is considerable. There is some voting, here and there, even in the White Primary. This means that the colored teacher, particularly in the part of Texas that I was, is not primarily a representative of the white community. He becomes, particularly in a town like Beaumont, a sort of diplomatic officer who exercises a distinct function between the white and colored community. He tells the white officials, diplomatically, but with force and , what the colored people want, and on the other hand, he tells the colored people how much they are likely to get by way of concession, or co-operation. Very often, influence with both groups goes far beyond mere school needs. Sometimes, of course, he is temperate and reactionary. This is probably the case in Corcicana. It had been arranged that I should lecture in Corcicana but at the last moment somebody got cold feet. I do not know just what kind of incendiarism they expected from me, but at any rate, they dicided at the last moment not to have me. In Corcicana there is a sort of dynasty of colored teachers; an Elder Jackson who graduated from Fisk before my time, and who I vaguely remember, and his son, a recent Fisk graduate. Whether these Jacksons were the timid souls or not, I do not know. On the other hand, in Houston, Beaumont and Marshall, the teachers on the whole gave me a very distinct impression of men of education and force, who were making a careful but persistent fight for the advance of the colored schools and the colored community. The pupils especially impressed me by their vi or and brightness. It was a joy to hear the Beaumont High School sing. They put a thrill into it, and there were two sopranos on the front line, slim brownthings, who fairly quivered with the joy

38-12-13

(A Journey to Texas and New Orleans.)

of it. The Carrol Street School of younger ones swarmed about the door and admitted the most creditable college yell: C-A-R, R-O-L. That's the way we spell it; That's the way we yell.

Always across the Texas scene comes the curious incongruity. Working at the renovation of one of the Beaumont schools were employees of the C.W.A., all white. In Marshall is Bishop College, with its first colored President. It is being lately re-organized and re-vamped, and looks promising. In front of the campus and facing the city is one of the extraordinary old slave mansions of the South with great quadrangular pillars reaching to the roof, and here is installed Helen Hagan and her music department. I spoke here to an audience of many hundreds, students and citizens, and a leading colored citizen gave us the extraordinary information that in a county where there was a Negro majority, consisting of some thirty thousand Negroes, less than three thousand were on poor relief. The eleven thousand colored inhabitants of Houston, furnish a high school with eight hundred pupils, rapidly outgrowing its rather beautiful building, and carried on by a principal who has served over forty years, and thirteen colored teachers. Their teaching load is appalling but their pupils' faces must inspire a good deal of hard work. Then I went to Wiley. Wiley is another and better known colored college in Marshall and the manifest of Wiley and Bishop are to become one institution, although there are difficulties in such union, not the least is the fact that one is Baptist and the other Methodist. Wiley has a president of long service and wide experience. Its atmosphere was sedate with something of character and experience. The audience was intelligent.

Somewhere I rode through an Oil City where colored people had come in to share monopoly. Oil in Texas and Oklahoma draws no Color Line and has a disconcerting way, now and then, of appearing on the poor and out of the way land of colored farmers. It does not take long for monopoly to manifest itself and take the cream off the profits, but here and there a colored man hangs on and in this particular Oil City, between Beaumont and Houston, there were several well-to-do colored folk, and one colored church perched on oil land. I rode down to Galveston, first to

32-12-14

(A Journey to Texas and New Orleans.)

win a bid and prove that Galveston was only fifty miles from Houston instead of a twelve-hour ride. Colored Galveston is still the spirit of Wright Cuney, One sees the ornate Negro high school which he built; the finest colored high school in all Texas, if not in the South at the time. Negro businesses are on the prominent streets, and there are more Negro policemen in Galveston than in all Texas. But the city has lost its commercial supremacy to Houston. On the whole, this part of eastern Texas has a pretty energetic and forward-pushing class of colored people with intelligent leadership. Across the line, over in Shreveport and Louisiana, the change is rather abrupt. A year ago, the colored people of Shreveport held a meeting to decide what they ought to try to do to assert some political influence. The meeting was rather suddenly interrupted by the entrance of the Mayor and a large part of the police force armed with pistols. The Mayor informed the assembled colored leaders that the whites of Shreveport did not propose to have niggers interfering in politics, and if they did, there was liable to be bloodshed. Out of the rain that greeted me in Texas came sunshine. Sunshine on farms and on oil fields. Oil fields where the land was being raped and where everything was raw and ugly and existence stripped bare for exploitation. There was evidence in the cothouses and tourist homes of wandering and migrating people. And long new roads laid North and South over this astonishing empire, whose width is nearly that of New York to Chicago, and whose length stretches almost as far as New York to Atlanta.

I came back to New Orleans and stopped at the Flint-Goodridge Hospital to take a nearer glimpse of this city, and after three days I came away convinced that the group of colored New Orleans Creoles have the longest history of colored modern culture of any group of Negro descent in the United States. It is more than a pity that an organized community effort is not made in New Orleans to save this record of community uplift and culture which began with the annexation of Louisiana in 1803, mainly because of Toussaint L'Ouverture. I talked with old men and young. I saw several years copies of the first Negro daily paper; The New Orleans Tribune. I got access to some libraries, where the librarians were a bit uneasy but courteous, and I have promises of much material, which I trust I can see. But above all, here is a community project which should interest every Negro in the United States.

38-12-15

(Texas)

I have travelled in my life and spoken in every single Southern state, and there are times when my questioners look at me a bit quizzically and ask audibly or otherwise: Just what I see on such trips and lectures? The inference was that silent or vocal, that my words in the South cannot resemble my words in the North. There is a certain truth in this. I do not use in Houston, Texas the same lecture that I would at Ford Hall, Boston, but on the other hand, I have evolved a certain ethical standard which appeals to me.

I never say in the South anything that I don't thoroughly believe. And, on the other hand, I do not by any means say all that I do believe. As my friend Henry Hunt once remarked: "I can keep silent in seven different languages."

38-12-16

The unpardonable sin for those who speak in the South is the tendency to say what they do not believe and which is not true. I have never told an audience in the South that the Southern white people were their best friends. And I never shall. I have never told them that they ought to be satisfied with the conditions that they find around about them, and I do not ever propose to tell them this under present conditions. On the other hand, I do try to give information; solid and satisfactory reports on world conditions and other matters which will help them to think through their own plight. This attitude is made easier from the curious fact that people in the South, white or black, never ask questions of speakers. Their churches have trained them to take it on the jaw and look pleasant. My task of talking would be less easy if Negroes and white people in the South asked searching questions. In that case, they would get flat and frank answers. And very probably, in some cases, I would have to leave town, hurriedly.

(Negro + New Deal)

SEGREGATION IN THE NORTH

I have read with interest the various criticisms on my recent discussions of segregation. Those like that of Mr. Pierce of Cleveland, do not impress me. I am not worried about being inconsistent. What worries me is the truth. I am talking about conditions in 1934 and not in 1910. The arguments of Walter White, George Schuyler and Kelly Miller, have logic, but seem to me quite beside the point. In the first place, Walter White is white. He has more white companions and friends than colored. He goes where he will in New York City and meets no Color Line. This is perfectly right and it is what anyone else of his complexion would do, but it is fantastic to assume that this has anything to do with the color problem in the United States. It naturally makes Mr. White an extreme opponent of any segregation based on a myth of race. But his argument does not apply to Schuyler or Miller or me. Moreover, Mr. White knows this. He moved once into a white apartment house and it went back on him. He now lives in a colored apartment house. He once took a friend to dine with him at the celebrated Lafayette Hotel, where he had often be welcomed. The management humiliated him by refusing to serve Roland Hayes.

49-20-1

The attitudes of Schuyler and Kelley Miller are based on the amiable assumption that there is little or no segregation in the North, and that agitation and a firm stand is making it disappear. This, of course, is a fable. The difference between North and South in the matter of segregation is largely a difference of degree, if we accept the prevalence of mob law and political and social disfranchisement in the South. In the North, neither Schuyler or Kelley Miller nor anyone with a feasible admixture of Negro blood can frequent hotels or restaurants. They have difficulty in finding dwelling places in white neighborhoods. They occupy Lower 1. on Pullmans and they do not go into dining cars when any number of white people are there. Their children either go to colored schools or to schools nominally for both races, but actually attended almost exclusively by colored children. In other words, they are confined by unyielding public opinion to a Negro world. And no matter how much they may fulminate about no segregation, there stand the flat facts. Moreover, this situation has been steadily growing worse. Mr. Spingarn may ask judiciously

(Segregation in the North.)

as to whether or not the N. A. A. C. P. should change its attitude toward segregation. The point that he does not realize is that segregation has changed its attitude toward the N. A. A. C. P. That does not mean that segregation is not just as evil today as it was in 1910 or that anyone denies the fact. But today the pressing problem is: What are we going to do about it? In 1910, colored men could be entertained in the best hotel in Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. Today, there is not a single Northern city, except New York, where aNegro can be a guest at a first-class hotel. Not even in Boston is he welcomed, and in New York, the number of hotels where he can go is very small. Roland Hayes was unable to get hotel accommodations, and Booker T. Washington and Dr. Moton only succeeded by powerful white influence and by refraining to use the public dining room or the public lobbies. These are unpleasant facts. We do not like to voice them. The theory is that by maintaining certain fictions of law and administration, we can stand on the principle of no segregation and wait until public opinion meets our position. But can we do this? Remember that meantime, we are not living in times of prosperity, when we were making post-war incomes, and our labor was in demand, and we perhaps could afford to wait. But today, faced by starvation and economic upheaval and by the very question of being able to survive in the reconstruction that is upon us, it is ridiculous not to say and criminal not to tell the colored people that they can base their salvation upon the reiteration of a slogan. What then can we do? The only thing that we not only can but must do is to organize our economic and social power. Remember to associate with ourselves and train ourselves for executive association. Organize our consuming strength. Train ourselves in methods of democracy. Run our own institutions. We are doing this partially now, only we are doing it under a peculiar attitude of protest. A number of excellent young gentlemen in Washington, having formed a Negro alliance, proceed to read me out of the congregation of the righteous because of my attitude toward segregation. But who are these young men? The products of a segregated school system. The talent selected by Negro teachers. The persons who can only today, in nine cases out of ten, earn a living through Negro social institutions. These are the men that are yelling against segregation. If most of them had been educated in the mixed schools in New York

49-20-2

(Segregation in the North.)

instead of the segregated schools of Washington, they never would have seen college, because Washington picks out and sends ten times as many Negroes to college as New York does. It would, of course, be full easy to call this voluntary association for great social and economic ends by another name than segregation, and if I had done so in the beginning of this debate, many people would have been easily deceived, and would have yelled no segregation with one side of their mouths and race pride and race effort with the other side. No such distinction can rightly be drawn. Segregation may be compulsory by law or it may be compulsory by economic or social condition. Or it may be a matter of free choice. At any rate, it is the separation of people. And that separation is evil and leads to nationalism and war, and yet it is today inevitable. Inevitable because without it the American Negro and other world groups would suffer evils greater than the evil of separation. They would suffer the loss of self-respect, the lack of faith in themselves, the lack of knowledge about themselves, the lack of ability to make a decent living.

This situation has been plunged into crisis and precipitated an open demand for thought and action by the depression and the New Deal. The government, national and state, is helping and guiding the individual. It has entered and eterne for good into social and economic organization of life. We could wish, we could pray, that this entrance could absolutely ignore lines of race and color, but we know perfectly well it will not, and with present American opinion, it cannot. The question is then, are we going to stand out and refuse the inevitable and inescapable government aid because we first wish to abolish the Color Line? We are not simply tilting at windmills. We are, if we are not careful, committing race suicide.

49-20-3

Sent to J. W. Ivy — 1/24/61

EDITING THE CRISIS

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

From the time I entered High School at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1880, I have had the itch to edit something. The first fruition was a school paper in manuscript, called the "High School Howler", edited by me and illustrated by Art Benham, who could draw caricatures. It had as I remember but one issue.

My next effort was while I was a student at Fisk University and I became first, exchange editor and then editor of the Fisk Herald, during my junior and senior years 1887-1888.

The next adventure was the monthly called The Moon, which was published by Harry Pace and Edward Simon in Memphis and edited by me in Atlanta in ~~1906~~ 1906. From 1907 to 1910, I was joint editor of a miniature magazine, published monthly in Washington, D. C. My co-laborers were H. W. Hershaw and F. H. M. Murray.

In 1910, I came to New York as Director of Publications and Research in the NAACP. The idea was that I should continue the kind of research into the Negro problem that I had been carrying on in Atlanta and that eventually I should become Secretary of the NAACP. But I did not want to raise money, and there were no funds for research; so that from the first, I urged that we have a monthly organ.

This seemed necessary because the chief Negro weekly "The New York Age was then owned by friends of Mr. Washington, and the Tuskegee organization had tight hold of most of the rest of the Negro press. The result was that the NAACP got a pretty raw deal from the colored press and none at all from the white papers.

In addition to that the Negro press was at the time mainly organs of

opinion and not gatherers of news.

I had the idea that a small publication would be read which stressed the facts and minimized editorial opinion, but made it clear and strong; and also published the opinion of others.

There were many on the board of directors who did not agree withme. I remember Albert Pilsbury, former Attorney General of Massachusetts, wrote to me and said: If you have not already determined to publish a magazine, for heavens' sake drop the idea. The number of publications now is as many as the plagues in Egypt!" But I was firm, and back of me stood William English Walling Paul Kennedy, Charles Edward Russell and John E. Mulholland and other members of the board.

But there again the matter of money was difficult. It was hard enough to raise the salaries of our two executive officers, and certainly we had no capital for investment in a periodical. I was persistent and two persons helped me: Mary McClain, an English woman whowas a writer on the New York Times and a loyal and efficient friend; and Robert N. Wood, a printer who was head of the Negro Tammany organization at that time.

Wood knew about printing and I knew nothing. He advised me, helped me to plan the magazine, and took the risk of getting me credit for paper and printing. The Board agreed that it would be responsible for debts up to but not exceeding $50.00 a month. It has always been a matter of pride to me that I never asked for that $50.00.

Finally after what seemed to me interminable delays on various accounts, the first number of the CRISIS appeared in November , 1910. It had sixteen 5x8 pages, with a cover which carried one little wood-cut of a Negro child; as one of my critics facetiously said: "It is a shame to take the ten cents which this issue costs."

First because of the news which it contained, in 6 pages of "Along the Color Line"; then because of some blazing editorials which continually got

us into hot water with friends and foes; and because of the pictures of Negroes which we carried in increasing number and often in color, the Crisis succeeded

We condensed more news about Negroes and their problems in a month than most colored papers before this had published in a year. Then we had four pages of editorials, which talked turkey. The articles were at first short and negligible but gradually increased in number, length and importance: but we were never able to pay contributors. Pictures of colored people were an innovation; and at that time it was the rule of most white papers never to publish a picture of a colored person except as a criminal and the colored papers published mostly pictures of celebrities who sometimes paid for the honor. In general the Negro race was just a little afraid to see itself in plain ink.

The circulation growth of the CRISIS was extraordinary, even to us who believed in it. From a monthly net paid circulation of 9,000 copies in 1911, it jumped to 75,000 copies in 1918, and from an income of $6,500 to an income of $57,000. In January 1916, the CRISIS became entirely self-supporting, paying all items of its cost including publicity, light, heat, rent, etc and the salaries of an editor and business manager and nine clerks. It circulated in every state in the union, in all the Insular possessions and in most foreign countries including Africa.

We doubled the size of the tiny first issue in December, 1910. We increased the number of pictures trying two-color jobs on the cover in 1911 and three colors in 1912, 1917-1918. Our special education and children's numbers began in 1914. From time to time we issued special numbers on localities like Chicago and New Orleans; on "Votes for Women" and the pageant "Star of Ethiopia." TP During this period two persons were indispensible in the conduct of the CRISIS: Mary McLean, aid editorial assistant, who died in harness and worked without pay; and Augustus Dill, business manager who organized a model office. In November, 1919 Jessie Fauset became literary editor and gave us inestimable help for seven years. Allison and Lottie Jarvis as secretaries, Mattie

H-8-24

and Hazel Branch as head of the clerical staff, helped make an ideal family. Frank Turner was our bookkeeper from 1910 until the NAACP took him over in 1922. We reached a circulation of 100,000 in 1919, following my revelation of the attitude of American army officers toward the Negroes in France.

I shall never forget the circumstances of that scoop. I was in the office of Blaise Diagne in the Spring of 1919. Diagne was a tall, thin, black Senagalese, French Under Secretary of State for Colonies, and during the war, French Commissioner in West Africa, out-ranking the Colonial Governor. Diagne saved France by the black shock troops which he brought from Africa and threw against German artillery. They held the Germans until the Allies could get ready for them.

Diagne was consequently a great man and it was his word which induced Prime Minister Clemenceau to let the First Pan-African Congress meet in Paris against the advice of the Americans. Diagne did not like white Americans. "Did you see" he stormed "what the American Mission told the French about the way Negroes should be treated?" Then he showed me the official document. I read it and sat very still. Then I said, as carelessly as possible, "Would it be possible to obtain a copy of this?" "Take that" said Diagne. ~~carelessly.~~

Having the precious document, the problem was what to do with it. I dare not carry it nor trust it to the mails. But a white friend who was sailing home offered to take anything I wished to send. I handed him the document sealed, neglecting to say what dynamite was in it. The CRISIS office and NAACP officials read it and dropped it until I returned. I published it in May, 1919. The Post Office promptly held the CRISIS up in the mails. But it proved too hot for them; if the Government held it that would be acknowledging its authorship. They let it go. We sold 100,000 copies!

Our income in 1920, was $77,000, that was our high water mark. Then began a slump which brought the circulation down to 35,000 copies in 1924 and a cash income of $46,000.

The causes of this were clear and strike every modern periodical: the reading public is not used to paying for the cost of the periodicals which they read; often they do not pay even for the cost of the paper used in the edition. Advertisers pay for most of the costs and advertisers buy space in periodicals which circulate widely among well-do-do persons able to buy the wares offered. The CRISIS was known to circulate among Negro workers of low income. Moreover it antagonized many white powerful interests; it had been denounced in Congress and many respectable Negroes were afraid to be seen reading it. Mississippi passed laws against it and some of our agents were driven from home.

We got some advertising, especially from Negro businesses; some advertisers we refused because we did not like the wares they offered or suspected fraud. The "Big" advertisers remained aloof; some looked us over, but nearly all fell back on the rule not to patronize "Propaganda" periodicals. Beside they did not believe the Negro market worth entering.

Our only recourse was to raise our price of subscription. In December 1919 we raised our price to a dollar and a half for a year and fifteen cents a copy; also we increased our size to 64 pages and cover. This might have extricated us if the depression which burst on the nation in 1929, ~~had not~~ started among Negro workers as early as 1926. ~~The depression~~ struck the workers of the Negro race long before the country in general dreamed of it. I remember bringing the matter to the attention of the president of the board of directors, but he said "the country is unusually prosperous!" Nevertheless, I retorted, the Negro worker is loging old jobs and not getting new ones.

There was a wider underlying cause: How far was the CRISIS an organ of opinion and propaganda; and of whose opinion and just what propaganda? Or how far was it an organ of an association catering to its immediate plans and needs? The two objects and methods were not incompatible with each other in the earlier days of beginnings. Indeed from 1910 to 1925 or later the CRISIS was the

if the price of anything else had not gone up, while W. E. B. went down

46-8-9

predominant partner, with income and circulation larger than the income and membership of the NAACP. For just this reason the NAACP became known outside its membership and with the energetic work of Shillady, Johnson and White, the membership and income increased and the question of the future relation of the CRISIS and the NAACP had to be settled. Their complete separation was proposed; or if the income of the CRISIS continued to fall, the subsidy of the CRISIS by the NAACP; or further attempt to prolong the present relations and increase CRISIS income and circulation.

From 1928 to 1934, the latter method was tried. Various efforts were made to increase CRISIS circulation, by change of form and content. Considerable success ensued, but the depression which now fell heavier on the nation, convinced me that the CRISIS could not be made to pay again for a long period and that meantime the only way to keep it alive was by subsidy from the NAACP. For this reason in 1934, I gave up my position as editor and publisher of the CRISIS and went back to teaching and writing at Atlanta University.

In the nature of the case, there is a clear distinction between an organ of an organization and a literary magazine. They have different objects and functions. The one is mainly a series of reports and records; of organizational technicalities and news notes of methods and routine notices. All large organizations need such a publication. But it is never self-supporting or widely read. So far as it tries to be literary and artistic, it misses its main function [redacted] and is too narrow to achieve any other.

On the other hand, a literary and news journal must be free and uncontrolled; in no other way can it be virile, creative and individual. While it must follow an ideal, and one of which one or more organizations approve, yet its right to deviate in particulars must be granted, else it misses its function of provoking thought, stimulating argument and attracting readers. For many years the NAACP gave me such freedom and the public repaid them and me by wide support. But when public support lagged and the NAACP must furnish a large part of the supporting funds it would have called for more faith

than any organization was likely to have in one man to leave me still in untrammeled control. And as for me, I had no interest in a conventional organ; I must be Free Lance or nothing.

Against therefore the strong pleas of close friends like Joel Spingarn; and against the openly expressed wish of the whole Board which did not wholly agree with me, but were willing to yield much to retain me, I resigned. And I resigned completely and not in part. I was not only editor and head of a department which was separate from that of the Executive Secretary, with my own office and staff and separate bank account; I was also one of the incorporators of the NAACP and member of the Board of Directors since its beginning. Its officials from the first had come to consideration and election on my recommendation. I was a member of the Spingarn Medal Committee, and chief speaker at every annual conference. It was fair to say that the policy of the NAACP from 1910 to 1934 was largely of my making. I would not have been honest therefore with my successors to have resigned in part and hung on to remnants of my former power. I went out completely. I think some sighed in relief. But many were genuinely sorry. Among the latter was myself. For I was leaving my dream and brainchild; my garden of hope and highway to high emprise. But I was 65; my life work was practically done. I looked forward to a few final years of thought, advice and remembrance, beneath the trees and on the hills with the friends and beside the graves where first my real life-work had begun in 1897.

Editing

~~THE INCEPTION OF~~ THE CRISIS

by W.E.B. Du Bois

From the time I entered High School, at Great Barrington, Mass. in 1880, I have had the itch to edit something. The first ~~bru~~ition was a ~~hich~~ school paper in manuscript, called "The High School Howler" edited by me and illustrated by Art Benham, a student. It had as I remember but one issue. My next effort was while I was ~~xxxxxxx~~ at Fisk University and became first, exchange editor and then editor of the Fisk Herald, during my junior and senior years, 1887-1888. The next adventure was the monthly called THE MOON, which was published by Harry Pace and Edward Simon in Memphis and edited by me in Atlanta in 1896. From 1907 to 1910, I was joint editor of a miniature magazine published monthly in Washington, D. C. My co-laborers were ~~R.~~ H. M. Fershaw and F. H. ~~H.~~ M. Murray. In 1910 I came to New York as Director of Publications and Research in the NAACP. The idea was that I should continue the kind of research into the Negro problem that I had been carrying ~~on~~ on in Atlanta and that eventually I should become secretary of the NAACP. But I did not want ~~executive work~~ to raise money, and there were no funds for research, so that from the first, I urged that we have a monthly organ. ~~It was~~ This seemed necessary because the chief Negro weekly "The New York Age" was then owned by friends of Mr. Washington, and the Tuskegee organization had tight hold of the rest of the Negro press; the result was that the NAACP got a pretty raw deal from the colored press and none at all from the white papers. In addition to that the Negro press was at the time ~~the~~ mainly organs of opinion and not gatherers of news. I had the idea that a small publication which stressed the facts ~~of the case~~ and minimized the editorial opinion, but made it clear; and also ~~but~~ published the opinion of others would be read. There were many on the board of directors who did not agree with me. I remember Albert ~~Elsberry~~ Pillsbury, former Attorney General of Massachusetts, wrote to me and said: If you had not already determined to publish a magazine, for heavens' sake

Who could draw Caricatures

1931-8.96

drop the idea."

The number of publications, now, is as ~~great~~ many as the plagues in Egypt." But I was firm, and back of me stood William English Walling and other members of the board. But there again the matter of money was difficult. It was hard ~~almost impossible~~ enough to raise the salaries of our two executive officers, and certainly we had no capital for investment in a periodical. I was persistent and two persons helped me: Mary McClain, an English woman who was a writer on the New York Times, and a loyal and efficient friend, and Robert N. Wood, a printer who was head of the Negro Tammany organization at that time. Wood knew about printing and I knew nothing. He advised me, helped me to plan the magazine, and took the risk of ~~financing it~~ getting me credit for paper and printing. The Board agreed that they would be responsible for debts up to but not exceeding $50.00 a month.

Paul Kennaday, Charles Edward Russell and John E. Milholland

36-8-132

It has always been a matter of pride to me that I never asked for that $50.00. ~~Wood gave me credit, and~~ Finally after what seemed to me interminable delays on various accounts, the first number of the Crisis appeared in November, 1910. It was ~~16~~ had sixteen 5x8 pages, with a color, ~~and~~ cover which carried one little wood-cut of a Negro child; as one of many critics facetiously said: "It is a shame to take the ten cents which this issue costs." First because of the news which it contained, in ~~16~~ 16 pages of ~~xtex~~ "ALONG THE COLOR LINE", then because of some flaming editorials which continually got us hot water with friends and foes, and because of the pictures of Negroes which we carried in increasing number and often in color. ~~All this made the magazine sell~~

We condensed more news about Negroes and their problems, than most colored papers before this had published in a year. Then we had four pages of editorials, which talked turkey. The articles were neglible, but ~~we began to publish~~ pictures of colored people, and at that time it was the rule of most white papers never to publish a picture of a colored person, and the colored papers ~~followed suit~~. The Negro race was just a little afraid to see itself in plain ink.

The circulation growth of the CRISIS was extraordinary, even to us who believed in it. From a monthly net paid circulation of 9,000 copies in 1911, it jumped to 75,000 copies in 1918, and from an income of $6,500 to an income of $57,000. In January 1916, the CRISIS became entirely self-supporting, paying all items of its cost inculding publicity, light rent, heat, etc and the salaries of an editor and business manager and nine clerks. It circulated in every state in the union, in all the Insular possessions and in most foreign countries including Africa. We reached a circulation of 100,000 in 1919, following my revelation of the attitude of American army officers toward the Negroes in France.

Our income in 1920, was $77,000. Then began a slump, which brought the circulation down to 35,000 copies in 1924 and a cash income of $46,000 The cause of this ~~was too~~ The depression ~~which~~ struck the workers of the Negro race long before the country in general dreamed of it . I remember bringing the matter to the attention of the president of the board of directors , but he said "The country is unusually ~~depressed~~ , Nevertheless retorted the Negro worker is

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Insert A

We doubled the size of the tiny first issue in December, 1910. We increased the number of pictures on the cover trying two-color jobs in 1911 and three colors in 1912 and 1917 and 18. Our special education and children's numbers began in 1914. From time to time we issued special numbers on localities like Chicago and New Orleans; on "Votes for Women" and the pageant "Star of Ethiopia"

Insert B

and strike every modern periodical: the reading public is not used to paying for the cost of the periodicals which they read; often they do not pay even for the cost of the paper used in the edition. Advertisers pay for most of the costs and advertisers buy space in periodicals which circulate widely among well-to-do persons able to buy the wares offered. The Crisis was known to circulate among Negro workers of low income. Moreover it antagonized many white powerful interests; it had been denounced in Congress and many respectable Negroes were afraid to be seen reading it. Mississippi passed laws against it and some of our agents were driven from home.

We got some advertising, especially from Negro businesses; some advertisers we refused because we did not like the wares they offered or suspected fraud. The "Big" advertisers remained aloof; some looked us over, but nearly all fell back on the rule not to patronize "propaganda" periodicals. Beside they did not believe the Negro market worth entering.

Our only recourse was to raise our price of subscription. In December, 1919 we raised our price to a dollar and a half a year and fifteen cents a copy; also we increased our size to 64 pages and cover. This might have extricated us if the depression which burst on the nation in 1929, had not started among Negro workers as early as 1925.

During this period two persons were indispensible in the conduct of the Crisis: Mary Mc Clean, editorial assistant, who died in harness and worked without pay; and Augustus Dill, business manager who organized a model office. In November, 1919 Jessie Fauset became literary editor and gave us inestimable help for seven years Madeline Allison and Lottie Jarvis as secretaries and Hazel Branch as head of the clerical staff helped make an ideal family. Frank Turner was our bookkeeper from 1910 until the NAACP took him over in 1922

36-8-134

~~and cannot or will not pay for the Crisis.~~

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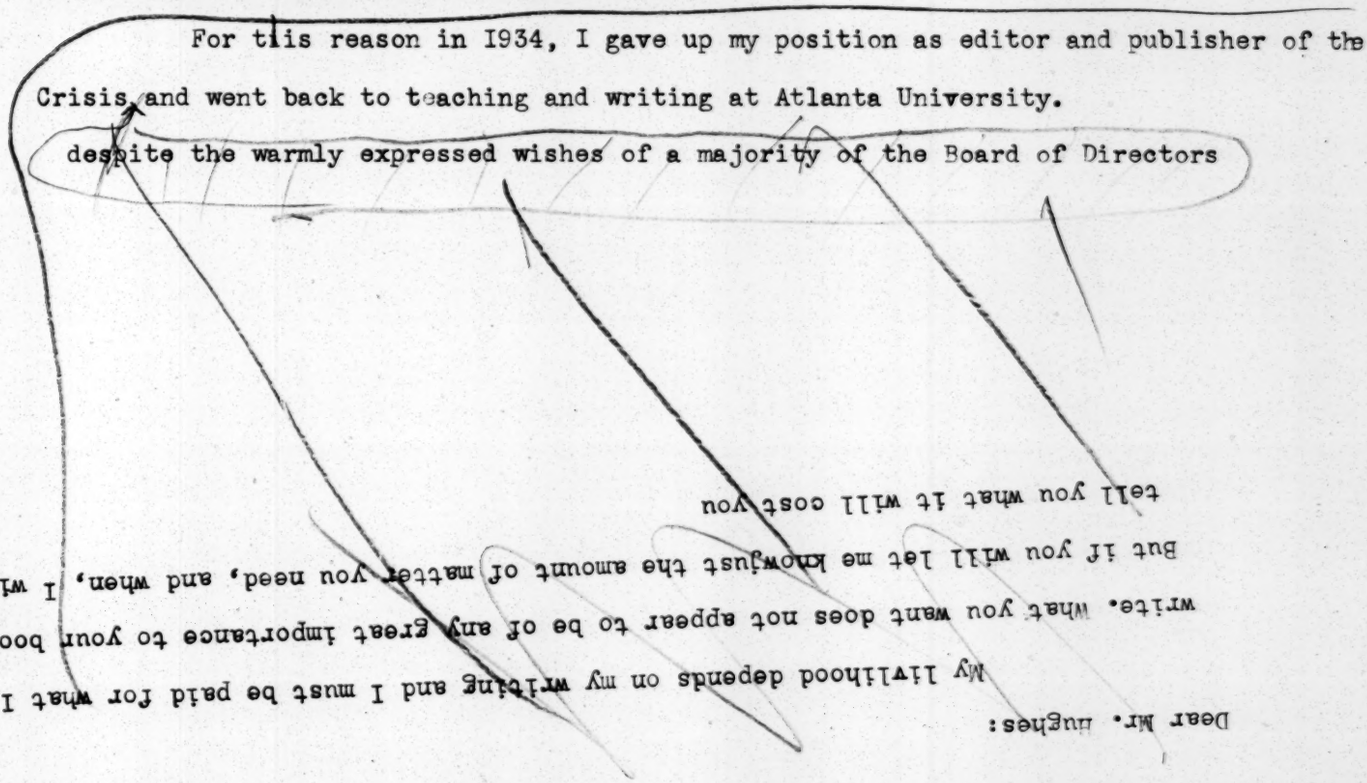
36-8-135

From 1925 to 1934, the latter method was tried. Various efforts were made to increase Crisis circulation, by change of form and content. Considerable success ensued, but the depression which now fell heavier on the nation, convinced me that the Crisis could not be made to pay again for a long period and that meantime the only way to keep it alive was by subsidy from the NAACP ~~and the consequent control over policy and content which in such case the NAACP had a right to demand.~~

For this reason in 1934, I gave up my position as editor and publisher of the Crisis and went back to teaching and writing at Atlanta University.

despite the warmly expressed wishes of a majority of the Board of Directors



Dear Mr. Hughes:

My livelihood depends on my writing and I must be paid for what I write. What you want does not appear to be of any great importance to your book. But if you will let me know just the amount of matter you need, and when, I will tell you what it will cost you

In the nature of the case, there is a clear distinction between an organ of a an organization and a literary magazine. They have different objects and functions. The one is a series of reports and records; of organizational technicalities and news notes of methods and routine notices. All large organizations need such a publication. But it is never self-supporting nor widely read. So far as it tries to be literary and artistic, it misses its main function and fails to achieve any other.

36-8-136

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Against therefore the strong pleas of close friends like Joel Spingarn; and against the openly expressed wish of the ~~majority of the~~ Board which did not wholly agree with me, but were willing to ~~do~~ much to retain me, I resigned. And I resigned completely and not in part. I was not only editor and head of a department which was separate from that of the Executive Secretary, with ~~my~~ own office and separate bank account; I was also one of the incorporators of the NAACP and member of the Board of Directors since its beginning. It officials ~~then in charge~~ had come to consideration and election on my recommendation. I was a member of the Spingarn Medal Committee and it was fair to say that the policy of the NAACP from 1910 to 1934 was largely my making. It would not have been fair for my successors to have resigned in part and hung on ~~part~~ of my former power. I went completely. I think some sighed in relief. But many were genuinely sorry. Among the latter was myself. For I was leaving my dream and brainchild; my garden of hope and highway of high emprise. But I was 65; my life work was practically done. I looked forward to a few final years of thought, advice and remembrance. beneath the trees where first my real life-work had begun in 1897.

# COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
# COLONIES AND PEACE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

ARTICLE MANUSCRIPTS

UNPUBLISHED

An open letter to t he Southern People.

---

| The points at issue. | Extreme Negro | Extreme White. |
|---|---|---|
| 1.Miscegenation | Free intermingling. | Concubinage. |
| 2.Social Rightsp | Equality. | Absolute cast e. |
| 3.Civil rights. | full | Limited. |
| 4.Political right. | All | None. |
| 5 Economic Freedom. | Full. | In some lines. |
| 6. ife and Limb and Family. | Some. | Save in some cases. |
| 7.Education | Al l grdaes. | Limited. |

43-2-73

D.Leave to individual choice or Concubinage.

2.Respect scrupulously individual choice.

3.Work out carefully avoiding theft, cruelty ind injustice.

4.Restrict by education and property or both.

5.Equality of opportunity.

6. Perfect government af and justice.

7.All grades.

# An open Letter to the Southern People

33-2-90

The points at issue:

| | | Esthene Negro | Esthene white |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Miscegenation | Free intermingling | Convenient range |
| 2 | Social rights | Equality | Absolute exclusion |
| 3 | Civil Rights | full | limited |
| 4 | Political right | all | None |
| 5 | Economic freedom | full | In some lines |
| 6 | Life & liberty & family | same | same in some cases |
| 7 | Education | all grades | limited |

1 Same & individual choice from negro or Caucasian.
2. Respect scrupulously individual choice.
3. Work out carefully avoiding theft & cruelty & injustice
4 Restricted by ed. & work. or both
5. Equality of opportunity
6. Perfect guard of & justice
7. all grades

Forward package proof
from Potts & 245 Elm St. NW
Washington.

Rev. Horace Bumstead, D. D.,
President.

Rev. M. W. Adams, Ph. D.,
Dean.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, Ga., ..... 190

# An Open letter to the Southern People.

Dear Friends:

Perhaps the real significance of the recent defeats of Prohibition in Texas, Tennessee, and Georgia you have not fully considered. Though the causes no doubt were many, the chief it is certain was that the Negroes as a rule voted against the amendments in direct opposition to a majority of the Whites. The question naturally arises, why did did they do this? As a Negro and a Prohibitionist who labored in the cause, I wish to answer this query. For twenty-five years you have more than intimated that there is little in common between White and Black in the South. Socially we have been Patrician and Plebeian; financially, Capitalist and Laborer; politically, Democrat and Republican. This was perhaps natural when four millions of slaves were made the equals of their one-time masters, but now the consequences are rapidly transcending all such excuse. The Negro has at last come to consider that whatever is for the benefit of the White man is for his detriment. Nor is it strange

he should jump at such a conclusion;
a blind prejudice, heaped too often
grossest kind upon him; the rights dearest
to a freeman, trial by his peers, a free ballot,
a free entrance into the various callings of
life, have been ruthlessly wrested from him
in multitudes of cases. Arguing him into an
inferior being you have forced him into the gallery,
the hovel, and the "jim crow" car; Arguing
his ignorance have rendered nearly seven
millions of people practically voiceless in politics;
in the face of this you have refused his
children equal educational advantages
with yours, because, forsooth, we do not pay
as many taxes. But in spite of all affirmation
& the contrary there is a vast community of
interests between us. We are mutually
interdependent as the recent campaigns have
clearly shown. You saw that without the
Negro vote Prohibition would fail. You there-
fore wisely changed your tactics. You appealed
to us earnestly; you showed what drink
was doing for the race; you pointed to our
wives and children and urged the need of
homes and education; you even, for a time
laid aside long-cherished prejudices; White
and Black mingled in the same audiences,
and listened to orators of both races. Socially

you have been used to placing us little above your horse or dog. You can therefore faintly imagine my surprise when the President of the Tennessee State Temperance Alliance introduced me & his sister in company with a number of White ~~persons~~ gentlemen. This was a small thing, but such small things, you know, do not often happen south of Macon and Dixon's line, and it serves to show the revulsion of feeling during the campaign. Perhaps never before was the Negro so generally recognized by you as a man. Nor was the appeal so cordially made, wholly without effect. The large majority of intelligent Colored men, the students of Fisk, Atlanta, Clark, and other schools, responded to the call and worked nobly for the cause. But the vast majority of the Negro race, thanks in great measure to your own lack of foresight, are not intelligent. The stone which the builders rejected had at length become the head of the corner. The short-sighted policy which refused us education and oppressed us with caste prejudice recoiled upon its strongest advocates. The wages wages of prejudice was distrust. The great mass of ignorant voters looked upon Prohibition with suspicion simply because those who

hitherto had seldom deigned to ask their votes or to argue with them on political matters, were suddenly so very anxious for their suffrages. They saw, as an old Negro said to me, "A heap too many dimocrats in dis yere ding!" The could not see how a measure which was to be beneficial to you would not in some way curtail their liberties. They were not in the habit of making nice distinctions between moral and political questions, and their suspicions were strengthened by the very advances on your part. "Wy" remarked a Colored man to me on Election day, "~~D'ye think~~ Reckon dese yer white wimmen 'ud be 'round coaxin' niggers fur votes, ef dar wint suthin' back o' all dis?" And I had to acknowlege it was an unusual sight! Thus the Negro was in a quandary. He stood like some mighty Samson, faintly realizing his strength and looking with distrust upon the Delilah who had once shorn him of his liberties, and had since shown little affection for him. It wanted little to turn the scale, and that little the subtle insinuations of demogogues soon supplied. His own suspicions were strengthened, and arguments all too plausible easily presented themselves. If you spoke of the evils

of intemperance, he pointed to the evils of caste; if you urged the need of homes, he could tell how often he had been cheated out of his; if education was your argument, he could tell how in his own district the Colored school had been cheated out of its share of the pee-school fund, or how many Southern congressmen opposed the Blair bill. Convinced by such reasoning, the rank and file of the Negro people voted against Prohibition and caused its defeat. Now comes the moral. Our interests are one. This fact you by many actions have hitherto seemed to deny to such an extent that the ignorant mass of my race think there is no common bond, that we are in direct opposition. Education is one way of helping to eradicate so monstrous a notion. Nor is the fact that such a belief exists to be lightly looked upon. It is not only contradictory to the natural ties of human brotherhood, it is also fraught with the destiny of a nation. It is impossible that two races should peacably inhabit the same country and entertain such opinions and practices. This is one of the strongest and most conclusive arguments for a Blair bill; National aid to Education is imperitively demanded. But even education will not wholly

are the evil unless you change your attitude toward us. The question of Prohibition may not have brought this as forcibly to your minds as to mine, but remember this is not the only question in which the best of you will need the aid of the Negro to settle for the right. The South will not always be solid, and in every division the Negro will hold the balance of power. Great questions are before your country, great evils are gnawing at the foundations of your polity, and the question comes plainly, will you have these questions settled by fellow-citizens who have the welfare of the Nation at heart or, by cherishing a foolish prejudice, will you have them settled by those whom you have made to feel that the best interests of the Nation are not their best interests. It is a dangerous thing to have seven millions of citizens in the heart of the country even distrust you, much less hate you. The North and South have long been felicitating each other on the returning good feeling between them; but the bonds that unite two sections of a great country are nought beside those that unite neighbor to neighbor, citizen to citizen, Black & White, in this Southland. Let us then recognizing our common interests, for it is unnecessary to

11016

speak of our dependence upon you), ~~let us~~
work for each others interest, casting behind
us unreasonable demands on the one hand,
and unreasoning prejudice on the other. We
are not foolish enough to demand social
equality or amalgamation, knowing full
well that inexorable laws of nature regulate
and controll such movements. What we
demand is to be recognized as men, and
to be given those civil rights which pertain
to our manhood. I might name many
ways in which your policy toward us could
be broadened to our mutual advantage in the
end, but such is not my purpose; it is not
against particular acts that I inveigh, but against
the spirit that prompts them: it is not that I
care so much about riding in a smoking-
car, as the fact that behind the public opinion
that compells me to ride there, is a denial
of my manhood. Against such a sentiment
laws or force cannot avail. It lies wholly
with you. If you correct the evil you will find that
in the future, as in the past, you will have in us
stanch friends in sunshine and storm; if you do
not the breach can only widen, until a vast throng
of fellow-citizens will, ~~to~~ come regard each other as nat-
ural foes.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Editor Fisk Herald, Fisk University,
Nashville, Tenn.

1894-96

# THE AFRO-AMERICAN.

In a third class continential railway carriage, my neighbors at first stared at me - sometimes a bit impudently, sometimes with an inquisitive smile. I have grown so used to this that I can sit quietly for a hour or so with from three to six pairs of eyes focused on my brown face, my closely curled hair, my hat, my clothes, my hands and the visible part of my soul, without betraying any considerable impatience. After satisfying their eyes and becoming more or less assured that I am neither wild nor a member of a passing circus, one of the bolder ones usually seeks to open a conversation, through the weather, the speed of the train, the window, or some such railway topic. It depends of course on my mood as to whether the conversation is particularly successful. Sometimes when there are not many with us, and my neighbor is pleasant and gentlemanly, I let the talk run on, well knowing whither it will eventually drift. I agree that the weather is pleasant, that the open window is to my taste, et cetera.

33-1-01

My friend then generally sees fit to compliment my accent and says:

" Your native tongue is -?"

"English."

Here comes always the first look of surprise. Oh! he thought I spoke French, or Spanish or Arabian.

"You are then from English India?"

"No I am an American."

"Ah, yes- South American of course; I've a cousin—"

"No, I'm from the United States, North America."

"Indeed, but I thought- were you born there, may I ask?"

"Yes, and my father, my grand father and my great grand father."

"Is that so! Excuse me, I had thought from your color that-"

"I am of Negro descent."

In this manner it gradually dawns upon my inquisitive friend that he is face to face with a modern "problem." He recollects the emancipation of several millions of slaves in the United States some years ago, and he has since heard more or less of the trouble which naturally followed with this horde of partially civilized freedmen. In common, however, with the rest of the European world he had always thought of these people in the third person, and had no more imagined himself discussing this race problem with one of them, than he had planned talking Egyptology with a pyramid. The curiosity of my neighbor, therefore increases. He hesitates at openly prying into my private affairs or into such public ones as may be painful to me. Yet he is interested, for here, says he is a young man whose very existence is a kind of social paradox: removed but a couple of generations from barbarism, he is yet no barbarian; and again though to all appearances the civilized member of a civilized state, he represents the 19th century problem of barbarism.

33-1-02

I am not always unwilling to satisfy my friends' curiosity. Yes, I tell him, I am one of those nine million human beings in the Unites States, who constitute the so-called "Negro Problem." The majority of us are not of pure Negro blood, and therefore,

as a people, cannot be described as Negroes; neither we nor our ancestors for generations were born in Africa and thus we are not Africans. We describe ourselves by the perhaps awkward, but certainly more accurate term of Afro-Americans. If, now, the interest of my neighbor still continues, I proceed to enlarge on a subject which naturally lies near my heart.

1.

The European child is born into one of several superimposed worlds; he sees in the various social grades and walks of life, so many different and more or less completely separated spheres to only one of which he belongs, and from which he views the others as so many strange and unknown planets. With the white American child, the case is not so different as many democrats would have men believe. With the Afro-American the case is quite different; he is born into a universe which in addition to all horizontal boundaries is separated by a straight perpendicular fissure into a white and black hemisphere. These two halves both have their horizontal differences of educated and ignorant, rich and poor, law-abiding and criminal. On the black side these grades are not, to be sure, so highly differentiated, and the average of culture is far below that of the white side, still they are adjacent and not superimposed spheres.

33-1-03

This fissure between white and black is not every where of the same width. Naturally it is the widest in the former slave states and narrowest in the older and more cultivated East. It seldom, however, wholly closes up in New England, while its threat-

ening width in the south is the "Negro Problem." Thus Whittier's "Black Boy of Atlanta" had a peculiar world in which to "rise". Born to ex-slaves, he was reared of necessity, in a physically and morally unhealthy home,- a home such as two hundred and fifty years of ruthless serfdom had left as a legacy to the freedman. For his education he had himself no means, and those furnished by the State were in inverse proportion to his needs,- the State following the peculiarly American principle that the poorest and most ignorant of her citizens should have the worst and shortest schools, since, forsooth, they paid the least taxes. The natural expense of schools was, in the South, increased by the maintenance of two systems, a black and a white; the white schools were and are bad, but nothing deserving the name of a school-system for the blacks has existed until within the last ten or fifteen years, and remains to-day glaringly inadequate. This is, of course, to be expected in a land lately devastated by war, and upheaved by a mighty social revolution. The unaided efforts of the South to recover, laudable though they have been in many instances, have naturally failed as yet adequately to cope with the vast problem of ignorance before it.

33-1-04

If our black boy be so fortunate as to secure a common school education- a thing desirable for the humblest citizen of a republic, and absolutely necessary for one with such antecedents as the Afro-American- the question of a life-calling is, for him, beset with peculiar difficulties. His ability has little chance to display itself, for the majority of Americans refuse him entrance into the

various walks of life on any terms. What American would buy of a black merchant, even if he sold honest wares? What "Knight of Labor" would take a black apprentice? What white Trade-unionist would labor beside a black craftsman? What is the black boy's chance of getting the use of capital for business on a large scale? The higher the black youth aspires the greater his peculiar difficulties. He is often barred from professional schools, he is discriminated against in salaries, and ostracised professionally by his white brothers.

33-1-05

The easiest thing for him to do is to sink into the old menial positions, which are, in American eyes, his ideal condition, and give up the struggle to raise himself to the heights he so thoroughly believes himself capable of attaining. Of course, if he be of heroic build, he will surmount all obstacles and break a new path amid the thorns of prejudice, and underbrush of ignorance: thus in spite of the difficulties I have mentioned, we have no small number of successful skilled laborers, tradesmen, teachers and professional men. The Afro-American is, however, no exception to the rule that most human beings are not heroes and way-makers, and need a certain minimum amount of encouragement to make them put forth their best efforts.

His calling chosen, and settled in life, the young Colored man still finds his life-path strictly hedged in. He marries most generally only one of his own race; he has difficulty in hiring or buying a house except in certain quarters of the city; in the south he is generally debarred from public libraries, theatres

(save perhaps in the "pit"), lecture courses, white churches, etc., and from hotels, cafés, restaurants, and the like. On the railway he is confined to separate and poor apartments, or to the smoking-car. His wife and daughters are especially liable to insult and outrage, both by law and custom, while if the slightest suspicion arise that he has in any way insulted a white woman, he is liable to be hanged or burned without judge, jury, or the vestige of a trial. At law, he is not tried by his peers, but always by a jury wholly or nine-tenths white, and by a white judge. His right to vote is, to a large extent, throughout the south, rendered null and void. These discriminations may, in some cases, be merely protective measures of society against its proletariat-of civilization against the vast underlying strata of black barbarism. They change this character, however, for something less defensible, when they force back rising talent and desert among blacks, and leave uncurbed ignorance and lawlessness among the whites. Even the boy born, as I was, in Puritan New England, finds that nearly all the paths of advancement opened to his white brothers are, by strong custom, sternly shut in his face. The difference between north and south in this respect is indeed great, but rather one of degree than of kind, and in Boston as well as New Orleans, the Afro-American must, in his own country, feel himself the unwelcome guest at the national meal.

33-1-06

What is the underlying theory of this attitude of the American State toward one seventh of her citizens?

2.

Three schools of thought may be said to represent the

attitude of the American State toward its citizens of African descent, which I amy designate as the Ricardean, the Philanthropic and the Radical. The school which has hitherto been dominant is the Ricardean, i.e., the school which seeks to apply the principles of the Rousseau- Smith- Ricardo school of social philosophy to the solving of this race problem. It's creed was simple: emancipate the slave, give him neither land, tools, nor money, and leave him to the mercy of his former masters to work out his own salvation by "free competition" with the American freemen. It is safe to say that this was the most extreme application of the Smith-Ricardo economics ever made in a civilized State. The situation violated every condition which the English school of social philosophy presupposed as necessary for the application of their laws. Instead of a stable state of society, an absence of great class differences and prejudices, and an approximate equality of opportunity for the competitors, there was a state of society only to be described as revolutionary, a maximum of class hatred and unreasoning prejudice, and the competing "equality" of master and slave. Scarce a single step was taken by the State to remedy this. The ballot was given to the ignorant and bewildered freedman, and promptly rendered null and void by the Ex- Masters in sheer self-defence. Russia, to whom America has often thought fit to read lectures on national morality, gave the emancipated serfs a part of the land on which they and their fathers had toiled: not an inch was given America's freedmen; the builders of the monarchic Prussian state took care that the ignorant German bauer was in

33-1-07

a condition to compete before he was left to "free competition": the democratic American state did not give its freedmen so much as a ~~chance.~~ spade.

It is hard to say what the result of this remarkable policy would have been, had not the private efforts of philanthropists in some measure, hindered its radical application, the patient stubborn striving of the freedmen accomplished unawaited results, and the white showed itself more friendly to the blacks than the freedmen had expected.

33-1-08

These efforts of philanthropists were in accordance with the second school of thought in America in regard to this problem. This, like the first, is a child of the 18th century- a development of those one-sided moral and social ideals which made man purely the result of his individual environment. These new-world philanthropists have indeed, behind their Browns, their Garrisons and their Sumners, striven for the highest ideals of humanity; but at the same time they have seldom escaped narrow fanaticism or great-hearted blindness to facts. Seizing upon the Rousseau-Jefferson half- truth: "All men are created free and equal," they sought to secure the rise of the Negro by a course at College, and the recognition of his rights by legal enactment, or executive ~~data.~~ dicta. Here naturally, they largely failed. Their laws remained dead-letters, their mandates were hooted down by the mob, while the vast system of private charity which they set on foot to aid the helpless and forsaken freedmen was without general plan, expensively distributed and, short sighted in its objects. The whole philanthropic movement in regard to the Afro-American forgot

the real weakness of his situation, i.e., his economic helplessness and dependence; that whatever "equality" he could be said to hold in the American state, was an equality in "posse" not in "esse." It gave him churches before he had homes, theories of equality instead of personal security, theological bickerings instead of land and tools, and mushroon "colleges" instead of a good common school and industrial training system. In spite, however, of all mistakes and all narrowness this philanthropy did a mighty work; and has been the agency , which in the face of the indifference and neglect of the State, supplied the ex-slave that aid which was indispensable to his advance. Not indeed the sole agency, for the southern people themselves have of late years given thousands of dollars through their legislatures to common-school and industrial education, and in some instances to higher education among the freedmen. This has been done at times grudgingly and in an illiberal spirit but nevertheless the facts speak most for the broader spirit of the South. The Nation has wrongly laid on this part of the country the whole responsibility of removing the ignorance and degradation caused by slavery. That under such an unfair and short-sighted policy, the south should have been able to rise above her prejudices against Negro blood, and to build and equip a dozen or more normal and industrial schools in addition to a common-school system, evan though that be poor, certainly deserves commendation; this ~~What~~ we Afro-Americans would be the last to withhold. Nevertheless even now Northern charity does the larger part of this work. Time has broadened the aims of these philanthropists, systematized and made practical their plans: the movement however, still remains

23-1-09

a huge work of highest importance built on the narrow vacillating and humiliating basis of personal charity. The better self of the American people has not yet realized that this situation is something more complicated than a case of parish almsgiving; and for this reason there has shown itself in later years a certain dissatisfaction with the total results of this 20 years of spasmodic charity. The more short-sighted of its promoters, with the American impatience of anything but quick and big "returns", are perplexed because the half-hearted efforts of two decades have not settled a social problem of 250 years growth. Quick, thorough, radical, methods of "settling" the problem, have lately found increasing favor with such people, as well as with those who have ever honestly believed the Negro an inferior being, incapable of any considerable elevation.

33-1-10

The ground thought of this radical school of opinion lies on the oft-repeated phrase: "This is a white man's country,"-i.e., in all questions affecting the weal or woe of America, the only people whose interests are to be considered are the members of the Caucasian race. This 15th century phrase is stated baldly and bluntly by some classes; by others it is dressed in 19 th century clothes; it is said: We are dealing with facts, not theories of morality; there is among us a vast horde of people, alien to us in looks, in blood, in morals and in culture; our people will not associate with them, and cannot live in peace beside them; they stand on a lower plane of humanity than we, and never have in the past evolved a civilization of their own , nor under a favorable trial

to-day do they show any ability to assimilate or forward modern culture; therefore as a lazy, shiftless, and bestial folk, they must in accordance with the universal law of the survival of the fittest yield before the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon, and must be either transported, isolated or left to slow and certain extermination.

33-1-11

This is the attitude of many Americans and Europeans toward the Afro-American. It is an attitude that assumes, with one stroke of the pen, an answer to nearly every social question which this great problem presents. With little or no attempt at proof, it takes for granted::

(a) That the present attitude of the American people toward the Colored race is a fixed and unchangeable fact, and not a prejudice of the day.

(b) That the Afro-American has, since the emancipation, made no appreciable advance, either economic, mental, or moral.

(c) That he never has, and never will, do any thing to aid and advance the culture and civilization of the day.

Far from such a series of sweeping assumptions being generally admitted as true, the very opposite of them have received wide-spread credence: that, for instance, the Negro-hatred in America was a cruel and groundless prejudice, which had already dropped its more glaring absurdities, and bade fair in time to disappear; that the progress of the Afro-Americans since emancipation in morals, education, and wealth, had been most remarkable, and that, too, in spite of the unusual hindrances which prejudice

and neglect placed in their way. These assertions have been strengthened by facts and figures, and whatever they lack of absolute scientific proof may possibly be due to the slip-shod method in which the United States collects its statistics.

33-1-12

At all events, the very circumstances that at this late day, after decades of discussion, the main facts of the problem are so little known as even to allow the serious assertion of so important a doubt, is an eloquent commentary on the methods in which the American people are settling their social problems. Here lies, of course, the kernal of the whole problem : to ascertain by careful statistics, historical research and scientific inquiry, the actual facts of the case, in order that out of the chaos of opinion, allegation, and prejudice, the real truth and the real problems may be laid bare.

Meantime one of the most important elements of the problem is without doubt, the attitude of the Afro-American himself- his opinion of his situation, his aspirations and ideals. For it is the peculiarity of problems in social science, as distinguished from physical science, that the thing studied as well as the student, is a living, breathing soul, all of whose numberless thoughts and actions must be ascertained and allowed for in the final answer.

3.

The peculiarity of the rise of the Afro-American is that he has been compelled to advance by means of democracy toward ideals which American democracy has set before him. The invariable rule of advance among peoples is the gradual evolving of leading, rul-

ing classes among them, who guide the masses, and incorporate strata after strata with themselves until a sufficient number of the whole race become raised to that average of culture which we call civilization. So to place a nation that this usual method of advance was hindered, did not mean the substitution of some new method- it did not result as 18th century social philosophers taught, in the lifting of the race bodily from the bottom into one dead level of equality; it mearly meant that the natural development should be slower, and the natural aristocracy longer deprived of their rightful places as leaders of their people. Thus it has happened that the majority worship and deification of mob-rule, which has too often in America displaced the high ideals of true democracy, has within the ranks of the freedmen themselves, acted as a disintegrating force at a time when unity and subordination was most needed. They were, directly after emancipation, like sheep without a shepherd. The cleft of race prejudice forbade that the better classes of the whites should assume that legitimate leadership and benificent guardianship which the cultured classes of all nations owe their proletariot. The ex-slave was compelled, out of the dead-level of his own degradation to evolve his leaders and his ideals. It was indeed impossible that these ideals should not be in great degree influenced by the ideals of the American State! and these were such as bewildered and confused the freedmen. He shrank instinctively from that soul- blunting competition, that Sturm and Drang of the gigantic business life, as the great cause of all the disabilities and indignities he suf-

33-1-13

fered. All this in turn increased the prejudice against him: for those busy, restless Americans who are apt to rate sharpness higher than honesty, brilliancy higher than faithfulness, and dollars higher than God,—such Americans had only contempt for the true-heartedness of the slave to his master, for the trusting simplicity that allows the sharper merchant and land owner to cheat at will, the black farmer and tenant, and a general smile of pity for the ex-slave's light-hearted joyousness, his vein of peculiar melancholy, his religious mysticism and respect for authority in fine for all those characteristics which American "business" methods have never found "profitable."

33-1-14

It thus happened that the Afro-American, suddenly broken with his past and out of touch with his environment, despised and ridiculed, cheated and abused, bade fair at first, to develop into a nation ashamed of itself, seeking to escape its own identity even through bastardy, apeing every enormity of the dominant race, and losing that self-respect, which must lie at the bottom of all human advance. The first awakening to race-consciousness lay in the natural attempt to use his own legacy and means of power, the ballot, to better his condition. He espoused with fullest faith the weakest side of the philanthropic movement in his behalf, and sought to legislate himself into the promised land of civil equality. He not only failed in this attempt, as was natural, but in the hands of demagogues and tricksters became the tool for that post-bellum corruption and misrule in the south, which the perspicacity of many American social philosophers still persist in ascribingto Negro "inferiority." Slowly and painfully the freedman's sons

from such political efforts,
have withdrawn themselves more, and addressed themselves to the ground problem, the economic situation.

When now it is asked what is the Afro-American's opinion of his situation? It must not be expected that at this stage of development, when all is in rapid change, any generally recognized carefully stated set of opinion, is to be found. The ideals and guiding lines of thought reflect the undeveloped and plastic condition of this people, at a day when their true aristocracy, their true leaders, are hardly recognized as such among their own people. Nevertheless such an aristocracy- such a saving remnant exists, and their opinion, I make bold to state as I understand it.

33-1-15

4.

We Afro-Americans claim that the United States has made the dangerous mistake of calling a mass of complicated social problems which lay before the nation, by the common name of "Negro Problem," and of then attempting to find some one radical remedy for all such distresses.

We claim to see under what is commonly called the Negro problem, at least four different problems; We regard the Negro problem proper as nothing more nor less than a question of humanity and national morality. Is the American nation willing to judge, use and protect its citizens with reference alone to their character and ability, and irrespective of their race and color? Is the conscience of the American Republic so far behind the social ideals of the 19th century, as to deny to a human being the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" solely because he has Negro blood? This is the kernel of the Negro

33-1-16

problem, and the question which the American people have never boldly faced, but have persisted in veiling behind other and dependent problems. For instance, it is often said: the Afro-American is ignorant and cannot therefore be treated as other citizens, but this is not the Negro problem, for every American knows that there are thousands of Negro descent in America, who are not ignorant, and the question is, how are they to be treated? True it is that a much larger per-cent of the Afro-Americans are illiterate than of the whites, and this is to be expected. None however, can read the reports of the commission of education, and of the great benevolent associations without being struck with their remarkable betterment in this respect, since emancipation; we claim that it can be proven that the problem of illiteracy among us is no peculiar one but part and parcel of the vaster problem of ignorance that faces this immigrant-loving nation. It raises the great question as to how much longer the United States can, in deference to its Manchester economics, leave the great question of the education of its citizens entirely to local control, and thus increase and intensify present evils by giving the worst schools to the poorest and most ignorant communities.

This brings us to the second problem which so often cloaks and confuses the race question; it is the political problem. An involuntary murmur of approval goes through the civilized world when the South says: we will not allow ourselves to be ruled by a horde of ignorant voters- intelligence must assert its legitimate sway over barbarism. We Afro-Americans can too express

hearty sympathy with this. The majority of colored voters in the south are not fit to have the ballot and the carrying out of the rule of "one man, one vote" south of the Mason and Dixon line to-day would merely mean the subversion of civilized government. But here we say again, this is no Negro question, for although the greater number of ignorant voters in the south are those of Negro blood, yet no small number of white voters are just as ignorant and just as unfit to rule. In other words it is ignorance and not blackness which menaces civilization in the south. This is shown in the badly governed parts of the north, where the ignorance and venality of white voters made government so often corrupt and rediculous. Again, we claim that Afro-American citizens who are capable of performing the duties of citizenship, and they are no small number, should be listened to in the councils of the nation and as jealously guarded in their rights as white citizens. Although we have, in a way, more excuse for our condition than our brothers in white still we do not for a moment defend ignorance and immorality in politics: but we do vehemently protest, when the plea of incapability is used to disfranchise a vast number of intelligent and law-abiding black voters, while, at the same time millions of ignorant white voters are allowed to make the name of democracy a stench in the nostrils of civilization and decency. This whole question is part of the great problem of the future of political life in America. Already the nation has gone so far in its blind worship of democracy, that it is to-day ruled more from its gutters than from its homes. Is it not about time to stop, turn about and limit the franchise which has been so inconsider-

33-1-17

ately distributed? This must be done soon unless the intelligence and morality of America really intend to abdicate to ignorance and mob-rule.

The imputation that hurts us most personally, and most mystifies our friends and the social student, is that our condition in America is due to our laziness and immorality. This is the most serious charge that could be brought against a struggling people, and one which from its intangible nature, is most difficult to prove or disprove. It goes without saying that the slave regime left us a terrible legacy. For two centuries the nation strained every nerve, economic, legal and moral, to make us merely beasts of burden; they made us improvident, dependent, and lewd: sought to discourage all enterprise and all effort to advance, and by reducing our women to concubinage and degrading the marriage tie, they almost destroyed the institution of the family.

Twenty five years have not obliterated the effect of these, the most terrible wounds a race can suffer. And yet, not-withstanding this, emancipation did not result in lazy lawlessness: the great proof of this, is the fact of the wonderful economic improvement of the south under free black labor. This whole land has taken such wonderful economic strides since the war, that the phrase "New South" is in the mouth of all social students; and yet all this was accomplished chiefly by the aid of Negro labor. The family life of the Afro-American is vastly purer and better than even a decade ago, although it is still to a large extent immoral.

That the lowest strata have been guilty of the frightful crime of

33-1-18

rape to the extent alleged by crazed and irresponsible mobs cannot be true: such testimony in a land where the cohabitation of a black man and a white woman although married, is a crime, must be regarded with suspicion. Nevertheless we know that this terrible crime can too often rightly be laid at our door. This, we deeply and heartily deplore: yet we are bound to say that if the chastity of black women had better legal and moral support in the south, if black wives and daughters were less liable to insult and outrage at the hands of white rascals, the other crime would greatly decrease. It cannot be proven that our record in this respect is more than among other races of the same degree of advancement, and the nation that stamped bastardy on us in our helplessness can ill afford now to point the finger of shame, if we have proven too apt pupils.

33-1-19

To sum up: We Afro-Americans acknowledge freely that we form a larger part of those many social problems that confront the American nation: we must educate ourselves, we must learn our duties as voters, we must raise our moral standard; and we are striving to do all this: few peoples have ever striven more earnestly to gain the respect of civilization than we in the last quarter-century - . In some lines we have succeeded, in some, not; part of our lack of success is due to our own short-commings; we acknowledge this and will strive to remedy the desease. But God and the American people know the greatest and most discouraging obstacle in our path has been, and still is, that unreasoning and unreasonable prejudice of this nation, which persists in rating the

33-1-20

ignorant and vicious white man above the intelligent and striving Colored man, under any and all circumstances. This fact constitutes the Negro problem. It is purely a moral question , and one which the nation cannot much longer elude and disguise. It may indeed be regretted that the situation has arisen: that is however, not our fault, nor the fault of our fathers. Forcibly and rudely they were brought here, and here we, then children, who have toiled, fought and bled for this land, propose to stay. Nine millions of people cannot by human or divine justice be asked to make themselves the scape-goats for the sins of a light-headed nation.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois.

(A.M., Professor of Ancient Classics in Wilberforce University)

# The Aim
## And Method of Religious Work in College

—o—

I have seldom been in an institution where there was so much religiousness & so little religion as at Wilberforce Univ. If a stranger were informed that there were held here something like 20 religious exercises a week he would have a right to expect a higher and healthier religious tone, a warmer spiritual enthusiasm, and a healthier broader christian manhood than exists in our midst. If this be so, and I think few will deny it, it behooves us seriously to ask ourselves what the trouble is, where it lies, and how it may best and soonest be remedied

~~First~~ This paper therefore aims to give in rough outline, my ideas as to the proper aim, and the most effective methods of promoting the spiritual life in institutions of learning like ours.

First let us ~~not~~ be clear as to the aim of such work: what is it that such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., really aim to accomplish? I know how easily and even flippantly this question may be answered: we say to convert sinners, to promote religion, to bring to the world to Christ, to make men Christians: each one of these is a phrase big with meaning, and rich with the history of human experience; and yet the very first thing that the young college mis-

48-4-2

accuracy must remember is that
to young bright keen minds, these
Bible must be interpreted into the lan-
guage of every day life. You must clear-
ly & sharply distinguish in your
own mind the real meaning
— the true every-day significance
of an upright honest Christian
life: not merely what it means
in general, but what it means
right here. If we cannot here
show the close deep eternal
connection of Christianity & daily
49-4-3
of Godliness and Mathematics
of morality and geography, then
we have missed the spirit of
the Master, and lost in meaning-
less phrases, we wander as blind
leaders of the blind. If the young
World prophet came in the
course of his pilgrimage & a

little hamlet, where men & women were worn & broken with ~~the~~ weary physical toil from morn till night; where there was little hope of rest in this life, only the ceaseless round of never-ending work — he would preach & there; Come unto me all ye that labor & are heavy laden & I will give you rest: that would interest Christianity & then as nothing else could. But that beautiful text would here fall on unthinking ears; here are lusty joyous young people, sharp logical thinkers unheeding idlers, and careless good natured boys & girls: the text here then must be far different: it must be awake but on thy strength O Zion

449-4-4

or better: that Wonderful 8th
Chapter of Proverbs: ——————
In plainer words the Christian
world in a college must be
carried on with especial reference
first, to arousing the young & set
forth their best efforts in life:
& play football with vim & earn-
estness, & study their lessons
thoroughly and conscientiously, &
to say a kind word, or help
a fellow student in trouble, simply
because it is right; Secondly
Religious work in college must
have as its aim, the teaching of
the essential unity, the true one-
ness of Understanding & Righteousness
of right thinking & right doing
of Intellect & Soul. I never can
repress a thrill of horror when
I hear students warned that

49-4-9

learning is not everything:
~~but~~ because I know & the
speaker ought & know that
true learning & true manhood
are at bottom one & & hint
at a possibility of their separ-
ation before young throbbing
young intellects is & shroud
abroad the idea that it is
possible for a ~~man~~ true
man & have to separate ~~two such~~
mighty ideals. Students need
continually & be impressed
by the fact that only in the
realization of the eternally beautiful
is life worth living: that the ~~search~~
search for truth is the ~~soul~~ sole
means of attaining this & that
the use of Truth & realize in-
finite Beauty is Goodness. There-
fore know, study, learn, for

49-4-6

the love of God, leave no stone unturned that may lead to the unravelling of this strangely mysterious universe, & do not think in so doing you are discarding your time, that you are turning from Spiritual things — you are turning toward them, for this Truth is the only Truth & God. Let us if we would speak the words of the Master read & the students of Wilberforce in our words, in our actions still better in our lives, the words Carlyle read to steam-choked England: ———

"This then is the aim of our religious activity — among our fellow-students.

4-4-4

Next we must ask, what is there condition, how far are they religious, how far do they need advice and training.

I think we must confess that religion among the boys is at a low ebb; waiving the nearly and exact matter of the number of professing Christians we must say of the inward higher life, of lofty + self-sacrificing aims, of noble Ideals — we hear + feel little of them Of the future Bishops + Professors, Merchants and Mechanics, of $60-$80 or $100 per month we have our ears + hands full: But of self-forgetting devotion of the cause of Negro emancipation, of determination + energy

8-4-64

the whisker of maiming & bleeding Africans, of any settled wish & aid the Right for the Rights sake, of that the noble of Wilberforce have all so few scholars. Young men about us, on the other hand are training themselves & they upon the ignorance of their people, & lead lives grasping money-getting lives, & crawl & wriggle & lie for place, & sink the right of political suffrage into bribery & small office hunting — gentlemen is this the record of a Christian school? Again we have those among us who thro' indifference & carelessness are throwing away opportunities, getting into bad company, wrecking their chances

49-4-9

for useful lives ——
here then is work to be done
yonder is the high aim what
methods should be used.

And here young men
let me especially warn
you: this is a common way
among ~~it~~ enthusiastic young
Christians of waylaying an
every fellow, blinding enquiring
into his most delicate soul-
secret & bluffly telling him to
do better: such methods have
nothing in common with
either christianity or common
sense. You must remember
that any honest man has
the same delicacy in undress-
ing his soul & the public
grace as he has in undressing
his body. Only the intimate

sympathetic, circumspect friend can put his arm about his brother & ~~look~~ talk of his inmost spiritual failures & longings. That is the reason that students can, in a direct way, do so much more & truly Christianize a college than the most earnest Faculty: they alone know each other, feel for each other & sympathize with each other as instructor & student seldom can. First then delicacy of approach is necessary; secondly, I care not what your professions are, how loud you pray, or how often you ~~pass~~ go to church, if you are not honest, upright, studious, kind, & Right minded yourself, do not think that your words will greatly influence

11-9-11

your fellows; Thirdly: remember that while it is well & take part in prayer meeting & Bro's outwardly manifest the inward desire, yet no man was ever sent to hell for sitting in silence thro' such an experience: To some it is given to testify by words & others by deeds, and if the Lord has any choice it is certainly for the latter.

Finally a few practical suggestions:

1. Buy some hymn books & let every body sing; some choir singing all the time, will shut anyone's enthusiasm

2. Revive the custom of little short sensible talks of a moment or so, by several — not premeditated by on the moment.

3. Be brief & be earnest, remem-

that the real work of ~~the~~ Religion is done outside of Religious meeting in the buzz & turmoil of real life.

49-4-13

My Sunday School Class.

I am a teacher in a small college and there we have Sunday School. It is compulsory - not because the students like to have it compulsory but because we think they ought to go to religious service at least twice a day. Now the students do not like Sunday School - church they seem to endure very well but Sunday School they do not like. Why?I have asked myself.Certainly I do not like it as teacher. I try to do my duty by it but it is hard work and the reason it is hard work is illustrated by our last Sunday's lesson. We have the Blakeslee Lessons because we have understood that theseare the latest and best and arranged by scholars and thinkers. Now the lesson for last Sunday was Number 35 in the sixth grade progressive quarterly and the subject was Elijah the prophet of Fire. It was the fine old story of Elijah and the prophets of Baal,a beautiful legend of Bibical religious thought. What I wanted to do of course was to teach it as such ,to say to my students of the college class of young men and women"'Here is a primitive people trying to keep themselves from surrounding debauchery and they want especially to keep the purity of the religious thought and this is one of the stories of the bringing back of their people of false wandering. Of course this is a beautiful story - a legend, but a beautiful legend."

This is what I wanted to speak but it was impossible unless the students would wonder and back of that They mixed the real history of this people with this peculiar happening. They say by a most dramatic test, the that is Elijah answered the

30-3-5

Nowwhat was I to do under such circumstances? Of course I could avoid the real question. I could put comparatively little stress upon it but manifestly that would be dodging it. These boys and girls are intelligent. This it seems one of the main parts of the scripture passages.

I determined that I would teach the question fairly and that I would open the class by having the Scripture passage read and then would ask them plainly what do you think of it. I tried it. What was my surprise when as a matter of fact they never brought up the question of the miracle at all. They brought up all sorts of other questions. There came for instance a question as to whether it was best in a crisis to appeal to a people by a spectular demonstration? or by quiet every day work? And I found to my horror that the lesson that ought to be

drawn,mainly we ought to put dependence in quiet every day work was the
of
precisely opposite the lesson which they very naturally drew from the lesson,namely that you ought to get the people by any sort of spectacular action. Then too,we came to the question as to which was the more wonderful,the burning of the bullock or the rising of the sun,that
as greatest,
is which is to be, looked upon the every day operations of nature or the sudden or miracle and there again to my consternation every body agreed according to the lesson that it was the miracle,the cataclysm,the sudden unusual happening was the thing that showed God's power.and then before we could get much further,the bell rang and the lesson ended.

30-3-6

Well that lesson illustrates the difficulty I have in teaching Sunday School. It is not simply that I am continually running across the miraculous,the uncanny,the theological dogma and the peculiar creed but on the other hand I do not get a chance to teach the things that se seem to me ought to be taught-the moral life, the question of lying, and of stealing,the question of loving one's neighbor as one's self,the duty of sacrifice,the need of courtesy,the need of patience - all those things are extremely difficult to teach from the sort of lessons that are put down . How can one teach the story of Jacob and Esau and insist

that lying is a bad thing? How can one teach the story of Saul and be so insistent on the matter of stealing? In fact we are taking lessons from an old primitive civilization and teaching them literally without making any attempt to touch the real great moral question of the present civilization, the present generation. The result is that we are breeding up a set of hypocrits- the students dodge the real question invcolved and say things they do not believe and they expect the teacher to do the same thing. and the teachers do it. When I came out of my class and started down stairs I met one of the lady teachers. "What on earth did you do with this lesson?" I whispered to her. "Oh I told them about the Oratorio of Elijah" she said. I looked at her. "You dodged" I said. "Of course I did" she answered. So it was I suppose throughout nearly the whole Sunday School, except perhaps with a few straight-forward souls brought up in old New England theology to whom no doubt ever occurred, who taught the perfectly simple story of the miracle as an absolute historic fact and I declare I cannot see between us which did the most harm; the only thing that I am certain of is that both of us, both sets of teachers did a great deal of harm. and the question is, What are we going to do about it?

30-3-7

How Wife and I Spent Christmas

1896 XI

We haven't been married long enough to escape the condescending smiles of our neighbors, and yet we feel quite like old married folks. This is our first Christmas and wife thinks we owe it to the public to tell just how merry it has been. It began some days ago when wife asked me cautiously how much we could afford to spend for Christmas. I sat down and figured carefully: for there was the sewing-machine to pay for out of this ~~week's~~ month's salary, the doctors bill, and one other debt — an old family friend. I finally evolved a surplus of $10.56, and told wife that we could spend five dollars a piece for the holidays. She was perfectly happy, and after some hours of calculating, rallied forth to Wanamaker's.

The next week was filled with shopping and bookkeeping; one

33-1-62

would have thought we were spending hundreds of dollars. Wife consulted me religiously on many points: what grandma would like best — how to make Edna's collar, and so forth. On other points however both of us maintained a jolly silence. Tuesday we both ~~sallied~~ went down South 8th St to the Second St. Market, and bought two wreaths a cross and a fifteen-cent Christmas-tree. Wife was somewhat alarmed at first at the prospect of a Christmas tree in our cozy little room, but when it was safely ensconced in a corner on the machine, with tinsel, fruit and cotton-snow, she was quite delighted.

33-1-63

Christmas eve found our little gift-packages mailed, the tree glowing and both our empty stockings hung beside it. I had secreted a dainty pink umbrella under the lounge, and I knew that other corners of the room held secrets — the question being how to get them into the stockings.

about eight in the evening we sallied out into the crisp air and hurried down to the Mission where the folks had a tree for the little ones. How much happiness can be packed within four walls! The children were boisterous, rude and noisy, but so brimming over with pleasure that it did one good to see them. Once at home again and with a last look at our own little tree, we were soon snug in bed, and the thought of the hidden umbella alone kept me awake. I had almost despaired of getting it into the stocking, when the regular breathing of wife told me that she had fallen asleep in spite of herself. I carefully slipped from bed, listened, crawled across the floor, listened again, and at last slipped the umbella into wife's stocking; ~~and~~ in a minute more I had chuckled myself to sleep. I was dreaming that I held a professorship that paid $1500 a year — when suddenly I

33-1-64

awoke with a start. Wife hasn't forgiven me yet for awaking so inopportunely, and if I had known the situation before I awoke, I would have staid asleep. As it was I awoke ~~with a start~~ and caught wife in her little white gown secreting bundles in and about my sock. I laughed, ~~then~~ then ~~kept still~~ as quiet as I could, and wife didn't say a word.

33-1-62

Christmas day came with laughing over the night's adventure, the revealing of hiding places and enjoyment of the umbellas, suspenders, and neckties. At three came a cozy dinner with a little brown chicken and bills-of-fare written on old visiting-cards. Finally the whole day melted away in misty happiness, and to round it out, I wrote this.

W. E. B. D.

W. Du Bois.
700 Lombard St.,
Phila.a

1893-1898

Beyond the Veil—

In a Virginia Town

—o—

Midway between the memory of Nat Turner and John Randolph of Roanoke, beside the yellow waters of the Appomattox, lies a little town whose history winds about the falling of the stars in '32 and about "The Surrender" One would not call ——ville a pretty town, nor yet has it the wheland ugliness of the west. There is a certain southern softness and restfulness ~~about~~ not a coy barrenness, about it that gives a charm to its sand and clay its cavey pavements and rotten stores. But the most curious thing about ——ville is not to look— old brick mansions & tiny new cottages, its lazily rolling landscape & shanty wooded knolls that heed not & the three peaked ridge of the blue Alleghanies — no the most curious thing about ——ville is its Veil. The great Veil — more dark sinister & wall-like, not legal felony & silken, but awful a dusky veil and running through the town and down at 12:00 o'clock this side & 12:00 o'clock Black beyond the Veil.

You who live in single towns all hastily

comprehend the double life of this Virginia homelet. The doctrine of class does not explain it — the caste misses the kernel of the Truth. It is two worlds separate yet bound together like those double stars that bound for all time whirl round each other separate yet one. ~~the central sun of life~~

Two cattle boys are walking along the street: "Big excursion in town today" says one; "White or Colored" asks the other. Two men are standing in the post office: "I'm running fifty hands in the bottoms now" says one, "white or Colored" asks the other. Two countrymen urge their jaded mules across the Afforestation & up main street: "Big meeting at the County" says one "Will folks or Niggers" asks the other. And thus it runs through life: the veil is over them separating the two peoples: at times you may not see it — it may be too thin to notice, but it is even there. And we have added an eleventh commandment to the decalogue down here: you may have other gods before Me, you may break the (rest) commandment & weave around the (others) but the Eleventh must not be broken, and it reads: "Thou shalt not cross the Veil.

Of the life this side the Veil you all know much; it is the time-tried tale of county town life flavored with war memories, and a strange economic experiment, curiously misunderstood by the other world, but withal quite like a thousand

1/2/06

a Connecticut in its business and gossip, its church fairs and bynch dances, its courting marrying & dying

But beyond the Veil lies an undiscovered country, a land of new things, of change of environment, of wild mode and sombre reality of separables & Italics — of wondrously blended sadness & sweetness.

10/1/97

# The Negroes of Wilmington, N.C.

It is only by careful and intensive study of actual conditions in the South that we can hope to arrive at right conclusions. When such a catastrophe as the Wilmington riot takes place we must not be content to let it pass without such careful investigation as shall put us in possession of the real causes of the trouble. It is not enough for us to lay the fault at the door of "ignorance" or "politics" or "prejudice" — rather this gives an occasion of analyzing and meaning such vague terms. There is grave danger in the Negro problems, not so much from the presence and condition of the Negroes and the attitude of the Whites as from the fact that the mass of the Nation refuses to take the trouble to understand these conditions and this attitude. We are too apt to be content with such hasty

31-11-100

and ill-considered conclusions as a young reporter recently published in the Forum ~~in~~ in an account of the Wilmington affair.

The burden of the article in question was that the Wilmington Negro had made practically no advancement since slavery and that this mass of ignorance and sloth sought to rule the wealth and intelligence of a large city; hence the revolt. If this were a true statement of the case it would certainly afford a plausible explanation of the outbreak even if it did not justify them. ~~as a matter of fact however~~ The question is, then, how far is it true that the Wilmington Negroes are so far behind the Negroes of most southern cities; for throughout the south there is abundant testimony that the Negroes have done something toward bettering their condition — have become fair workmen, accumulated some property and acquired some education.

31-11-101

The interesting question then arises What is the real condition of the Negroes in Wilmington? Those who are disposed to learn the answer to this question by personal, must first ask themselves what they are to look for They must remember that the weakness of freedmen is ~~too~~ exhibited always in ignorance, bad sexual morals, lack of business ability, poverty, and crime; that they must therefore strive to see how these especial weaknesses are being ~~can be~~ conquered.

A recent canvass in Wilmington resulted as follows:

Number of Negro inhabitants:

1850
1860
1870
1880
1890.

Assessed Value of
real & personal property $5 00,000.

Number of Negro churches, 15.

Value of church edifices:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| St Stephens, | Methodist | $30,000. |
| St Lukes, | " | 20,000 |
| St Marks | Episcopalian | 15,000 |

31-11-102

Baptist 15,000
Baptist 10,000

Odd Fellows' Hall, 3 story, brick, $15,000.
Samaritan Lodge 2 " 5,000

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Perpetual Building & Loan Association, capital $20,000.
Metropolitan " " " " " 11,000.

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Merchants:

5 grocers, ~~total invested capital of $78,000.~~ with total invested capital of $37,800. in sums ranging from $800 & $2,000
2 druggist, capital $1000, & $1500.
1 contractor & paint-dealer, $2,500.
3 Undertakers, $150, $2000, $2800.
2 merchant tailors, $1200 & 1500.
2 genl merchants $1600 & 2,000
2 wood yards, $2000, $2500

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Professional men:

4 physicians
4 Lawyers.
1 Real estate dealer.

31-11-103

# The Negro Problems [undated]

When a great question is so often discussed that every new discussion demands an apology as a preface, that is ~~a sign~~ one sign that the question is unanswered and that further inquiry and study is needed. The Negro Problem may be shadowed and tinsome and yet as long as the relations of 8 million people to modern civilized life ~~is thus~~ are unsettled, those relations must be the central thought of at least these 8 million people's utterances: their whole philosophy then whole strivings must revolve about the one point, and whether they are talking religion or morals, science or business, life or death, they will sooner or later find themselves discussing the Negro problem.

I therefore offer little apology for the subject I have chosen ~~& discuss it the year thought~~ This continual statement & restatement of views is not without result - not without good. Ten ~~with the~~ years the Negro problem changes: the Problem of 1900 is not the problem of 1870 & that of 1870 was not that of 1840. Probably 30 none in the audience was old enough to

382-12-28

grasp the vast problem that loomed before the United States in 1840. Here was a nation young & glorious! which had done in a day that which cost Ancient civilization its life blood and Modern Europe the travail of a thousand years. And across this fair land of promise was creeping slowly but irresistibly the shadow of the Cotton kingdom. The wonderful inventions of Whitney & Arkwright and Watt had revolutionized the system of cotton manufacture and raised a vast demand for raw cotton. Experiments on southern soil had soon showed its peculiar adaptability and a new and strange development to be ours: a nation whose very corner stone was political equality began to evolve a vast economic system whose corner stone was physical political & social slavery! This was the Negro problem of 1840 — How vast & terrible, how insoluble it must have appeared to the far sighted patriots of that day. Sixty years pass away and many of us can remember the situation of 1870. A vast revolution had swept the land leaving its ample trail

38-13-284

# UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

## INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONDITION OF THE NEGROES OF PHILADELPHIA.

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR FAMILY SCHEDULE.

A family schedule must be made out for every group of two or more related persons living under conditions of family life. Boarders, lodgers, and servants, are to be entered on separate individual schedules. Hotels, etc., should be entered on an institution schedule.

1. Enter here the number of persons in the family, exclusive of lodgers, boarders, visitors or servants,
2. Facts for the head of the family should be entered in the first column, and he or she should be designated as *Head*, whether man, woman, married or single. Give the other members the term which will indicate their relation to the head; as, wife, son, daughter, sister, etc., or mother (*i. e.* mother of head of family), etc.
3. Abbreviate to M. (male), or F. (female).
4. Give exact years, as, 17, 29, 31, 43, etc., and do not say "about" 25, 30, 35, 40. Enter children less than one year old on the 1st of November, in twelfths of a month, as 6-12, 3-12, etc.; or if not one month old, as 0-12.
5. Enter as married (mar.), single (sing.), widowed (wid.), and divorced (div.).
6. Give State and town.

7 and 8. Give approximate number of years.

9. This refers to sickness that was severe enough to interfere seriously with daily work.
10. Give the name of the disease or ailment.
14. This refers to the children of the family.
15. Write "Graduate—Girls' High, '96"; or "Attendant Institute for Colored Youth, 3 yrs.," etc. Schools higher than common schools are here referred to. Answer this for all members of the family.

16 and 17. This is an important inquiry. Simple as it appears, it is always difficult in census work to get satisfactory replies to this question. Inaccuracy and insufficiency of statement are the most prominent evils to be avoided:

For instance, *remember:* we want to know not what a man "works in," but just what he does.

We want to *distinguish between:* the owner or director of a business and one who works at it; between waiters and head-waiters; between cooks in private families and in hotels; between coachmen, hackmen, and draymen; between merchants and pedlars, and those who keep stands.

*Do not say:*

"Printer," but "compositor," or "pressman"; not "mechanic," but "carpenter" or "plumber"; not "agent" but "real-estate agent"; not "merchant" or "pedlar," but "dry-goods merchant" or "pedlar—tinware;" not "clerk" but "salesman in hardware-store," "stenographer," "bookkeeper," etc.

Describe women who keep house at home as "housewives;" those who keep house for others as "housekeepers." If the woman does her own housework, and in addition pursues a gainful occupation, as dressmaking, enter: "housewife—dressmaker," or "housewife—day's-work-out."

Daughters, etc., who help with housework, should be entered: "housework—no pay." Those who do nothing should be entered as "no occupation." Children, too young to have an occupation, should be entered "at home," or "at school."

18. Answer only one of these—preferably one of the first two. Seek to approximate the truth as nearly as possible.
24. Give dates as nearly as possible, and addresses.
25. Enter either the reason given or the reason surmised, or both.
27. Give street and number.
29. Give names of societies.
31. This question is optional, and is only for those who are able to give their expenditure in some detail. Fill only *one* of the three columns for each particular item (*e. g.* rent *yearly*, food *weekly*, etc.) and seek by reference to written accounts to make this report accurate. Remember that *income*, *expenditure* and *savings* must *balance*.
32. Enter this under one of the following heads: A. Athletics (bicycling, baseball, etc.). B. Music. C. Church entertainments. D. Indoor games (cards, billiards, etc.). E. Balls. F. House-parties. G. Picnics and excursions. H. Theatres.

Remember to enter here the actual chief amusement, not merely the one the person likes best, but does not often enjoy.

34. Give relationship to head of family.

Where the question only applies to certain members of the family, put a cross in the spaces where there are no answers expected. Where no information is given, put "unknown," or "unanswered."

Finally, remember that the information given is confidential; the University of Pennsylvania will strictly guard it as such, and allow no one to have access to the schedules for other than scientific purposes. We ask, under these conditions, careful, accurate, and truthful answers.

of blood, of bereavement, of hatred, of death:
The Negro problem then was a problem of Peace:
physical peace after savage bloodshed — ~~and~~
economic peace after a century of economic warfare — above all, social peace after a perilous
conflict of aims & ideals. It was an abnormal
situation in every respect — a day of feverish
unrest when none could hope for calm
argument or nicely balanced theory: when
amid radicals & fools, the true feature could
only cry wait. Nearly another generation
has passed by and what is the Negro Problem
of 1900: of one thing we may be sure
the problem of today is not the same as the
problem of 30 or 60 years ago — it may
bear a family resemblance — it may
be clumsily dressed in the old terms
& old formulas — but it has new elements
& new aspects, & needs for its natural study,
a new treatment & new understanding.

And let me next remember
that the critical time in national, as
in one life comes not in the blood & dust
of battle — not in the white heat of social
revolution, but in the calm that succeeds the

stone — in time of peace and silent development — then comes the real moral test of national ability — of national ideals. In other words the real Negro problem ~~come to the front~~ is laid before us today more clearly — in ~~its~~ truer form than in 1840 ~~1870~~ when it was initiated by a peculiar economic development, or in 1870 when it was clothed with political revolution. Today it stands clearly before us: it is the question as to how far 8 million Americans Negro descent will be able & adapt themselves to modern civilization.

The adaptation of a group of people to their surroundings depends on two things: 1st their own efforts 2nd the reaction of their physical and social environment. The concrete condition first and chief ~~set~~ come the efforts put forth by the people themselves, ~~in the~~ ~~case~~ ~~is~~ a ~~con~~ and these in which the Negro people of the U.S. find themselves at the beginning of the 20th century is the result of their efforts for a generation and the manner in which these efforts have been received by their fellow citizens: what has this interaction resulted in so far?

First, to speak of mere numbers, it has resulted in a Negro population over 8 million

of people. We have heard the statement so often that I fear we do not realize just what it means: we scarcely realize that there are today in the U.S. today as many Negroes as there were Englishmen in England at the beginning of this century: that there are more Negroes now than there were inhabitants in all Italy at the time of the Emperor Augustus: that Greece in the heyday of its civilization probably never had half as many people as we, negroes have in the U.S, and ancient Egypt not more than 3/4 as many. Living in the modern world we must remember that the number of Negroes here is half as large as the population of Spain today, as large as that of Sweden & Norway together, much larger than that of either Portugal, Holland or Belgium, twice as large as that of Switzerland, Turkey and nearly 3 times that of Switzerland. In other words, we are in size a nation of no mean proportions. Moreover this population is distributed in the Negro belt in the rich loam valley of the Mississippi & on the gulf coast it predominates; on the sea-board at Charleston it equals the white, and on the rolls at Charleston it is a large element

28-13-287

and in every important city of the Union it forms a large percent of the population: there are nearly as many Negroes in Philadelphia today as there are inhabitants in whole territory of Arizona.

This population so widely distributed and in such intimate contact with the chief centers of American life is, compared with the whole mass of white Americans conspicuously below the average in physical health, in education, in manual and business training, in moral standards and in the conception of the higher social ideals. In accounting for this we must consider neither the best or worst of the race, but the great middle mass: both statistics covering some 18 [illegible] twenty years and ranging over a [illegible] of territory and variety of condition that tend to eliminate all substantial sources of error show conclusively that the death rate of American Negroes is much higher than that of American whites: in 10 [illegible] cities - [illegible] the death rate of whites in 1890-94 was 20 in every 1000; of Negroes 33 in every thousand - a margin of 13% in favor of the whites. This great death rate arises from 2 principal causes: an immense

death rate among children and the prevalence of Consumption among adults. In Baltimore for instance among children under 5 years of age 80 whites out of every thousand died yearly & 171 colored — in Washington 65 whites & 159 colored. In New York among children under 15, 28 whites out of every 1000 died yearly & 37 colored, in Boston 24 whites & 33 colored in Philadelphia 22 whites & 32 colored — From consumption of the lungs, there died in 1890 in Charleston S.C, 355 whites in every 100,000 & 686 Colored; in Richmond Va., 230 whites & 411 colored; in Washington D.C, 245 whites & 591 colored; in Boston Mass 365 whites & 884 colored & in Phil 269 whites & 532 colored.

38-13-289

There can be traced in the prevalence of disease among American Negroes no distinctively race-characteristic: the death rate of Italy S. Germany, Spain, and Austria has often surpassed any record of the American slaves. It is a matter of condition & habit: it would indeed have been a miracle if the training of slavery and the sanitary condition of the Negro cabins of yesterday should not leave a vast heritage of disease and death. The question now however is not so much

the origin or excuse for the condition as it is: the interest of every American — black or white demands a minimum of disease in every community; the first Negro problem is therefore that of disease. How can we best promote the health of American Negroes

The next point is the matter of education. It goes without saying that the Freedman was illiterate and today notwithstanding marvellous effort we must face the bare fact that half of the Colored people can neither read or write. But the mere ability to read and write is after all but a crude test of intelligence. Ignorance of a far different kind is rife among our people: education in the broad sense of home-training is what is woefully lacking. The trained and careful motherhood, sensible thrifty father hood, the joyous home circle, the loving guidance of maginal youth — such things are not fatally uncommon among a people one step removed from slavery, and the ignorance arising from the lack of home training is one far more difficult to measure — far more terrible in its effects than mere illiteracy. The proper training of Negro children

is the second of the Negro problems: ~~education~~ the elimination of ignorance of letters, ignorance of decency & politeness & respect, ignorance of the peculiar destiny of our people — and ignorance of the true ~~dead~~ meaning of life.

The third Negro problem arises from the utter lack of acquaintance of the Negro with the central idea of modern civilization: namely co-operation: this is a point very seldom spoken of, and for that very reason apt to be lost sight of. The essence of a slave system is that the workmen have nothing to do with the end and object of their work: they simply do an alloted task & are then free from care or anxiety. On the other hand the free laborer — and especially the free American laborer first and foremost has some choice in the ~~doing~~ performance of his task, some choice as to the way in which it shall be carried out and practically free choice as to how the fruits of his toil shall be disposed of. ~~The result is that~~ Consequently if the slave be freed and placed beside the Freedman the result is not — as many people imagine it would be — that the slave refuses to work: naturally not — the only thing he knows is work & the one thing

B&I 3-291

harder than work is ~~that~~ Idleness: No
he worked, worked hard & still works:
but as compared with the named white laborer
he makes a poorer choice of work, he uses cruder
methods of accomplishing the work chosen
and finally, he does not know how to
coordinate his different labors so as to bring
about one large result. Let me give three
concrete illustrations of my meaning: In the
first generation freedmen there was a rush
into certain avenues of employment, whereby
the nature of their training, the color prejudice &
the needs of the people there was no call
for workers: the result was not ~~that~~ only
that a number of clergymen, ministers, & politicians
starved to death, but that the world & the Negro
people lost already a number of excellent farmers,
blacksmiths & carpenters. Take for another
example, the Barber trade: at one time
negroes had such a monopoly of this trade
that the trade partook some of the odium of that
occupation. But to maintain the monopoly of any
lucrative business in the hands of one man, one
set of men, or of one nation today needs business
ability of the first order: a thorough acquaintance
with the general demands of the times, & deft methods
of catering to the public eye & ear; all these things were
of understanding & foretelling changes in fashion

B1-20

the A B C & the, American but greek to the Negro. When to the lack of the business sense & training was added a fierce foreign competition, the inevitable result was ~~that~~ ~~then~~ shown in this city where the best part of the Darker trade has slipped from the Negroes hands. One more instance: There are in Philadelphia today about 45,000 Negroes: a city of no mean size by themselves— If even these thousands should intelligently cooperate in ~~work~~ labor, in expenditures, in education &c. — they would be an irresistible power — they earn for instance not less than $2 millions every year: they spend not much less than $750000 annually in lawful ~~and~~ lawfully & thousands of thousands in fancy clothes, ~~vacation trips~~ & beer; food, drink & medicines and yet how few places of business they conduct; how little of this vast expenditure is spent in these few places, and how difficult it is to secure even enough cooperation to reduce the vast amount of money thrown away in renting old disease-ridden houses.

It is of course very easy to see how, all things considered, this state of affairs is natural but the problem for the future — the kind of the Negro problem which

33-12-293

I have mentioned is, How to increase intelligent business methods & cooperations among the Colored people.

The fourth great problem among American Negroes relates to prostitution and crime. These are unpleasant subjects — subjects on which we & our friends willingly turn our backs and yet we can not cure evils by shutting our eyes to them or deny ourselves existence or befuddle ourselves. We must face the cold hard fact that prostitution illegitimacy and sexual lewdness is rife among the Colored people of the land to a frightful extent. The rate of illegitimate births varies from 5% in Rhode Island & 25% in some southern cities: the striking characteristic of Negro slums in all great cities is not brutality & crime so much as sexual immorality. The situation in this regard is of course neither hopeless nor inexplicable: it is not hopeless because Italian, Spanish, Scotch, German French & Hungarian districts have often far surpassed our record; it is not inexplicable because no set of women ever endured such systematic assaults upon them as the Negro women of slavery times, and yet maintained

28-12-294

some ideal of virtue & womanhood. The reason is ample — the heritage hard, but the situation is no less deplorable & ~~crying for remedy~~ a quick ruthless remedy none the less demanded. Again there can be no reasonable doubt but that we have since the war developed a large & growing criminal class: a class of young roughs & idlers, who gamble, steal and even murder, who injure our good name, ~~and~~ burden the State, and form a dead weight on every forward movement. The new class of criminals are not all ignorant men: more & more daring & intricate crimes are daily ~~becoming the~~ requiring skill & education & are noticed: most of these depredators are young men: of 541 Negroes in the Eastern Penitentiary last year nearly 11% were under 19 years of age, ~~and~~ 67% were born since the war, while 90% know practically nothing of slavery having been free before 5 years of age. This record means bad home-training, bad company & restricted opportunities: this then is the Fourth Negro Problem The Eradication of Sexual Immorality & Crime.

The four Negro Problems, then, as

35-13-295

I see them, are:

1. How to protect the Health of Negroes.
2. How to establish and protect the Negro home.
3. How to increase business training and cooperation among Negroes
4. How to check sexual immorality and crime among Negroes.

These are all great social problems — problems, which every people & all lands have in greater or less degree's care — but they are especially our problems, especially Negro problems because our peculiar history, heritage & environment has made us the victims of the social diseases which I have mentioned.

If these be the Problems & which the efforts & movements of the American Negro has given rise, manifestly the first business of every American Negro is to see that the gap between him and the rest of the Nation be closed up until the time comes when he can truthfully say that neither in Wealth, education, mental helpfulness or crime has he a worse record than the rest of the nation

28.12.276

may rather that he has a far better record
To accomplish this calls for the most
tireless, persistent, intelligent & unselfish
effort on our part

In the first we must bring the facts
as to disease and death before our people:
they must realize that half of the deaths
among them which they piously attribute
to the Lord are nothing but murders: babies
are murdered for lack of fresh, and water
for lack of decent food, for lack of regular
sleep; school children are murdered by parents
too careless & cook regular meals for them;
grown men and women are murdered by lack
of washing themselves often enough, by sitting
in close poorly ventilated churches, by using
street cars instead of hanging: all these
plain simple facts of air water & food
ought & be daily instilled into the whole
people if we are successfully to fight dis-
ease

We must uphold & defend the
sanctity of the home. A parent does not
fulfill his whole duty by sending his
children to school: some home in a daily

38-13-297

careless unhappy home cannot be counteracted by one hour in a great school house The home must actively supplement, reinforce & cooperate with the school if we do not want to educate ~~them~~ criminals & loafers We must give more thought to our homes, more time & our wives & made homes; ~~perhaps~~ perhaps fewer clothes upon our backs and more happy household reunions — music & laughter & good cheer; less money thrown away in rent & more put to buying houses even if they are miles from the city — all this and more must be the aim of our Stump.

To promote cooperation & business relations nothing but confidence humility & perseverance will avail. As long as colored people will not buy of colored storekeepers, will not rent of colored householders, will not employ colored lawyers, & call in colored physicians only when the fee is missing — how on earth can they expect consideration at the hands of outsiders. It is your business — it is my business & behoove the colored man above — his societies, his building associations, even

3-13-29

at the risk of some tupley inconvenience.
On the other hand it is the ~~business~~ duty of colored
business men to be business men in every
sense of the word — to be courteous, to be
careful, to be ~~shrewd~~ obliging. The Negro must
remember that only by joining his capital
and his efforts can he succeed in the
vast American economic world: individual
effort — individual exchange ~~is~~ is
multiplied a thousand fold by ~~being~~
put forward in combination & conjunction
with others.

~~The~~ Crime & Sexual immorality
can only be met by publicity & uncom-
promising condemnation. The past history
of our race has led to a certain maudlin
sympathy with immorality & crime: it
must stop: the man or woman who breaks
the moral law must be hounded out
of the pulpit, out of the home, out of decent
society, without hesitation ~~without~~ sympathy.
You must do this in sheer self defence
unless you want ~~your sons & the~~ & made
rascals of your sons & frostitutes of your
daughters. The fact that colored boys have

38-12-89

a difficult time in getting decent employment ~~is not~~ must not be held up among us as a sufficient excuse for crime; we must hold the criminal as a guilty coward, not as an unfortunate hero if we want to save our boys.

This I have ~~to~~ at some length indicated the Negro problems & their answers. Most of you however probably think that the chief part of the Negro problem — the question as to what reaction the white people of America give to our efforts — has been omitted. This question of moral & final influence on our ultimate salvation I have not touched upon in this discussion because after all, it is not a Negro problem. The problem I have spoken of are peculiar to the Negro people — but the problem of race & color prejudice is a problem of humanity. Before this attitude of America we are helpless beyond a quiet and dignified protest against this childish prejudice of a childish people we can do nothing but hope that years, common sense & common Christianity will

38-13-308

in time bring them & the birth of justice & freedom.

Meantime we have before us so much that we can do — so much that our fellow citizens have a right to demand that we should do that we should be ashamed & high hopes, daring strong.

And after all, fellow Negroes, it is something to be born & the heritage of a just cause and a noble Ideal, & be members of a vast creative race whose future is not simply its past repaid — to be spurred by one high motive amid petty discouragements: Even failure is such a cause is victory —

Upon how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods.

38-13-301

# The Georgia Negro Again.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Professor of Economics and History in Atlanta University

30-1-61

One of the most unfortunate things about the southern situation is that the Negro is never sure of his legal position — never knows exactly what his rights are. His relations to the state, and the principles of common law and liberty on which he may take his stand, with the certainty of being upheld by the public opinion of the Nation, are far from being settled. If the right to vote settle remains after the determined opposition of legislatures and the decisions of the Supreme Court. The great mass of Negroes do not go near the polls. All that has been saved is the theoretical right, not the practical right. So too in matters of civil rights. A city may establish High Schools and colleges for white people or Irishmen or French-Canadians, and at the same time refuse these privileges to Negroes or Swedes or Germans, because as the Supreme Court wisely remarks "The establishment of a white High School does not harm the Negroes."

All this curious uncertainty as to what

30-1-62

a black American may rightly demand as his due is perhaps the most vital part of this social problem. It is not so much a question as to particular rights as it is to some sure and inalienable right against which no man will dare raise his hand without suffering the anathema of the nation. To day not even life itself is in the case of the Negro sacred from the marauder.

This situation is curiously illustrated by a recent occurrence in Georgia. We have here, of course the separate car law for Negro travellers. The main objection to this is not the odium of separation but the poor travelling accommodations furnished black travellers. On some lines especially those running toward the black belt where there is considerable Negro travel these cars or compartments are fairly comfortable though not in any case, I have seen as good as ~~that~~ those for the whites. And in the majority of cases the accommodations offered are extremely poor. The Negro ~~car~~ car is always used for transporting convicts both white and black, white men have free access to this compartment and usually three or four

30-1-63

rude there or retire there & drink and joke — in fine for any person of decency and refinement and especially for women the "Jim-Crow" car is the worst and most humiliating piece of legislation on the statute books of the south

At the same time it must be acknowleged that the mass of ignorant and dirty Negroes are not pleasant fellow travellers for anyone, and that this is the moral excuse for the law, and the reason that little effort is being made to better its execution. There too one place of refuge has been left for the better class of Negroes on long journeys - namely the Pullman car. Except in the extreme south-west Negroes have been accorded the privileges of sleepers, and even in Texas and Arkansas they have the legal right although they are usually illegally ejected. In Georgia there has been little or no trouble, and the few Negroes who wished to travell in a Pullman car have suffered only the inconvenience of not being able to have it reserved in advance. Naturally not more than a dozen Negroes

30-1-64

—possibly not half a dozen—
a year, could afford this method of escape from
the "Jim-Crow"; they were of the best class, and
the Pullman superintendent for this section says
they have always been unexceptionable in be-
havior and that no trouble from their presence
has ever arisen.

Last year a Negro and his wife took a
Pullman car from Atlanta to Valdosta. This man
~~was~~ received at the last General Conference of the
~~M.E. Ch.~~ ? white M.E. Church a considerable
vote for the bishopric — a fact which speaks for
his character. Well, it happened that on that
same car was a state senator of Georgia, who
protested strongly to the conductor against the
presence of this couple. The conductor assured
that they were within their rights; the follow-
week a bill was introduced into the legisla-
ture requiring sleeping car companies to separ-
ate whites and Negroes in sleeping cars. The
bill was widely discussed in the papers,
the Negro Women's Club had a hearing before
the committee of the Legislature, the railroads
protested and the bill after passing the Senate was
dropped in the House, and everyone supposed it

dead.

This year the legislature met again. The Hardwick ~~bill~~ bill to enfranchise illiterate whites and disfranchise all Negroes was defeated by a magnificent majority and the black people of the state thought that their white Georgia friends were strongly in the ascendency. What was my surprise then to receive the day after the legislature adjourned a telegram from a friend in New York asking "What of the separate sleeping-car bill just passed in Georgia?" Mildly speaking, I was surprised; I hunted through a column of brevier type in the Constitution, and sure enough there was the bill reported as passed the last night of the session. My Tall Friend got wind of it too, and hurried up to the Governor's office. "O no!" said the Governor, no such bill has passed, I am sure." Then he searched the records ~~then~~ and lo! there it was awaiting his signature. "Well!" said he, "I knew not a word of this before." Thus by a silent midnight ~~stroke~~ stroke a bill that was virtually defeated last year has passed the legislature and if the governor signs it will become a law.

30-1-65

This bill provides:

First: ~~Railroad~~ Sleeping-car companies shall assign seats to passengers.

Secondly: Negroes and whites shall not have seats in the same compartments.

Thirdly "Provided that nothing in this act shall be construed to compell sleeping car-companies or Railroads operating sleeping cars to carry persons of color in sleeping or parlor cars"

Fourthly Exception is made for servants travelling with their employees

30-1-65a

A committee of the Negroes of Atlanta immediately waited upon ~~the~~ Governor Candler, were accorded a courteous hearing, and presented a petition asking him not to sign the bill. His decision at this writing has not been announced. The bill is clearly unjust — it is clearly unconstitutional. It illustrates how easily from day to day the civil status of the Negro can be changed. Sheer self-respect compels us, if we possibly can afford the expense, to test this law when it is signed before the Supreme court. And the Supreme court will of course declare it — constitutional. At this

moment it looks as though the next time I came north I should have the pleasure of sitting up all night in a "Jim-Crow" car.

P.S. Governor Candler has signed the bill.

30-1-66

(EQUALITY AND SEGREGATION)

c. 1900-1910

Draft and fragments

Capitalizing Negro

1

Our children are trained separately & with
unwritten hatred & contempt for each other, we
live on separate streets & in separate sections
we ride in separate parts of street cars
trains, we follow ~~largely~~ separate occupations &
classes of occupations, we are beginning to
trade at separate stores & read separate
newspapers ~~and frankly we die and are~~
we are sent to separate parts of jails &
hospitals & when we die we are buried
in separate graveyards.

2 But they should not have the right
to forbid other people from associating with
whom they chose. A southern white man has
a perfect right to exclude whom he will
from his dinner table. He has no right to
exclude people from mine, if I and they are
agreed

3 What would depends entirely upon whether the
two races have equal accommodations in the schools
& whether or not the separation casts a stigma

or implication of superiority on either, and ~~as~~ whether the separation was voluntary or compulsory.

30-1-12

4. If the accommodations in each of the school systems is equally good & the separation is voluntary, I should raise no objection. ~~If~~

30-1-11

If the accommodations were equal & the separation compulsory I should still not at present actively oppose it in the South although I should oppose it elsewhere. I regard the system unlawful & undemocratic but it is one of those cases of separation which the southern negro can well afford to endure ~~as long as~~ whenever race antipathy is violent.

dangerous & peace ~~of~~ & progress & ~~if it is~~ ~~possible to ameliorate them our duty is also perfectly clear~~ if "gregariousness" is taking the form of the compulsory degradation of the weak & the moral weakening of the strong and if it is possible to cure or even mitigate this, our duty is also clear.

or implication of superiority on either, and whether the separation was voluntary or compulsory.

4. If the accommodations in each of the school systems is equally good & the separation is voluntary, I should raise no objection. If

5 Is real progress possible under present conditions? What will be the result of trying ~~to change~~ at least to modify these conditions? If the result of any attempt to modify present conditions would aggravate them so that instead of

6 if present conditions are growing increasingly dangerous to peace ~~order~~ morals & progress & ~~it is impossible to ameliorate them our duty is also perfectly clear.~~ if "gregariousness" is taking the form of the compulsory degradation of the weak & the moral weakening of the strong and if it is possible to cure or even mitigate this, our duty is also clear.

7

for the present much of the present separation in the ~~South~~ South, such as separate schools & churches. But ~~you must not accept that~~ I do say that we should not accept ~~this~~ as right or workable all the present separations or the tendencies toward further separation. If your program means.

8. I mean to provide a larger opportunity for knowledge sympathy and mutual understanding, and particularly a lessening of personal annoyance and insult. ~~and more to reasonable redundant liberty~~

9. Moreover this is a sensitive class — pitifully sensitive to ~~every~~ the gross forms of insult and discrimination.

10 When a he saves and accumulates properly he is treated like a pauper, when he can be gruffly ordered about by any white man at any time — what can be more discouraging?

11 dreamed that the time had come when color alone was to be no bar to human association & preferment. I know today that the mass of Negroes in the U.S. hope for a day when human courtesy & acquaintance & sympathy shall not be barred by any merely physical ~~&~~ peculiarities. But ~~this~~ is nowhere

30-1-13

can there be found among Negroes south or north the slightest desire, to force their company on any person who does not desire it. They do demand equal civil rights in public accommodations. But they would bitterly despise themselves for desiring marriages or dinners with any persons or races that did not respect them & seek & value their company

12 — So far however are the best class of Negroes from attempting to force social recognition where they are not wanted, that they withdraw almost utterly to themselves & their very existence is for precisely this reason so often overlooked

13 and their significance, as in any group is far beyond their numbers; there is a criminal & semi-criminal class, all too large but the wildest Negrophobist could not class one Negro in ten here. This leaves the great middle class of Negroes — fully two thirds if not 3/4 of all as the real significant representatives of their race. The justice or injustice of the treatment given this class is the really significant criterion.

14 I would put into this class the rank & file of Negroes from the regular servants & common laborers upto the farmers, artisans & small business men.

301-14

15 average in intelligence & efficiency ~~somewhat~~ lower than correspondg classes of native americans.

16 The social education of ignorant masses certainly requires restraint & forebearance but it is surely far-fetched to make denunciation of ~~the~~ mob law the cause of crime, or the desire to be treated as a man the cause of rape

Then too I have advocated not a violent crusade against all present separation of races in the South but an endeavor to stop further separation & to abolish recent & extreme attempts which cause bitterness & stir race hatred. There are three kinds of race separation in the south: voluntary grouping as in homes & private associations; compulsory separation which follows the lines of voluntary grouping & works at present but minor

30-1-13

harm; as in schools arbitrary and compulsory segregation which cannot be enforced without humiliation & injustice, as "Jim Crow" cars. ~~Consider the last one~~ It is this last category I would attack now for

---

17 My wages can command less satisfaction dollar for dollar than my white fellows; My health may be endangered by ex posure; law & order is endangered By enforced Segregation & the public humiliation lowers self-respect & efficiency.

30-1-16

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18 and I would say to white people, being myself a Negro teacher of Negroes that to make a man who is unjustly treated stop complaining is a different proposition & I advise would-be leaders & let it alone. Yet ~~this~~ is this not precisely what Southern whites are continually refusing to do? doing.

19 If the exceptional white man in the South is so important & so typical ~~why cant the~~ & needs such kindly encouragement & criticism how much more is the same treatment due the exceptional colored man? In what instances, Dr Wilmer do educated Negroes ignore the good in the South?

---

20 I have conceived it my duty to tell the truth about the South in its treatment of the Negro race I have never intentionally omitted to credit the South with the good it has done nor have I hesitated to lay bare the evil. On the other

heard whenever the south does a good deed there are dozens that rush into print with derogatory remarks, while as to the evil they do dumb. This I think is unfair & dangerous. I did not for instance, praise the Atlanta Civic League because I was waiting for it to accomplish something, & to look out & show much attitude toward it by [illegible] the colored branch & acting on the executive committee. ~~I have never I hereby appreciate the fraternal influence of the South & I am glad in the same spirit you~~ quite I say

Whatever I can do & forward any good work in the south or to encourage others

32-1-12

21 Perhaps this is true but it made the intention none the less honest nor the facts none the less true. Moreover if I outrage the white South I too never forgive.

22 I do not conceive my duty to propagate the white race — they attend to that so well themselves, I do however sympathize much them in their race problem here & have often said so. In the very book you quote, I say

23 "Cried all: "Before such things can come,
"you idiotic child,
"you must alter human nature!"
And they all sat back & smiled.
Thought they: "an answer to that last
~~last~~ "It will be hard to find!"
It was a clinching argument
To the Neolithic Mind"

23. Three Things ought to be done in them now:
1. The Negro should be given good common schools.
2. He should be allowed to vote on the same terms as other people.
3. They should be given humane treatment

24 It is not the educated Negro with full developed self respect & determination who reads & appreciates Dean Swift, it is not this Negro whom discipline & discrimination is going injure. He can as Dr Wilmer well says retire within his own Soul & find peace. But I do contend that the average honest Negro laborer cannot & will not maintain his self respect under the continued & emphasized Contempt of his neighbors ~~persecution & treatment~~ he will gradually surrender his manhood & ambition.

25 Moreover let me say that the "sassiness" and self-assertion that often end in crime are not ~~Negro~~ peculiarly Negro traits.

26 And when a nation seeks to prevent a child from becoming a man by denying him all initiative & responsibility it certainly shows a defective sense of Justice or ~~Fair Play~~ to. But I have not answered Dr. Wilgus's argument as to education. The work of our graduates at A.U. is well known & carefully followed.

30-1-20

They are not servants & neither are the graduates of Hampton or Tuskegee. Why? because these graduates can command better wages & positions. It is however untrue to say that the higher Negro schools discourage common work & humble service.

27 So too we teach the whole gospel: no girl can graduate from our courses with good training in cookery, sewing & housework. Do our graduates do their housework? No 132 of them are home makers, conducting their own homes. But if you charge that our schools & the schools which our graduates teach do not encourage domestic service the same can be said of white schools North & South. The relevant problem is not a race problem, nor is it a mere

problem of education either in the South, the North, nor in Europe. It is a matter of the conditions & circumstances surrounding that branch of work & so distasteful are these conditions that as soon as any class white or black, North or South can get its own daughters out of domestic service they do so even at a clear money loss. The present organization of domestic service the world over is mediaeval This organization must be changed & until it is the servant problem will persist. If this is true in general it is peculiarly true in the South. There, domestic service in treatment and pay is least removed from all associations from the slave system of the past. Payment is still made largely in kind & in a manner which shades into grant-dealing of food & clothes on the half of servants. There to the mind of the South both during & since slavery has been peculiarly the burden of domestic service. The contempt for a colored woman's white all persons more in that work than in any other. A southern lady recently sent to a Negro school

for a servant a girl was sent to her ~~the~~ same day she left, because the only sleeping room furnished her was one cut off from from the men servants room by a ~~part~~ wooden partition which did not reach the ceiling. The lady could not understand why this colored girl should object to that". My former servants never complained" she said. Is it strange that under such conditions the best class of Negroes are withdrawing from domestic service & the graduates of Negro schools higher, lower & industrial, are shunning it?

28 That the Negro needs domestic training solely, & that the opportunity to serve in respectable Southern families would be promotion for thousands (perhaps millions) today. But when these lower thousands come and offer themselves as they are now, the world complains that they are dirty inefficient & demands the trained servants of yesterday. But the children of the older servants are not going into domestic service They are stepping higher than their mothers & are graduating from schools like Hampton & A. U. There were 900 Negro physicians in 1890 - there are 1800 in 1910 an increase of

Nearly 10000 persons (26) raised above the ranks of domestic servants in one single profession; consider all the other professions including teachers, and the skilled artisans and semi-skilled laborers and ~~all the rest~~ remember why that these all are largely the children of servants and one can see what a very large number of Negroes have in a generation been raised above domestic service by purely economic forces & education.

30-1-3

but the really fearless professional man
exercises not simply for himself but as
in any race — an influence or ideal
for the mass. If he fails, they lose their
guide. If when he raises his head he is bound
because of it.
ed back they curse [illegible]. What incentive
is there for the ordinary boy to make
the most of himself when he knows that
intelligence thrift or ambition gain no more
consideration for his race than ignorance
and crime? It is then upon the humble laborer
that the real burden eventually falls. For instance

30-1-36

The result is not separation but ~~segregation of Negroes in superior accommodations while Whites~~ an arrangement whereby whites go anywhere they please & Negroes anywhere they can.

30-1-37

the hypocrite who tries to be all things to all men. He is always pleasant and optimistic. He abuses whites to black people and blacks to whites, and praises both to their faces. There is no moral principle in his talk or his deeds — he simply aims to get on. Such men are dangerous to a land and present conditions are educating too many of them. We need in Negroes as in whites independence, honesty, sturdy self-assertion

30-1-37

30-1-39

Sassiness & self-assertion are not pleasant things in half trained people and while they lead to progress on the one hand on the other they sometimes lead to crime & debauchery But this is not peculiar to any race or time. Indeed

30-1-41

Crime in the South is a perfectly natural phenomenon. Ask any criminologist what will happen among a people changed in a single generation from slaves to quasi-freemen, treated in courts by a double standard of justice, hindered in their natural development toward self-assertion & self respect, perverted by past ideas of work. He will easily predict the rise of a criminal class But criminals will not appear suddenly but gradually among the children & grandchildren of the freedmen — the celebrated second generation

" Cried all: ' Before such things can come,
"'You idiotic child,
"'You must alter human nature!'
" And they all sat back and smiled.
" Thought they: ' An answer to that last
"'It will be hard to find!"
" It was a clinching argument
" To the Neolithic Mind ! "

30-1-27

So far however are the best class of Negroes from attempting to force social recognition, where they are they are not wanted, that they withdraw almost utterly to themselves and their very existence is for precisely this reason so often overlooked.

30-1-29

And their signifigance, as in any group, is far beyond their numbers; there is a criminal and semi- criminal class, all too large but the wildest Negrophobist could not class one Negro in ten here. This leaves the great middle class of Negroes- fully two thirds if not three fourths of all as the real ~~significant~~ typical representatives of their race. The justice or injustice of the treatment given this class is the really significant criterion.

30-1-28

I would put into that class the rank and file of Negroes from the regular servants and common laborers up to the farmers, artisans and small business men.

age in intelligence and efficiency lower than corresponding
ses of native Americans.

30-1-30

30-1-32.

Perhaps this is ~~true~~ so, but it makes the intention none the less honnor the facts none the less true. Moreover if I criticize the White South, I too never hesitate

30-1-31

Three things ought to be done ~~for them~~ now:

I. The Negro should be given good common schools.

2. They should be allowed to vote on the same terms as other people

3. They should be given humane treatment.

30-1-26

That would depend entirely upon whether the two races had equal accomodations in the schools and whether or not the separation cast a stigma or implication of inferiority on either, and whether the separation was voluntary or compulsory.

30-1-25

Our children are trained separately and into enmity, hatred, and contemptfor each other, we live on separate streets and in in separate sections, we ride in separate parts of street cars and trains, we follow largely separate occupations and classes of occupations, we are beginning to trade at separate stores and read separate Newspapers, we are sent to separate parts of jails and hospitals and when we die we are buried in separate grave yards.

30-1-26

If the accomodations in each of the school systems is equally good and the separation is voluntary, I should raise no objection. If the accomodations were equal and the separation compulsory I should still not at present oppose the policy in the South, although I should oppose it else where. I regard the system wasteful and undemocratic, but it is one of those cases of separation which the Southern Negro can well afford to endure as long as race antipathy is violent.

If present conditions are growing increasingly dangerous to peace morals and progress, and if " gregariousness" is taking the form of the compulsory degradation of the weak, and the moral weaking of the strong, and if it is possible to cure or even mitigate this, our duty is also clear.

30-1-27

I have conceived it my duty to tell the truth about the South in its treatment of the Negro race. I have never intentionally omitted to credit the South with the good it has done, nor have I hesitated to lay bare the evil. ~~On the other hand~~ Whenever the South does a good deed there are dozens that rush into print with extravagant praise, while as to the evil they are dumb. This I think is unfair and dangerous. I did not, for instance, praise the Atlanta Civic League because I was waiting for it to accomplish something beside talk. But I showed my attitude toward it by joining the colored branch and acting on its executive committee. Whatever I can do to forward any good work in the South or to encourage others

30-1-27

hat the time had come when color alone was to be no bar association and preferment. I know today that the mass king Negroes in the U. S. hope for a day when human courtesy friendship and sympathy shall not be barred by any mere- ical peculiarities. But nowhere can there be found among s, South or North, the slightest desire to force their com- any person who does not desire it. They do demand equal ights in public accomodations. But they would bitterly x themselves for desiring marriages or dinners with any per- races who did not respect them and seek and value their

So true is this that

30-1-40

true That the Negro needs domestic training sorely and that thes opportunity to serve in respectable Southern families would be an promotion for thousands, perhaps millions today. ~~is true.~~ But for him when these lower thousands come and offer themselves, as they are doing, the South complains that they are dirty and ~~inefficient~~ and demands the trained servants of yesterday. But the children of the older servants are not going into domestic service, they are stepping higher than this through the aid of schools like Hampton and Atlanta University. There were nine hundred Negro physicians in 1890- there ~~are eighteen hundred~~ were twice as many in 1900, representing today nearly ten thousand persons raised above the ranks of domestic service in one single profession; consider all the other professions including teachers, add the skilled artisans and semi- skilled laborers and remembering that these all are largely children of servants, and one can see what a very large number of Negroes have in a generation been raised above domestic service by purely economic forces and education.

30-1-35

The social education of ignorant masses certainly requires restraint and forethought, but it is surely farfetched to make denunciation of mob law the cause of crime, or the desire to be treated as a man the cause of rape.

Then too, I have advocated not a violent crusade against all present separation of races in the South but an endeavor to stop further separation and to abolish recent and extreme attempts which cause bitterness and stir race hatred. There are three kinds of race separation in the South: voluntary grouping as in homes and private associations; compulsory separation which follows the lines of voluntary grouping and, often, works ~~at present but minor harm~~ harm but endurable as in schools; arbitrary and compulsory attempts at separation which can not be enforced without humiliation and injustice, as " Jim Crow" cars. It is the last category I would attack now, for

30-1-42

From W. E. B. DuBois, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

# The Case for the Negro

The position of the Negro in regard to the right of suffrage is clear and simple. He is perfectly willing to be subjected to any such reasonable tests of efficiency, intelligence and morality as are applied to other citizens of the Republic. And this, too, in spite of the fact that his history in this land furnishes the basis of a strong plea for special consideration in his case. Nevertheless he asks for not special consideration for himself — nor for others. Simple, plain, even-handed Justice is all he demands.

We have full sympathy with many of the difficulties of the South today; its vast number of ignorant voters, black and white, are no light burden. Even if the South had no Negro problem, its own social problems would demand patience and statesmanship. And certainly if the American Negroes were themselves a separate nation their leading classes would have a hard problem in dealing with their own ignorant and poverty stricken masses. The Negroes have never had the political training which the nation owes them. There is a wide-spread fiction that some such training was offered them ~~by the ex-masters~~ after the war, but that they wilfully followed carpet-baggers and scalawags instead. This is an

true. Not one respectable white man in a thousand offered to lead the Negroes anywhere but back to slavery. It was a case of carpet-baggers or nothing for those who aspired to free citizenship. Moreover it is hardly fair to add to the sins of the carpet-baggers that of poisoning the minds of the Negroes against their former owners. The ~~former owners~~ whites ~~who~~ either actively or passively attended to that themselves in the deeds of the Ku-Klux, the lynching and lawlessness, which have so firmly convinced ~~the~~ many Negroes that the white South does not desire the black man's best good. Probably some such bitter feelings were inevitable under the circumstances, and yet to this day, among the finer minded Southern whites, there is a certain lack of candor in dealing with the race problem which is unfortunate. Examine for instance the temperate, and in many respects fair article in the Forum, entitled "The Case for the South" There is in that article scarcely an intimation that there exists anywhere intelligent law-abiding Negroes capable of casting a safe ballot. Doubtless if categorically questioned Mr. Williams would acknowledge that there were such men. And yet his whole article tacitly assumes the opposite. He argues forcibly and conclusively against the ignorant voter of the South and then hastens to ask the disfranchisement of the Negro.

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One would think the logical conclusion would be the disfranchisement of ignorance, whether black or white, and the protection and encouragement of intelligence whether white or black.

The post-bellum generation of Negroes cannot help but notice continually such cases of disingenuous pleading. They know that Southern men are perfectly aware of the use in the South since the war of a class of industrious property-holding Negroes who deserve the ballot. And yet in nearly all discussions this class is studiously ignored. In reality the whole question hinges here: are the intelligent Negroes of the South to be deprived of the ballot and left to the mercy of the whites, who themselves embrace no small proportion of ignorant and venal voters?) On the other hand the whites can without doubt charge a lack of candor in Negro apologists in not acknowledging the low social condition of the mass of ~~present~~ Negroes, and basing their claims on the saving remnant. The miasma of Reconstruction times still makes clear-minded treatment of the suffrage question difficult. The Negroes feel and have a right to feel that they have been wronged and misjudged. The white Southerner regards that carnival of extravagance as a never-to-be-forgotten enormity. And yet whether we be white or black can we

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not candidly ask ourselves: Was this any fair test of Negro suffrage? Was it any fair test of the Negro capacity? For my part it seems that every honest mind must here answer, No! We have had many examples of ~~some~~ corrupt Negro politicians, and a few of whites. Mr. Williams mentions five Negro failures in North Carolina. He says nothing of a dozen or more examples of ~~some~~ success and ability on the part of black men high in office to day. The black Internal Revenue collector of Atlanta Ga. is acknowledged to be one of the most efficient officers in the treasury service, and [redacted] has an uncle of Henry W. Grady serving under him. The colored collector of the Port of Savannah had the endorsement of nearly all the prominent business men of that city. There are hundreds of Negro post-office employees in ~~every~~ southern cities, and the few complaints that have been made are in nearly every case against them ~~inefficiency~~ color not against their efficiency. It is ~~a point with the~~ perfectly fair to point out unsparingly cases of Negro failure, but is it also fair to be silent over known cases of success?

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There is a still deeper question for the South to consider: What will be the effect on the white South if millions of its workingmen

are suddenly deprived ~~from~~ of the legal right & vote.' Would this leave the Negro destiny to be worked out by the best sentiment of the South? I know this is the prevailing opinion among many honest southerners but I think it is a grave mistake. Certainly it is flying directly in the face of every historical precedent. In any country, the deprivation of a despised class of a right & a voice in their own government means ~~the~~ leaving ~~of~~ them helpless before the aggressions of the worst enfranchised elements in that community. With an elective judiciary, wide administrative activity, and growing correlation of industry & government, and, added & this, deep race prejudice, it would be a miracle if the hands of the best southerners were left unfettered by the worst in their desire & treat Negroes justly. To be sure the bugbear of "Negro domination" would be removed, and that is something; but industrial competition would still remain, prejudice emboldened by success would increase, while the chief ~~the~~ motive toward the instruction and guiding of the Negro would be gone ~~removed~~. Looking the situation squarely in the face I am at a loss to understand ~~&~~ how any clear thinker can see ~~any~~ permanent advantage to the South in the sweeping disfranchisement of the working classes. Certainly to the Negro's best

271-21-32

interests & is bound to be unfavorable. Can any one expect under modern competitive industry that a class of workers could survive without [redacted] the defense of a vote? Are Negroes, handicapped by the past and discriminated against in the present, to accomplish what German, French and English workingmen could scarce do with law, order and universal suffrage?

No! The Negro cannot and is not expected to. Stripped of all verbiage ~~and clot~~ ~~look~~ the demand for the disfranchisement of the Negro simply on the ground of race is ~~simply~~ a demand that the welfare of a ~~wrongged~~ people be no longer considered an object of the Nation's solicitude. This is the ~~[illegible]~~ cry that chills the dawn of the 20th century of Christianity. "But" someone objects "there is no such demand. We demand only the disfranchisement of ignorance." Very well. Then answer me two questions that I may judge of your sincerity.

Do you propose to disfranchise ignorant white people?
Do you propose to leave the ballot in the hands of intelligent Negroes and protect them in its exercise?

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Atlanta University.

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48-12-81

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48-12-34

Liberia

The account of education in Liberia in Chapter VII of the Report of the U.S. Bureau of Education, 1905, was prepared by Mr. George W. Ellis, the U. S. secretary of legation at Monrovia, Liberia. Mr. Ellis first remarks upon th growing disposition of the civilized countries to exploit the Tropics, and points out the importance of West Africa, and in particular of Liberia, on account of the actual natural productions and the possibilities of that country. As to government, Liberia is an independent Negro republic, with a population of I,500,000, of whom 25,000 are emigrants from the United States and their descendants." Planted by the American Colonization Society in I820, Liberia declared its independence in I847. In Language and institutions the Liberians are strongly attached to the United States. Their efforts to educate themselves and to assimilate their native brethern ought, therefore, to be of interest to the American people."

"There are three separate systems of education in Liberia, one maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the United States, another by the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and a third by the Liberian Government. The schools of the first are scattered throughout the country and are 26 in number, with 43 teachers and 932 pupils. ..... The Protestant Episcopal schools date from I834. They comprise four principal schools, one of which includes a collegiate department and a divinity school for young men, and three are schools for girls. The rest are parish schools, which are grouped about these larger institutions. In all there were 50 schools and I,490 scholars in I904, of whom 73.5 percent were native Africans. ..... The Government schools are administered by a superintendent of public instructions and a bureau of education. In I903-4 they numbered I0C, with I00 teachers and an attendance of 3,22I, of whom 803, or 24.9 percent, were native Africans

37-6-144

From I900 to I904 the annual appropriation for schools increased from $ I8,650 to $24, 250, the last year's appropriation showing an expenditure of $ 7.I7 per pupil. Besides the school systems just mentioned the Baptists maintain 3 schools and the Lutherans 6, the latter with I44 pupils (all native Africans) and II teachers."

~~Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education for 1905.~~

37-6-145

# Black Social Equals.

We Americans are not honest with ourselves in this great Color Problem. Ever and again with admirably assumed unconsciousness, ~~do~~ we talk past each other, answering unasked questions and asking things which we will not hear answered. The Negro cries: "Give me a man's chance!" The white southerner answers, quite inconsequentially, " You shall not marry my daughter!" The Southerner asserts " Social Equality is the Black man's dream" and the black man evasively demands "full civil rights;" the North too has quibbled with the rest: "There is no such thing as Social Equality" has been its favorite retreating ground, which the Negro hastens to undermine by declaring " And we don't want it!" — Thus magnanimously refusing what supposedly does not exist.

Why not stop such ponderous horse play? We know the real problem and the real facts, why not face them? The real problem is: will the giving of full manhood rights to black American citizens- giving them unhampered civic privileges, allowing them to mingle with their fellow citizens on the same terms that other Americans mingle- will this lead to intermarriage and intermingling of blood to an extent which ~~white Americans do not desire?~~ is not desirable? I answer flatly and unequivocably, No, and I moreover assert that the converse is the real truth: that it was Slavery that threatened to make the South and the Land mulatto; that it is Caste today that is mingling the most undesirable blood of both races ~~and tainting the rest~~, and ~~thus~~ that it is only the full free social and civil intermigling of educated self respecting members of both races that will absolutely stop all mingling of blood until the prevailing and leading public opinion in both races ardently desire it.

Let us fare the facts that support this thesis: Here are ten million Americans known to be of Negro descent. Why not, or more say, simply, ten million Negroes? Because, strictly speaking, the [illegible] is a misnomer.

Every body knows that the ten million are not full blooded Negroes; there is a large intermingling of white and black blood in the United States. Why too did I say "Known to be of Negro descent "? Because many whites themselves have Negro blood. ~~Before like the Savannah~~ ~~News have sometimes openly declared that many prominent families~~ ~~in the~~ "~~[illegible]~~" The makers of the last South Carolina ~~constitutional convention~~ were warned in open debate that an attempt to draw a color line at less than an eighth of Negro blood, would involve some well known ~~white~~ families. A Massachusetts lady recently entered the State house with a careful description of a revolutionary ancester. He was easily traced, but against his name stood "Mulatto". "Can that be left out of the transcription? "she asked; " No madame!" " Well he is not the man anyway!" she replied as she left. Continually there is a going over to the Negro race to the white race among those too light to be known as Negroes. In every generation there have been leading Americans with Negro blood. Negro blood in Alexander Hamilton, in Lew Wallace, in the late Senator Pendleton, in Henry Timrod, the Southern poet, while not of course capable of legal proof for very obvious reasons, is morally certain to those who know the inside facts. Conversely nearly all the leading white Southern families and not a few Northern have Negro blood relatives. Thus of the ten millions known to be of Negro blood two millions at least are obvious mulattoes. Moreover if we go further and count the children and grand children of mulattoes and all those that having ~~at least~~ some trace ~~taint~~ of white blood, we will find that at least half of those called Negroes, if not indeed 2/3 are of mixed descent. When and where did this mingling of blood take place? Primarily in slavery and for the most part, though not entirely, in the South. In other words the very people who are today calling heaven to witness the frenzy which they have for the purity of their blood and the necessity of Caste to maintain it [illegible] the very ones

28-2-28

who have so mingled that blood with their former slaves that they themselves cannot in hosts of cases, separate individuals of the two races. One of the difficulties of enforcing the Jim Crow laws in the South is that of knowing who is black. There used to be a cunningly devised fable of tell-tale finger nail marks. A Southern lady once assured a friend of mine the truth of this. " ~~Is it~~ So?" " said my friend holding out her hands. O yes, she was assured, and the lady pointed out the places where the marks would be, and to this day does not that my friend was a "Negro." There was once a picnic in Atlanta where the children of white missionaries and the colored children were together. A policeman strode up and said that such mingling could not take place in the public park." Separate the two races," then said the people and the policeman was utterly unable to do it. Recently a Negro editor of a Negro paper was arrested in Birmingham for walking with a colored woman. The policeman thought he was white. ~~In~~ To Atlanta University a visitor came one day. He looked over the school room and said " I suppose the white children are all children of professors." "No" was the answer. " The white children are all "black" Indeed the first surprise of new visitors of the South is this strange incomprehensible absence of a color"line" between white and black and, instead, the intermingling of blood and perfect riot of colorings. Such are the well known facts as to racial intermingling in the United States and squint as dumbly as we may, we can not escape the flat truth, In our attitude toward people of mixed blood we have a perfect right to disapprove the manner in which the white blood was infused, (and no one disapproves of this more bitterly than colored folk themselves) but such condemnation must primarily blame the whites and particularly the white southerners, who reduced all black women to a level where they could not escape lecherous clutches if they would, and forced some so low that they would not if they could. Condeming then as all true Americans must, this Rape of a Race which was the nastiest

stain of slavery, this fact does not impugn the present manhood and desert of Mulattoes. The nation in its haste to condem a method of race mixture has confused this with a condemnation of the mixed race and thus faces a curious dilemma. With one breath it has been declared that Mulattoes are inferior to full blooded Negroes, and with the next that they are superior. It is said for instance "these men are hybrid mis-births; destined to disease, crime and extinction;" and at the same time, they are declared to be the leaders to whom all Negro progress is due, and those who are solely responsible ~~responsible~~ for the present agitation for full manhood rights. Without them we are told the Negro would be content to be nothing and nobody. Both these things cannot be true. As a matter of fact science brings absolutely no proof that the mulatto is not a normal human being. Persons have a right to object to mulatto children of their own or to red-headed children, but they have no right to traduce such children of others or lie about them or to call that scientific proof which is nothing but deeply implanted prejudice.

38-2-30

The next fact that faces us is that this mass of men of Negro and mingled Negro and white blood are forging forward. I am aware that it is fashionable to assume a judiciously critical air over such assertions and narrowly to weigh and suspect evidence of social development, which, if it were of another color, would be hailed with faith and delight. It is marvellous what people can refuse to see. Today it is perfectly demonstrable, scientific fact that the history of the world does not show a single paralell case where a group of slaves have in a single generation and in the face of the most despicable hindrances, raised themselves so far and so rapidly in the scale of social efficiency, as Negro Americans have done. This nation, north and south, might as well face the fact that the black American is coming forward at a tremendous pace. Like all such advances it is not a steady mass movement; it involves the differentiation of the

worst as well as the best and it is particularly a spasmodic almost rythmic leaping forward of exceptional men. ~~So that~~ the problem of meeting and treating and knowing individual Negroes is a matter not of tomorrow but of today. More and more each day is the Negro problem becoming a problem of human contact of man and man; more and more in the regular course of life white men must enter black men's homes and black men must visit white men; they must meet for business transactions, they must confer for social uplift, they must cooperate in political duties, not only in Massachusetts where they vote but even in Mississippi where they do not vote. In nearly every human activity and more and more of the avenues of life, whites and blacks are meeting. Where, outside of menial service, the fathers of present Americans met one Negro their children will meet ten.

As, now, this contact comes and broadens how shall these people treat each other? The civilized answer is "Humanly!" The civilized instinct is to treat each man according to his character and attainments regardless of his color. But right here comes the Southern "Caveat". Just as years ago the South held up the civilized world and the Christian religion in its demand for recognition of slavery, just so today it is demanding that in all human contact betwenn black men and white men, a distinct and deliberate badge of inferiority be publicly and explicitly put on the black no matter what his attainments or position. When I say "the South" I do not mean every single southerner- some southerners admit the desirability of ~~some~~ social contact, ~~and this~~ some others demand a return to physical enslavement. But I mean by "The South" the large majority of the white Southerners - the present leading public opinion. This opinion demands a drawing of the color line in all social contact which will involve personal humiliation to every man of Negro descent, upon all occasions. Such men say that no black man must be eaten with, no black man must be addressed with a title of courtesy, no black man must be called upon socially

or receive a call, and above all there must be no intermarriage. On this last hangs every thing:- the others being simply bars by the way. If one objects to the others as needlessly barbarous and degrading, the answer is: one step and all lost- one concession and the way to intermarriage is open. Is this true? If law, public humiliation of black folk, ceaseless newspaper war-fare and active propaganda against intermarriage were abolished, would white and black people intermarry? Consider the question carefully, for its answer presents the horns of a prefect dilemma: Would white and black Americans inter-marry freely and largely if it were not for prohibitory laws, active discouragement and social segregation?

Does the South say "Yes"?

Then the answer is: Your laws are useless if not immoral, and your segregation and frenzied propaganda simply postpones an underlying mutual attraction which is bound in time to break all barriers.

38-2-32

Does the South say "No"?

Then the answer is: You need neither laws, lies nor artificial separation to keep people from intermarrying who do not desire to intermarry. The dilemma is perfect. Both horns cannot be chosen. Either the South is fighting human nature or it is needlessly frightened of an unreal specter. The attitude of a man like Thomas Nelson Page is in reality an insult to the very white Southern women whom he pretends to defend. Are they in fact besieged by ignorant black suitors? Is there imminent danger of their accepting Negro husbands? Do black men stand ready to burst in upon soirees and receptions? Nonsense! The sight of a half dozen stalwart bullies astride a poor black boy, blandly informing the public that if they let him up, he will marry their daughters is perhaps the most perfectly ludicrous thing imaginable, even to the new wealth-bred cowardice of this land. There is a demand for race intermingling in the South, but there can be no real doubt in the minds

of the Southern white women, either of this or former generations, as to whence this demand comes, or as to who it is that has so framed the present laws in the South as to protect the cowardly fathers of Negro bastards and make the seduction of helpless colored girls easy in custom and practically without punishment in law. The mass of the black south staggering under this weight of hereditary filth forced on them by law and custom are dumbly praying not for more social equality but for less. What is the real effective bar to race intermingling ~~of blood~~ in the land today? Is it simply the refusal of the mass of the whites? By no means, for witness the present cloud of mulattoes. Never in the world's history have two diverse races in physical contact succedded, by means of enslavement or caste in stopping the absorption of each by the other. Rahher these devices have hastened the union. No, it is ~~by~~ in the meeting ~~mingling~~ of two independent self respecting and self satisfied groups that the integrity of each is respected and kept as long as there is in their minds good and sufficient reasons for such integrity. This has already been illustrated in the United States: Whatever the theoretical attitude of leading Negroes has been from time to time toward intermarriage, they have with surprising unanimity frowned on each particular instance of it. Not even the tremendous prestige of Frederick Douglass could escape this disapprobation. Why? Not because the race denied the right of Mr. Douglass to marry whom he pleased but because they said: It is a disgrace for us as Negroes to mate or wish to mate with any class of people who do not regard an alliance with us as an honor. It is this feeling, growing and crystallizing, that is the real effective guarantee that the daughters of the white men willhave little trouble with black suitors, even if gentlemen of darker hue do eat and drink at their father's board and receive the treatment which is their due.

The real guarantee of all necessary and desirable group integrity lies then in the uplift and not in the degradation of human beings

Nor can this uplift be accom plished by segregation. This was possible in 1508. It is impossible in 1908.

A world in separate air tight race compartments is today unthinkable. Those who prate of it talk 16th Century jargon. The white world itself has shattered that dream; it has forced itself unbidden on yellow, brown and black. And then suddenly realizing that the world is now near neighbor to itself, the whites are today trying to revive the ideal of Race Subjection along the color line. Some, having reached a 17th century mental development, are prating of the Divine Right of certain Chosen Peoples to inherit the earth, and view with something like consternation the refusal of Negro (East Indian Chinese) and Japanese to vacate their heritage. The mass of whites, a century or so older in thought, firmly believe in a natural aristocracy of races. They want no holy war of extermination and no economic suicide of exclusion, but they do want colored folk to be meek, lowly and submissive, and to work hard—for them. This too is impossible. Just as gunpowder ended race isolation so the common school makes race inferiority a dream. Democracy of races and nations is not a theory, it is at our doors, as the late Hague Conference proved. Here is the mighty chance of the South, the wonderful opportunity to lead in this New Humanitarism (Law) of Race contact. Is the South doing It? No. She is not even content to assume that silent aloofness which in the meeting of men is ~~to be sure~~ (counted) boorish, ~~but best met by quiet dignity in return~~. No, she is demanding that positive active insult and public degradation shall mark the intercourse of whites and Negroes. I know a woman; not only do I know her- she is known to millions of white Presbyterians as a pure consecrated heroine who has given thirty years of her life to the proper training of thousands of children. Yesterday in Augusta , Ga., this woman happened in court to settle a technical matter connected with the vaccination of her pupils. Her white lawyer, William H. Fleming, a Southern gentleman

in the best sense of that overworked term, called her courteously "Miss Laney" The Judge angrily rebuked him. No Negro woman was to be addressed as "Miss" in his court! Her name must be used in ~~precise~~ precise the way that a white prostitute's would be- "Lucy Laney" The late consul at Vladwostock who had the responsibilities of the greatest powers of the Western world on his shoulders during the Russia- Japanese struggle, and who wears enviable diplomatic decorations, came south recently, He had to sit up all night in a dirty half of a smoking car, as he travelled. Why? Because his great grandfather was a Negro. What is the coming world going to say to such things? What excuse is there for them? Do they make the South nobler, happier, better? Do they conserve civilization? If the South objects to dirt, let it segregate Dirt and buy Soap; if it hates ignorance, let it establish schools; but no, the real objection is neither to ignorance nor dirt but to Democracy- that Democracy of individuals races and nations which the mental opening and physical shrinking of the world has brought, and which has come to stay.

Men like Thomas Nelson Page continually assume that with the Negro civilization is simply a means to the one great end of social contact with whites, and to an eventual Nirvana of physical absorption; in truth social contact is to the Negro simply a ~~means inevitable made by modern life to civilization~~ and does not involve or presuppose ~~laws~~ loss of physical identity. Most people even of the same group do not intermarry. It is strangely inconsistent to regard the black man on the one hand as dirt beneath our feet and on the other to represent him as on the eve of proposing marriage. It is an audacious falsehood to interpret the sexual crimes of Negro Vagabonds as foreshadowing a racial demand for absorption. The demand for such absorption has ever come from the better classes of whites. The better classes of Negroes on the other hand seldom sought white wives, and indeed have so shrunk from social contact that they are often accused in

an inevitable incident to Western civilization

Over

To the wholesale demand of the white South for social discourtesy toward black men, the North has answered waveringly. The Episcopal Church once appointed a committee in Massachusetts to study the subject of Church work among Negroes. One member of that committee came to me. He said, "ought we to have separate work for Negroes?" I said, "No"! There is no more reason for having separate churches or separate church work for Negroes than there is for making separations with other races, or other social classes. Contact not separation is the watchword of the Age; it would be wrong"."But he said, "if Negroes and white people mingle together in church work and in social amenities of the church life, isn't it possible that now and then intermarriage would occur." I said "Yes", it is possible that ~~a few~~ some such intermarriages would occur. But is not intermarriage in ~~a few~~ some cases a great deal better than concubinage in a larger number, such as we have seen in the South?" If the North together with the South shrinks from the intermarriage with Negroes it has a perfect right to its own tastes; but at the same time, as members of a world democracy and as civilizied and christian men, northern people cannot easily assent to a policy of personal insult and oppression as a preventive for intermarriage, even granting it would be effective. Does calling a man "Mr." make him a suitor for one's daughter? Does every one's table companion become one's brother-in-law? Must you keep ~~a man~~ men down and beat them back and humiliate them and oppress him in order to keep him out of your family circle? Is there not an easier, a more civilized, a more christia n alternative? The Negro answers Yes. The Negro says a man has a perfect right to refuse to marry a black woman, or a red woman, or a yellow woman. In the most sacred and intimate relation of human intercourse, a woman's wish, desire, taste should have the widest possible freedom-(and it does not today.) To force distasteful companionship in the marriage relation is a monstrous thing, even if the Thing has a title. To force

38-2-36

companionship in private social intercourse is unthinkable. But says the Negro the more sacred and absolute the individual demanded freedom, the greater that which others must be allowed. You have a right to choose your own wives but you have no right to choose mine. You have a right to your opinion as to the desirability of certain marriage alliances, but your opinion can be decisive only in one case and that is your own. To hound down, shut out and crush a mass of men because you are afraid that some distant day your sons and daughters will marry them is monstrous and all the more monstrous for a people who have preached separation and yet have raised up millions of human monuments to their illicit lust. What then must be the attitude of the world toward the social intermingling of the black people and white? These things are true! Black men are in the world to stay. There is no danger of their dying out in America, much less in Africa. They are probably the sturdiest and most persistent of the world's races. ~~They will never die out Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's family will die with him, because he has no children, but my grandchildren will walk over his grave.~~ If this is so, whites and blacks must meet and by every token they must meet as human beings. They must be treated, they must treat each other with courtesy, and the courtesy must more and more be the courtesy of equals. The North still dreams of an inferior docile race of semi animals, who given every chance to rise remain in inferiority and thus solve troublesome problems of race contact. The South has no such illusions. The South knows the Negro will and can rise and is rising with startling rapidity. They know they can oppress him to a certain extent but that more and more, when extreme measures come the black man cries, "Stop". The day is coming when the black man's demands must be listened to. What does he ask? Does he demand social equality? If you mean by social equality the public invasion of the private home, the denial of individual choice, the revival of marriage by capture, then it seems hardly necessary to say that the

Negro has never asked this and the only persons who have asked this are the past and present Southern masters of colored concubines.

If on the other hand you mean by social equality, the right of a man to enjoy public accommodations, like hotels, theatres, and railways; the right of a man to vote, the right of a man to protection in life and property, the right of a man to marry the woman who wants to marry him, then the Negroes do demand this; they demand these rights because they are rights which no decent free human being in modern society can surrender without self stultification ~~destruction~~ and every man who declares that he does not want these rights simply makes public declaration that he either a liar or a fool. Any race who does not strive for these rights is not worthy to share modern civilization; and all this, too, is perfectly consistent with the exclusion from public entertainment of people who do not behave, or are not decent, with careful protection of the ballot, with insistence that those who will not work may not eat, with equitable bearing of public burdens and payment of taxes, and with the right of white women and all women to choose their own husbands. If a white woman does not want to marry a black man let her say No to his proposal. That is civilization. To humiliate a stranger who has neither sought her, looked upon her or dreamed of her; to beat him to his knees, to encourage her sons and brothers to debauch his daughter and sister, and to help the forces of government and the agency of secret societies to reduce him and his to semi- slavery, because she suspects that his grand-son may want to marry her grand-daughter, is the justice of the jungle.

Suppose we treated all men as men despite color. Suppose we invited to our houses such men as suited us, even if one happened to be black or brown or yellow. Suppose that we drew our social lines not according to race but according to the gifts and souls.

38-2-38

How much intermarriage between the races would take place? Undoubtedly some would take place. On the other hand, so far as the dislike and repulsion between the races is based on sound physical sense, so far as it is based upon ~~real~~ real inner like orddislike, that repulsion and that dislike would still prevail.

And men would find that they could treat men as civilizied beings, with kindliness and courtesy and at the same incur small risk of misalliance. If on the other hand ~~it was found out~~ time teaches us that there ~~was~~ is really no pyhsical bar to the intermarriage of the races, ~~and really no difference of soul and civilization~~, then intermarriage would take place; but that would not be because of human treatment, but despite of any treatment and despite anything that we can do today. No amount of law or of social oppression will in such case stop it in the future. So far as the Negro is concerned, he does care a rap whether it takes place or not. He does care for the chance to be a man, and he insists that the denial of manhood rights simply because some one will want to marry some one else, is a most ridiculous stand for a civilized nation to take. I shall not soon forget the culmination of a certain sectional debate which I once heard: "Do you want your sister to marry a Negro? " yelled the southerner at last. " No, and for that reason I ~~let~~ treat the Negro's sister ~~alone.~~" ~~was the crushing reply.~~ as I ~~would not like~~ want him to treat mine.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

38-2-39

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(c 1909?)

# SOCIOLOGY HESITANT.

The Congress of Arts and Sciences at St.Louis last summer served to emphasize painfully the present plight of Sociology;for the devotee of the cult made the strange discovery that the further following of his bent threatened violent personal dismemberment. His objects of interest were distributed quite impartially under some six of the seven grand divisions of Science: economics,here; ethnology,there; a thing called "Sociology" hidden under Mental Science,and the things really sociological ranged in a rag-bag and labelled "Social Regulation". And so on.

A part of this confusion of field was inevitable ~~in~~ to any attempts at classifying knowledge,but the major part pointed to a real confusion of mind as to the field and method of Sociology. For far more than forty years we have wandered in this sociological wilderness,lisping a peculiar patois, uttering fat books and yet ever conscious of a fundamental confusion of thought at the very foundations of our science - something so wrong that while a man boasts himself an Astronomer,and acknowledges himself a biologist,he owns to Sociology only on strict compulsion and with frantic struggles.

And yet three things at the birth of the New Age bear weighty testimony to an increased and increasing interest in human deeds:the Novel,the Trust and the Expansion of Europe;the study of individual life and motive, the machine-like organizing of human economic effort,and the extension of all organization to the ends of the earth. Is there a fairer field than this for the Scientist? Did not the Master Comte do well to crown his scheme of knowledge with Knowledge of Men?

Yet this was not exactly what he did,it was rather what he meant to do,what he and we long assumed he had done. For,steering curiously by the Deeds of Men as objects of scientific study and induction,he suggested a

study of Society. And Society? The prophet really had a vision of two things, the vast and bewildering activities of men, and the lines of rythm that coordinated certain of these actions. So he said: "Now in the inorganic sciences, the elements are much better known to us than the Whole which they constitute; so that in that case we must proceed from the simple to the compound. But the reverse method is necessary in the study of Man and of Society: Man and Society as a whole being better known to us, and more accessible subjects of study than the parts which constitute them." And on this dictum has been built a science - not of Human Action but of "Society", a Sociology. Did Comte thus mean to fix scientific thought on the study of an abstraction? Probably not - rather he meant to call attention to the fact that amid the bewildering complexities of human life ran great highways of common likenesses and agreements in human thoughts and action, which world-long observation had already noted and pondered upon. Here we must start the new science, said the Pioneer, this is the beginning. Once having emphasized this point, however, and Comte was strangely hesitant as to the real elements of Society which must some time be studied - were they men or cells or atoms or something subtler than any of these? Apparently he did not answer ~~here~~ but wandered on quickly to a study of "Society". And yet "Society" was but an abstraction. It was as though Newton noticing falling as characteristic of matter and explaining this phenomenon as gravitation had straightway sought to study some wierd entity known as Falling instead of soberly investigating Things which fall. So Comte and his followers noted the grouping of men, the changing of government, the agreement in thought and then instead of a minute study of men grouping, changing and thinking proposed to study the Group, the Change and the Thought and call this new created Thing, Society.

Mild doubters as to this method were cavalierly hushed by Spencer's verbal jugglery: "we consistently regard a society as an entity, because

38.2-41

thought formed of discreet units, a certain concreteness in the aggregate of them is implied by the general persistence of the arrangements among them throughout the area occupied."

Thus were we well started toward metaphysical wanderings - studying not the Things themselves but the mystical whole which it was argued bravely they did form because they logically must. And to prove this imperative there was begun that bulky essay in descriptive sociology which has been the stock in trade of formal treatises in this science ever since. And what is Descriptive Sociology? it is a description of those Thoughts, and Thoughts of Things, and Things, that go to make human life - an effort to trace in the deeds and actions of men great underlying principles of harmony and development - a philosophy of history with modest and mundane ends, rather than eternal, teleological purpose. In this line Spencer and his imitators have done good inspiring but limited work. Limited because their data were imperfect -woefully imperfect: depending on hearsay, rumor and tradition, vague speculations, travellors tales, legends and imperfect documents, the memory of memories and historic error. All our knowledge of the past lay to be sure, before them. But what is our knowledge of the past as a basis for scientific induction? Consequently the Spencerian Sociologists could only limn a shadowy outline of the meaning and rythm of human deed to be filled in when scientfic measurement and deeper study came to the rescue. Yet here they lovingly lingered changing and arranging, expressing old thoughts anew, inventstrange terms and yet withal adding but little to our previous knowledge. This sociologists were not slow to see and they looked for means of escaping their vicious logical circle but looked only in the direction of their going and not backward toward the initial mistakes. So they came to the essay ~~day~~ of two things: they sought the help of biological analogy as a suggestive ~~help~~ aid to further study; they sought a new analysis in search of the Sociological Element. The elaborate attempt to compare the social and animal or-

38-2-42

ganism failed because analogy implies knowledge but does not supply it - suggests but does not furnish lines of investigation— And who was able to investigate "Society."? Nor was the search for the ultimate Sociological element more successful. Instead of seeking men as the natural unit of associated men it strayed further in metaphysical lines,and confounding Things with Thoughts of Things they sought not the real element of Society but the genesis of our social ideas. Society became for them a mode of mental action and its germ was --according to their ingenuity - "Consciousness of Kind,""Imitation",the "Social Imperat_ive" and the like.

All this was straying into the field of psycholo_gy and fifty years ago these wanderers might have been welcomed. But today psychology has left behind the fruitless carvings up of consciousness and begun a new analysis and a new mode of measurement This new psychology has scant welcome for sociological novices. It might be historically interesting to know whether our social thinking began with this idea or that,or proceeded by that combination of thoughts or this - but how shall we ever know? and knowing what is such knowledge worth?

38-2-43

But enough of this. Let us go back a bit and ask frankly Why did Comte hesitate so strangely at the "parts which constitute" Society and why have men no strangely followed his leading? Is it not very clear that the object of sociology is to study the deeds of men? Yes it is clear - clear to us, clear to our predecessors and yet the very phrasing of such an attempt to reduce human action to law,rule and rythm show how audacious was the plan adn why scientists even have quailed before it and veiling their words in phrases half dimmed the intent of their science.

For the Great Assumption of real life is that in the deeds of men there lies along with rule and rythm - along with physical law and biologic habit, a something Incalculable. This assumption is ever with us - it pervades all

our thinking, all our science, all our literature; it lies at the bottom of our conception of legal enactments, philanthropy, crime, education and ethics; and language has crystallized the thought and belief in Ought and May and Choice. Now in the face of this to propose calmly the launching of a ~~sci~~-science which would discover and formulate the exact laws of human action and parallel "Heat as a mode of motion" with a mathematical formula of "Shakespeare as pure Energy" or "Edison as electrical force " -simply to propose such a thing seemed to be and was preposterous.

And yet how much so even the formulation of such a science seemed unthinkable, just as insistently came the call for scientific knowledge of men. The New Humanism of the 19th century was burning with new interest in human deeds: Law, Religion, Education - all called men to a study of that singular unit of highest human interest - the Individual Man. A Categorical Imperative pushed all thought toward the Paradox:

1. The evident rythm of human action.

2. The evident incalculability in human action.

What then, is Sociology. Simply an attempt to discover the laws underlying the coduct of men.

Why then is it called Sociology? It ought not to be but it is, and "what's in a name?" Why do not Sociologists state their object simply and plainly?

For fear of criticism.

The criticism of whom?

Of the physical scientists on the one hand who say: the laws of men's deeds are physical laws, and physics studies them; of the Mass of men on the other hand who say: Man is not wholly a creature of unchanging law, he as in some degree a free agent and so outside the realm of scientific law. Now whatever one's whims and perdilections no one can wholly ignore either of these criticisms : if this is a world of absolute unchanging physical

laws, then the laws of physics and chemistry are the laws of all action - of stones and stars and Newtons and Nortons. On the other hand for a thousand and a thousand years, and today as strongly as, and even more strongly than ever, men after experiencing the facts of life have almost universally assumed that in among physical forces stalk self-directing Wills, which modify, restrain and re-direct the ordinary laws of nature. The assumption is tremendous in its import. It means that from the point of view of Science this is a world of Chance as well as Law; that the conservation of energy and correlation of forces are not universally true, but that out from some unknown Nowhere burst miraculously now and then controlling Energy. So utterly inexplicable are the facts thus assumed that they are seldom flatly and plainly stated. Protagonists of "free" will are found to be horrified deniers of "Chance". And strenuous defenders of orthodox Science are found talking as though the destinies of this universe lay largely in undetermined human action — indeed they could not avoid such talk and continue talking.

38-2-45

Why not then flatly face the Paradox? frankly state the Hypothesis of Law and the Assumpton of Chance and seek to determine by study and measurement the limits of each?

This is what the true students of sociology are and have been doing now a half century or more. They have adopted the speech and assumption of humanity in regard to human action and yet studied those actions with all possible scientfic accuracy. They have refused to cloud their reason with metaphysical entities undiscovered and undiscoverable, and they have also refused to neglect the greatest possible field of scientific investigation because they are unable to find laws similar to the law of gravitation. They have assumed a world of physical law peopled by beings capable in some degree of actions Inexplicable and Uncalculable according to these laws. And their object has been to determine as far as possible the limits of the Uncalculable — to measure, if you will, the Kantian Absolute and Undetermined

Ego. In this way our knowledge of human life has been vastly increased by Statisticians, Ethnologists, Political Scientists, Economists, Students of Finance and Philanthropy, Criminalogists, Educators, Moral Philosophers, and critics of art and literature. Thse men have applied statistical measurement and historical research to the study of physical manhood and the distribution of population by dwelling age and sex; they have compared and followed the trend of systems of government and political organization; they have given long and minute study to the multitudinous phenomena of the production and distribution of wealth and work; they have sought to reduce philanthropy to a system by a study of dependents and delinquents and especially by a study of the social outcast called the criminal. Even in higher and more difficult ~~relations~~ regions of human training and Taste something of systematic investigation has been carried on.

38-2-16

In all this work the unit of investigation has frankly been made the Individual Man. There have been attempts to replace this troublesome element with something more tractable as in the case of the pliable and law abiding "Economic Man" where a being warranted to act from one motive without erratic by-play was created. But common sense prevailed and real men were studied - not metaphysical ~~easy~~ lay- figures. Again these students of human nature have repeatedly refused to be thrown into utter confusion by the question: Is this a science? Where are your natural laws? What sort of a science is a science without laws? Without undertaking to answer these disturbing questions or to falsify the facts for sake of a glib rejoinder, these students have been content with pointing out bare facts, general rules and principles, and moral advice; they have neither accepted human life as chaotic nor have they lightly assumed laws, the existence of which they could not prove. They have insisted that we must study men because men are the greatest things in the known universe and they have also fearlessly accepted the fact that the "Ought" is the greatest thing in human life.

Not that their work has been perfect. It has been open to two great criticisms;lack of adequate recognition of the essential unity in the various studies of human activity and of effort to discover and express that unity,and a hesitancy in attacking the great central problem of scientific investigation today - the relation of the science of man and physical science.

What then is the future path open before Sociology? It must seek a working hypothesis which will include Sociology and physics. To do this it must be provisionally assumed that this is a world of Law and Chance. That in time and space,Law covers the major part of the universe but that in significance the area left in that world to Chance is of tremendous import. In the last analysis Chance is as explicable as law:just as the Voice of God may sound behind physical law so behind Chance we place free human wills capable of undetermined choices,frankly acknowledging that in both these cases we front the humanly Inexplicable. This assumption does not in the least hinder the search of natural law,it merely suspends as unproved and improbable its wilder hypotheses; nay,considering some of the phenomena of radio-active matter,electrical energy and biological development,perhaps the incubus of the assumed Conservation of all Energy would be removed to the great relief of future Physics.

On the side of Sociology this proposed hypothesis would clear away forever the metaphysical cobwebs that bind us and open the way for a new unified conception of human deeds. We would no longer have two separate realms of knowledge,speaking a mutually unintelligent language but one realm and in it physical science studying the manifestations of force and natural law,and the other,sociology ,assuming the data of physics and studying within these that realm where determinate force is acted on by human wills, by indeterminate force.

Some such reconciliation of the two great wings of Science must come.

38-2-47

It is inconceivable that the present dualism in classified knowledge can continue much longer. Mutual understanding must come under a working hypothesis which will give scope to historian as well as biologist.

Finally it remains to point out that such a restatement of hypothesis involves a restatement of the bases of Sociology.

Suppose now we frankly assume a realm of Chance. What then is the programe of Science?

Looking over the world we see evidence of the reign of law; as we rise however from the physical ~~and~~ *to* the human there comes not simply complication and interaction of forces but traces of indeterminate force until in the realm of higher human action we have chance - that is actions undetermined by and independent of actions gone before. The duty of science then is to measure carefully the limits of this Chance in human conduct.

That there are limits is shown by the rythm in birth and death rates and the distribution by sex; it is found further in human customs and laws, the form of government, the laws of trade and even in charity and ethics. As however we rise in the realm of conduct we note a primary and a secondary rythm. A primary rythm depending as we have indicated on physical forces and physical law; but within this appears again and again a secondary rythm which while presenting nearly the same uniformity as the first, differs from it in its more or less sudden rise at a given tune, in accordance with prearranged plan and prediction and in being liable to stoppage and change according to similar plan. An example of primary uniformity is the death rate; of secondary uniformity the operation of a woman's club; to confound the two sorts of human uniformity is fatal to clear thinking; to explain them we must assume Law and Chance working in conjunction - Chance being the scientific side of inexplicable Will. Sociology then, is *the* ~~that~~ Science that seeks the limits of Chance in human conduct.

38-2-48

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

I. Erastus Milo Cravath

It is now twenty four years since I first saw Erastus Milo Cravath. He was a man goodly to look upon-swarthy with snowy hair; stooping from his great height yet in all dignity; with eyes that could twinkle and blaze, and a soul resolute impetuous and yet restrained. For a generation he was president of a great University; around him flowed a river of thesouls of men, with tears and laughter, sin and hope. Around him swirled the battling forces of the day, beating in his face as the storm beats upon the mountain. Yet withal he stood steadfast and unmoveable. He saw the souls that throbbed and struggled beneath the veil, and knew them ever as the souls of men. He saw the hatred and selfishness that called itself pride of race and self-preservation and knew it for the hateful thing that it was. Despite all this he builded an institution neither cheap nor small but broad and imposing; he founded it neither for children nor for outcasts but for full-fledged men. He placed its curriculum level with the best of the land and for all this he neither equivocated nor apologized, and talked with no double-tongue. He meant in his soul to make black men American citizens, equal in every respect with their fellows and with every right that belongs to free and independent human beings.

So with his ideals high, his faith unfaltering and his arm strong, he builded a life and lived his day and was not, for God took him;

Then from the Dawn it seemed there came, but faint
As from beyond the limit of the world
Like the last echo born of a greatcry
Sounds as if some fair city were one voice
Around a king returning from his wars.

Yet this is not all; he would not were he here-and does not as he hears wish me or you to forget that what he was and what he did was due in no little sense to the good woman whose faith in him never faltered even when he faltered. Who ever calling up the better in him from the worst

Never dreamed though right were vanquished
Wrong would triumph
Held we fall to rise

Are baffled to fight better

Sleep to wake.

So these two whom God did join together went forward in the work of life .

And to their memory this day in a temple builded to the triumph and uplifting of the people whom Erastus Cravath loved, there has been set a window. To me the glad duty has been given to receive this ~~xindow~~ thing of light and warmth and color in the name of this church and from my teacher and friend. May the sun that struggles daily through it light and lighten the hearts of men, and speak to us all with the voice wherewith the whole life of this great man spoke,

For thus saith the High and Mighty One

Who inhabiteth eternity

Whose Name is Holy

I dwell in the high and ~~holy~~ lofty place

With him also that is of a contrite

And humble spirit

To revive the Spirit of the humble

To revive the Spirit of the contrite ones.

41-149-32

# C O N T E N T S


Section I. FACTS.

Section II. ALLEGED REASONS.

Section III. REAL REASONS: The evolution of the Negro home.

Section IV. REAL REASONS: Racial prejudice.

Section V. THE RESULTS OF SEGREGATION.

Section VI. RURAL SEGREGATION.

Section VII. SEGREGATION IN THE COURTS.

Section VIII. THE REAL REMEDY.

## Section I. - FACTS.

It is well known that within the last five years there h been repeated efforts to legalize the segregation of Negroes in the cities of the United States and to some extent in country districts. These efforts have taken the form of ordinances prescribing the limits in which Negroes should live and forbidding residence outside of the prescribed limits. Such segregation ordinances have been passed in Baltimore, Md., Richmond, Va., Louisville, Ky., Norfolk, Va., Roanoke, Va., Danville, Va., Atlanta, Ga., Winston-Salem, N. C., Mooresville, N. C., Greenville, S. C., Madisonville, Ky., and other places. Proposals are pending in Kansas City, Mo., New Orleans, La., Birmingham, Ala., and St. Louis, Mo.

41-149-33

In most Southern cities Negroes have long been segregated by unwritten law. There is some segregation by custom in Northern cities and agitation for more, especially in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D. C. The usual type of ordinance passed is like that of Baltimore, Md. This, after frequent amendment, stands as follows:

## Section II. - ALLEGED REASONS.

Legal segregation of the Negro race is defended on the following grounds:

1. It has long been customarry by unwritten law.

2. It is necessary for the preservation of the white race. As one paper puts it, it is a racial instinct that causes the Negro to be repulsive to the white man when associated with him on the same social scale. The Baltimore Sun adds:

3. It enables the city to care for the colored section according to its needs.

4. It decreases race friction.

Many considerations lead us to doubt the validity of these alleged causes. In the first place, we can hardly appeal to custom since custom has so often been wrong in the matter of treatment of the Negro race in America. The so-called racial instinct is largely class instinct since it is well known that there is no objection to class association with the Negro waiter and nurse. The same man when he dons the uniform of a mail clerk becomes objectionable. Charles J. Bonaparte says:

The pushing forward of submerged classes undoubtedly has a good many unpleasant aspects, but as Miss Mary White Ovington, a Northern white woman, writes in the Crisis:

41-149-35

It is

Does segregation induce the city to care for its Negro ghettos? Testimony does not support this thesis. A benevolent despotism might divide the city into equally cafed for sections, but in a democracy, and especially in regions where the whites alone vote or cast the majority vote, the colored people can be forced to go to such localities as the white people do not like, and if perchance the colored people beautified their quarter, the white people could at any time take that quarter away from them. If one has any doubt of the probability of this happening, he has only to think of the experience

of the American Indian.

41-1149 69

A Southern white woman, Mrs. L. H. Hammond, of Augusta, Ga., says:

A Southern white man,

41-1HP-37

In Macon, Ga., there is a segregated vice district but in the district has been included a thriving colored Baptist church and a colored public school. In Mooresville, N. C., a colored man had been owning land on a prominent avenue for four years. When he started to build a house, immediately a segregation ordinance was passed and he was forbidden to occupy his own property. In Greenville, S. C., colored grocers bought property on North Main Street for $65,000. The City Council immediately forbade the ownership of property by Negroes in white districts.

How can such a policy reduce race friction? On the contrary, will it not in the long run increase friction enormously unless, of course, the Negro ceases to push upward, to progress, to aspire and to accumulate property?

## Section III. - REAL REASONS.

### The Evolution of the Negro Home.

The fact of the matter is that the aspiration and progress of the Negro rather than his laziness and crime is the real cause back the segregation movement. In 1890 less than 16 per cent of the Negro families in cities and towns owned their homes. Twenty years later, in 1910, 27 per cent owned their homes. Today in cities and towns over half a million colored families own property.

41-14A-3

If we take all the colored homes, both in town and country, we find that in 1890 Negroes owned 17.7 per cent of their homes, in 1900 21.7 per cent, and in 1910, 23.7 per cent. The proportion of ownership by selected states is as follows:

Percentage of ownership of Negro homes and farms, 1910.

| | |
|---|---|
| District of Columbia | 11.1 |
| Georgia | 15.3 |
| Alabama | 17.2 |
| Mississippi | 17.6 |
| Louisiana | 17.7 |
| South Carolina | 19.1 |
| West Virginia | 19.9 |
| Delaware | 24.1 |
| Arkansas | 25.9 |
| Tennessee | 26.0 |
| Maryland | 26.9 |
| Florida | 29.3 |
| Texas | 29.6 |
| North Carolina | 29.8 |
| Kentucky | 32.7 |
| Virginia | 42.1 |
| Oklahoma | 50.3 |

41-148-40

What has this meant? It has meant that the Negro is buying land formerly owned by whites - that is, he is "encroaching", because as the whites own all the land he could not get out of the alleys and tenements and cease to be a farm laborer without buying land that formerly belonged to white people. Let us take for instance the case in Baltimore where the segregation movement began. For many years Baltimore Negroes lived in the central, southern and eastern sections of the city, in the narrowest streets and in the alleys. They were in the midst of disease and crime and were severely criticised for their living conditions by white people. Beginning in the early 80's, they began to move to better sections of the city, notably the northwestern, and their new homes centered on Druid Hill Avenue. The condemnation of large blocks of property in south Baltimore for the use of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company compelled large numbers of colored people to migrate to the northwest. Russians and other foreign workmen poured into east Baltimore, and this forced out a good many colored people, especially as the homes in east Baltimore were very old and undesirable. On the other hand, large numbers of white people were moving out of the northwest into the newly built suburbs. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the Negroes and especially the better class of Negroes, should move into the better sections of the city thus partially thrown open.

The white people finally established a sort of tacit dead line at Druid Hill Avenue and determined that colored people should not live east of this boundary. When, therefore, a colored man bought a home in McCulloh Street, there was a determined movement toward Negro segregation. It did not make any difference that this man was a graduate of Yale and had married an Indiana teacher of ability. The first segregation

ordinance was passed December 10, 1910.

The seeking of better homes by colored people is not simply a matter of sentiment. It is, as the United States census has recently proved, a matter of life and death:

41-14A-41

Effect of Home Ownership on Death Rates.

The question as to whether the decrease in mortality among Negroes in 1910 as compared with 1900 was due to permanent causes, such as improved housing conditions, better medical attention, and in general improved sanitary conditions, and not to the absence of epidemics, is an important and interesting one.

Undoubtedly one of the factors which has caused the decrease in the death rate - which decrease is almost universal in the cities of the South - is the increase in home ownership among the Negro population.

The ownership of homes data for the Northern states and cities are not available, and those presented here relate only to the South.

In the decade from 1900 to 1910 the number of homes owned by Negroes in the cities in the Southern states increased by 72,463, or 49.8 per cent, as shown by Table 40 (p.29) which presents the number of owned homes in 1910, and the increase during the decade, 1900 to 1910. This increase in home ownership may be supposed to have brought with it better housing conditions.

The following table gives the number of Negro inhabitants to 1 owned home for each of the registration cities in the Southern states having 5,000 or more Negro population. The table gives also the death rate for 1910, and when available, for 1900, with the decrease or increase in the death rate.

| CITY | Negro inhabitants per owned home. | Death Rate per 1,000 Population. | | Decrease in death rate; 1900-1910. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1910 | 1900 | |
| Asheville, N. C..... | 16 | 25.1 | .... | ..... |
| Atlanta, Ga..... | 29 | 25.4 | 27.3 | 1.9 |
| Baltimore, Md..... | 91 | 30.6 | 33.5 | 2.9 |
| Birmingham, Ala..... | 22 | 26.3 | .... | ..... |
| Charleston, S. C..... | 37 | 39.3 | 44.4 | 5.1 |
| Charlotte, N. C ..... | 21 | 25.3 | .... | ..... |
| Danville, Va...:..... | 14 | 26.9 | .... | ..... |
| Durham, N. C..... | 26 | 25.7 | .... | ..... |
| Galveston, Tex..... | 48 | 22.7 | .... | ..... |
| Greensboro, N. C..... | 17 | 24.8 | .... | ..... |
| Jacksonville, Fla..... | 22 | 24.0 | 32.8 | 8.8 |
| Key West, Fla..... | 24 | 26.6 | 26.4 | '0.2 |
| Knoxville, Tenn..... | 24 | 26.5 | .... | ..... |
| Louisville, Ky..... | 57 | 26.7 | 27.3 | 0.6 |
| Lynchburg, Va..... | 15 | 24.3 | 36.1 | 11.8 |
| Memphis, Tenn..... | 31 | 28.3 | 24.4 | '3.9 |
| Mobile, Ala..... | 24 | 29.4 | 33.1 | 3.7 |
| Montgomery, Ala..... | 20 | 35.1 | .... | ..... |
| Nashville, Tenn..... | 18 | 26.0 | 32.1 | 6.1 |
| New Orleans, La..... | 37 | 32.8 | 41.0 | 8.2 |
| Norfolk, Va ..... | 92 | 30.8 | 38.1 | 7.3 |
| Paducah, Ky..... | 20 | 27.0 | 38.5 | 11.5 |
| Petersburg, Va..... | 13 | 34.2 | 35.3 | 1.1 |
| Raleigh, N. C..... | 17 | 33.4 | 39.7 | 6.3 |
| Richmond, Va..... | 28 | 30.2 | 37.7 | 7.5 |
| San Antonio, Tex..... | 17 | 21.5 | 22.7 | 1.2 |
| Savannah, Ga..... | 53 | 34.1 | 38.1 | 4.0 |
| Washington, D. C..... | 46 | 29.1 | 31.0 | 1.9 |
| Wilmington, Del..... | 39 | 24.7 | 27.6 | 2.9 |
| Wilmington, N. C..... | 15 | 26.7 | 36.9 | 10.2 |
| Winston, N. C..... | 30 | 23.6 | .... | ..... |

'Increase

In the case of those cities in which the decrease has been most marked, the proportion of owned homes is high, and it is reasonable to suppose that home ownership has been an important factor in reducing the mortality, from 29.4 per 1000 population in 1900 to 25.5 in 1910; a decrease of 13.3 per cent.

41-449-42

1911

THE FIRST UNIVERSAL RACES CONGRESS

6

Once in a while a man voices an idea at once so simple and so tremendous that it maks an epoch. Such is likely to be Dr. Felix Adler's suggestion of a Congress of the World's races. At the Moral Education Congress held in in 1906, Dr. Adler proposed such a congress and in 1911, July, the first Congress will be held in the Universityof London, London, England.

Two leading world problems lie back of the Congress: the relationof the East and the West, and the relation of the white and colored races. These peoblems today are curiously intertwinted. They involve, for instane the question of contact between civilizations like the European and Chinese; the question of international and inter-racial trade, the problem of ethics as between races and the fundamental question as to what constitutes a race.

All these questions will be discussed by experts like Wu Ting Fang, Sergi Deniker, Von Luschan, Said Bey, Dilke, Tonnies, Hobson and Zangwill,- Moreover this will not be a congress "about" races but a congress "of" races. Each race will speak for itself personally and frankly. There will be no fear of the truth as honest men conseive it, be those men Negroes or American Indians, Brazilians or Hindus.

38-2-139

Finally the council will endeavor not to end in the air. Of course the chief good of it will be personal contact and sympathy. But beyond this a whole day will be given to positive suggestions for promoting inter-racial friendliness. Men like the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Sir John Macdonell, M. Leon Bourgeors and Edwin Mead will give advice and plans.

It is a pity almost that the attendance upon such a congress could not be made compuslory for certain classes of people in America who either encourage race prejudice or bow weakly before it.

For every-day purposes we may conveniently divide mankind into the white, black, and yellow families. All history tells the sad tale of their wars and jealousies; and later history also tells the tale of a dawning sense of one-ness. The white conscience awakening to its duty calls to the black and yellow brethren to make closer acquaintance, and render mutual faith and mutual aid, once virtues of the parish, henceforward virtues of the planet.

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38-2-83

1873 48-2-28

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes owned | 50,000 |
| Farms operated | 175,000 |
| Businesses conducted | 4,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $50,000,000. |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 79 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 50 |
| Students in Public Schools | 200,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 3,500 |
| School property for higher training | $3,000,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $3,000,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $300,000. |

**Religious Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 10,000 |
| " " Communicants | 1,200,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 7,000 |
| " " " " Pupils | 600,000 |
| Value " Church Property | $8,000,000. |

1863 48-2-27

Emancipation

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes owned | 9,000 |
| Farms operated | 15,000 |
| Businesses conducted | 2,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $20,000,000 |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 95 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 4 |
| Students in Public Schools | 10,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 150 |
| School property for higher training | $50,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $200,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $10,000. |

**Religious Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 550 |
| " " Communicants | 550,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 200 |
| " " " " Pupils | 10,000 |
| Value " Church Property | $1,000,000. |

48-2-29

## 1883

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes owned | 128,000 |
| Farms operated | 380,000 |
| Businesses conducted | 10,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $75,000,000. |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 70 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 120 |
| Students in Public Schools | 817,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 16,000 |
| School property for higher training | $7,000,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $5,500,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $500,000. |

**Religious Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 18,000 |
| " " Communicants | 2,000,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 15,000 |
| " " " " Pupils | 900,000 |
| Value of Church Property | $17,000,000. |

1893 48-2-30

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes owned | 210,000 |
| Farms operated | 550,000 |
| Business conducted | 17,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $150,000,000. |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 57 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 250 |
| Students in Public Schools | 1,367,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 25,600 |
| School property for higher training | $10,000,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $8,000,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $700,000. |

**Religious Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 26,000 |
| " " Communicants | 2,800,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 23,500 |
| " " " " Pupils | 1,200,000 |
| Value " Church Property | $28,000,000. |

1913 48-2-32

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes Owned | 550,000 |
| Farms operated | 937,000 |
| Businesses conducted | 40,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $700,000,000. |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 30 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 500 |
| Students in Public Schools | 1,700,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 35,000 |
| School property for higher training | $20,000,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $13,600,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $1,500,000. |

**Religious Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 40,000 |
| " " Communicants | 4,300,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 41,000 |
| " " " " Pupils | 2,200,000 |
| Value " Church Property | $70,000,000. |

1903 48-2-31

**Economic Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Homes owned | 390,000 |
| Farms operated | 790,000 |
| Businesses conducted | 25,000 |
| Wealth accumulated | $300,000,000. |

**Educational Progress**

| | |
|---|---|
| Per cent illiterate | 44 |
| Number of Colleges and Normal Schools | 425 |
| Students in Public Schools | 1,577,000 |
| Teachers in all schools | 28,620 |
| School property for higher training | $15,000,000. |
| Expenditures for education | $10,500,000. |
| Raised by Negroes for their education | $900,000. |

**Religious Progresses**

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Churches | 34,000 |
| " " Communicants | 3,400,000 |
| " " Sunday Schools | 32,000 |
| " " " " Pupils | 1,500,000 |
| Value of Church Property | $50,000,000. |

THE JUBILEE OF FREEDOM. 1913

The first day of January 1913 will mark the 50th anniversary of the freeing of the slaves in the U.S.A. This event should be celebrated . The most obvious and fitting way of celebrating the event would be an exposition to show the advance of the freedmen in the last half century.

This advance may be summed up roughly as follows:

In 1863 there were about 4,500,000 persons of Negro descent in the United States of whom about 4,000,000 were chattel slaves. Ninety-five percents of this population was illiterate and they probably owned less than $25,000,000 worth of property. Fifty years later this population has grown to 10,000,000, two thirds of whom can read and write. To-day fifty percent are farm laborers and servants; more than hald of these are working as efficient modern workmen under a wage contract.

38-2-180

Above these have risen 750,000 farmers, 70,000 teamsters, 55,000 railway hands, 36,000 miers, 33,000 saw-mill employees, 28,000 porters, 21,000 teachers, 21,000 carpenters, 20,000 barbers, 20,000 nureses, 24,000 dressmakers and seamstresses, 10,000 engineers and firemen, 10,000 blacksmiths,2,500 physicians, and, above all, 2,000,000 mistresses of independent homes, and 3,000,000 children in school.

Fifty years ago these people were not only practically penniless, but were themselves assesses as "real estate." In 1909 they owned 500,000 homes, and among these about 250,000 farms, or more than one-fourth of those they cultivate, with nearly 20,000,000 acres of farm land, worth about $250,000,000. As owners and renters of farms they control 40,000,000 acres, worth more than $500,000,000, with a gross income of $.50,000,000.

Negroes to-day conduct every seventh farm in the land, and raise every sixteenth dollar's worth of crops. They have accumulated at least $600,000,000 worth of property in a half century, starting with almost nothing.

To-day the Negro is a recognized part of the Amirican government; he holds 8,352 offices in the executive civil services of the nation, besides furnishing four regiments in the army, and a large number of sailors. In the State and municipal

civil service he holds at least 10,000 other offices, and he furnishes 250,000 of the votes that rule the great States of the North and West.

In the same years the Negrochas re-learned the lost art of organization. To-day Negroes have 35,000 church edifices worth $56,000,000, and with nearly 4,000,000 members. They themselves raise $7,500,000 a year for these churches.

There are 200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes, and other public and private Negro schools have received in forty years $45,000,000 of Negroes' money in taxes and donations. Five millions a year is raised by Negro secret and beneficial societies, which hold at least, $6,000,000 in real estate. Negroes support wholly or in part more than 60 old folks' homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals, and 500 cemeteries. Their organized commercial life is extending rapidly, and includes all branches of the smaller kinds of retail business and forty banks.

38-2-181

Above and beyond this material growth has gone the spiritual uplift of a great human race. From contempt and amusement they have passed to the pityand perplexity of their neighbors, while within their own souls they have risen from apathy and timid complaint to open protest and more and more manly self-assertion.

In view of the above facts, it seems fitting that the facts of this advance should be known and appreciated. The advantage of such an exhibit would be two fold.

1. It would encourage the colored people and and make them strive to greater accomplishment in the future.

2. It would call the attention of the white people to the fact that the colored people are not criminals and loafers but on the whole, worthy striving citizens.

How should such an exhibit be held?

If held in one place it would be costly, entailing graunds and buildings and involving a large enpenditure of car fare on the part of poor people. It would seem botter therefore to form a samll permanent and movable exhibit to be exhibited a month or more in eight (8) different centres of Negro and white populatin with such a local exhibit as the colored people aided by their friends and possibly the state

legislatures might inaugurate.

The object of the permanent exhibit would be to have a result of permanent scientific and artistic interest as a result of the expenditure made.

The following plan is therefore submitted.

38-2-182

(3-21)

# HAITI

The problem of Haiti as it stands today is not primarily a matter of intricate facts and figures. In movements involving millions of human beings and a series of efforts, throughts and desires, it is astonishing how the ordinary observer can become almost absolutely incapable of clear judgment or even clear thought. If one reads today the various statements concerning Haiti they are bewildered at their apparent contradiction. And yet, the main facts are so clear and undisputed that there can be to my mind no question as to what is right and what is wrong in the relations between the United States and this Island. First of all, there is no community of human beings in modern history who have suffered so outrageously at the hands of white people as the unfortunate folk who inhabit the island of Haiti. There were the Indians, a gentle unobtrusive folk, who welcomed Columbus, and who were murdered and mistreated until in five years they were reduced from a million to fourteen thousand. There ensued a slave trade in black laborers which poured Negroes into the island at the rate of thirty thousand a year or more for three centures. Their labor enriched France. Haiti became a gold mine for white folk and a burial ground for black folk. Out of this, there emerged at the end of the 18th Century, forty thousand whites, five hundred thousand blacks, and twenty-eight thousand mulattoes. In the United States, white men by law sold their colored children into slavery. In Haiti, they were prevented from doing this, and the result was that when the French Revolution came there was this mass of twenty-eight thousand free Negroes legally French citizens; educated in part in French schools, who demanded their rights in the new French Revolution. The white colonists opposed them. They seized their

33-6-82

two leaders and ordered them "while alive to have their arms, legs, thighs and spines broken, and afterward, to be placed on a wheel, their faces toward Heaven, and there to stay as long as it would please God to preserve their lives." And when dead, their heads to be cut off and exposed on poles." ¶ A little Civil War started in Haiti, and then suddenly, on the night of October 22, 1791, five hundred thousand black slaves took the oath of blood in the forests and rosed. They drove the white folks into the sea and murdered them by every method of cruelty. They overcame Spanish, French and British armies, helped by the fever, and they established, January 1, 1804, the second Republic of the American continent, and they did it with the proud realization that they had helped to establish the United States of America as the first Republic, when they saved the American army at Savannah in 1779. ¶ These Negroes without charity, without education, without experience, surrounded by a hostile world which discriminated against them and lied about them, maintained an independent government from 1804 to 1915, when the United States overthrew it by force. This government, paid interest on its debts to foreign nations, kept out of war and aggression, produced a literature which gained respect and recognition and had the most contented and happy peasantry tilling its own land, and without the peonage to be found in all the Western Hemisphere. They accomplished this at no small effort and expense. The internal turmoil by which they gradually reduced to order a mass of ignorance and misery was great and terrible. But it was no more cruel and no more revolting than similar experiences in Western Europe during the 17th Century, and in Eastern Europe and in South and Central America during the 19th and 20th Centuries. The whole of Haitian history is much less disgraceful than the World War. ¶ The birth and growing pains of this black Republic hurt nobody, and would have been unnoticed by the outside world if it

33-6-83

had not been for the fact that the island was rich in natural resources and lay across the path of plans and industrial imperialism entertained by France, England, Germany and the United States. ¶ The result was long continued pressue on the part of these countries to accomplish the overthrow of this independent Negro government. The United States recognized the independence of Mexico, Columbia and other South American countries, but refused to recognize Haiti until 1826. The pressue of foreign nations upon this country was continuous. From 1847 to 1915, the United States used every effort short of force to make Haiti cede to her Mole St. Nicholas for a naval base. France drove a bargain which made Haiti almost bankrupt from the beginning of her existence. And on the basis of this indebtedness which Haiti paid for her slavery, the banking interests of the civilized world proceeded by their cheating and threats to make it increasingly difficult for Haiti to preserve internal order. ¶ This slavery of debt which the modern world uses to overthrow democracy in backward countires was used to cripple Haiti, until in 1915, we seized the gold reserve of Haiti and brought it to New York; seized her Custom Houses, and deprived her government of revenue; dispersed her legislature at the point of the bayonet, and established American control in Haiti for the purpose of maintaining order, training the Haitians self-government, building roads, and increasing sanitation and spreading education. ¶ What has been the result of this overthrow of a government? We have established order by physical force, backed by the money, army and navy of the United States. We have done away with every vestige of democratic government; we have built roads and established such lines of communication as make the military subjection of Haiti easier. We have established some measures of sanitation, but we have done practically nothing for education, except an attempt at an elaborate and top-heavy system

of agricultural training. We have not increased the foreign trade of Haiti, and we have decreased her debt only on paper because of the fall of the French franc and have made the United States ~~pay~~ the creditor, gradual, thus transferring the real leadership of Haiti to New York banks. We have accomplished this by means of officials, drawn chiefly from the South, ~~who~~ Louisiana, who by ~~education~~ hereditary training despise and insult Negroes wherever they have come in contact with them. And the real reasons back of ~~we have done~~ all this ~~because of~~ are three!

First, the determination of modern white folk to keep the colored races from self-development and self-control.

Secondly, because of the jealousies that arrise between white nations, who thus control colored labor, We seized Haiti because of our fear of England, Germany and ~~of the expected war with that country.~~ We continue to hold her for the same reason. ~~and~~ Finally, in the development of modern democracy, the real control of great countries is passing to those forces which control finance, because of the ~~denial~~ of democracy in industry. The rulers then of finance, the men who control the distribution of capital in the world, of the men who are controling Haiti, and what they are doing, ~~and~~ is the same thing that they are doing in the United States and Western Europe, except that in Haiti ~~force~~ murder is naked and unashamed.

33-6-85

Which added efforts [illegible]
[illegible] Haiti [illegible]
[illegible]

38-13-335

Colonel Charles Young was born March 12, 1865 at Mayslick, Kentucky. When he was nine months old he moved with his family to Ripley, Ohio, where he lived until he entered the Military Academy, June 15, 1889. Until he was eight years old he was taught by his maternal grandmother who was the first teacher of color in that section of the country. At eight years of age he entered the public schools of Ripley, Ohio, from which he graduated at the age of sixteen.

He taught in the Riply Public Schools until he was eighteen years of age. Together with the other young men he took the competitive examination at Hillsboro, Ohio, for entrance into the Military Academy, He was made alternate and upon the failure of the principal to pass the entrance examination at West Point, he went up to West Point, passed the entrance examination and thus he entered the Military Academy.

He graduated August 31, 1889 and was assigned as additional Second Lieutenant, Tenth Cavalry. He was made Second Lieutenant October 4, 1889 and was assigned to the 35th Infantry, being transferred to the Ninth Cavalry October 31, 1889.

He went to Wilberforce in 1894 as instructor in Military Science, French, German and Mathmatics. During his stay there, he organized the first band at Wilberforce. He was made first Lieutenant in the Cavalry in 1896 and in 1898 was made Major of the Volunteers, commanding the Ninth Ohio Colored Infantry. At the end of the war with Spain, he went with his regiment to the Philipines for two years. He returned to the Presidio, California remaining there six months, when he was placed in command of two troops of Cavalry and made Superintendent of the Sequoi National Park, California, where he remained for six months being

38-13-336

commended by the department for his administration of the Park. He was made Captain February 2, 1901. He went to Haiti as Military Attache in May 1904 staying there four years. He next went to the Philipines with his regiment for nine months and at the end of this time he returned with his regiment to Fort D.A. Russell where he remained for the next four years. He was made Major August 28, 1912 and sailed soon after for Liberia as Military Attache. He left Liberia in 1916 after gathering material for a map of the country and reorganizing their Frontier Force, returned to the States. Upon his arrival he was assigned to the Tenth Cavalry. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel on the first of July 1916 and retired as Colonel, the twenty-second of June 1917.

1917(?)

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# THE CURIOUS CASE OF THE NEGRO SOLDIER

By W.E. Burghardt DuBois

To twelve million Americans of Negro descent the recent order from Washington assigning 83,600 Negroedrafted men to their cantonments and forecasting a complete Negro division of 30,000 soldiers led largely by colored officers trained at Des Moines has brought a deep sigh of relief.

Their white fellow citizens have ~~nearly restored~~ barely realized the meaning of an extraordinary series of events which have worked the feelings of black America to fever heat.

First was the refusal to accept Negro volunteers for the army except in the four regiments already established. Few Americans ~~realize~~ know that while the nation was combing the country for volunteers for the regular army it would not let the American Negro furnish even his proportionate quota of regular soldiers. This led to some grim bantering among Negroes.

"Why do you want to volunteer?" asked many. "Why should you fight for this country?"

Before we had chance to reply to this there came the army draft bill and the proposal by Vardaman and his ilk to except Negroes. We protested to Washington in various ways and while we were insisting that colored men should be drafted just as other citizens the bill went through with two little "jokers."

First, it provided that Negroes should be drafted but trained in "separate" units and, secondly, it somewhat ambiguously permitted men to be drafted for "labor."

A great wave of fear and unrest spread among Negroes; and while we were looking at both these provisions askance suddenly we received the draft registration blank. It directed persons "of African descent"

to "tear off the corner."! Probably never before in the history of the United States ~~have~~ has a portion of the citizens been so openly and crassly discriminated against by action of the general government. It was disheartening and on top of it came the celebrated "German plots." It was alleged in various parts of the country with singular unanimity that Germans were working among the Negroes and it was further intimated that this would make the Negroes too dangerous an element to trust with guns. To us, of course, it looked as though the discovery and the porposition came from the same thinly-veiled sources. Here, however, we received aid and comfort from an unexpected source.

38-2-230

Most white Southerners laughed at the German scare. They not only remembered the loyalty of the Negro slaves in war time but they might have remembered that when a governor of colonial Virginia and Sir Henry Clinton and Cornwallis issued separate and repeated proclamations to seduce black men from the cause of the Loyalists during the Revolution the great mass of black men refused.

Considering carefully these series of happenings the American Negro senses an approaching crisis and faced a puzzling dilemma. Here was evidently preparing fertile ground for the spread of disloyalty and resentment among the black masses as they were forced to choose apparently between forced labor or a "Jim Crow" draft. Manifestly when a minority group is thus segregated and forced out of the nation they can in reason do but one thing - take advantage of the disadvantage. In this case we asked for colored officers for the colored troops.

General Wood was, ~~therefore,~~ early approached by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and asked to admit suitable colored candidates to Plattsburg. He refused. Dr. J. E. Spingarn, our chairman and now Major in the United States Army, thereupon pressed the government for a "separate" camp for the training of Negro

officers. Not only did the War Department hesitate at this request but ~~meantime~~ strong opposition ~~began to rise~~ arose among colored people themselves. They said this really was going too far. "We will obey the law but to ask for voluntary segregation is to insult ourselves." But strong, sober second thought came to rescue. We said to our protesting brothers: "We face a condition, not a theory. There is not the slightest chance of our being admitted to white camps, therefore, it is either a case of a "Jim Crow" officers training camp or no colored officers. Of the two things no colored officers would be the greatest calamity."

38-2-21

Thus we gradually made up our minds. But the War Department still hesitated. Then Howard University got into the ring. Its students aroused the colored students of the country. The War Department was besieged and when it presented its final argument, "We have no place for such a camp," the trustees of the university said: "Take our campus." Eventually twelve hundred colored cadets were assembled at Fort Des Moines for training.

Des Moines protested but it soon changed its mind. The city never before had seen such a class of colored men. They rapidly became popular with all classes and ~~the~~ many encomiums were passed upon their conduct. Their commanding colonel pronounced their work first class and declared that they presented excellent material for officers.

Meantime, with one accord, the thought of the colored people turned toward Colonel Young, their highest officer in the regular army.

Charles Young is an heoric figure. He is the typical soldier, - silent, uncomplaining, brave and efficient. From his days at West Point throughout his twenty-eight years of service he has taken whatever task was assigned him and performed it efficiently and there is no doubt but that the army has been almost merciless in the requirements which it

has put upon this splendid officer. He came through all with flying colors. In Haiti, in Liberia, in Western camps, in the Sequoia Forests of California and finally with Pershing in Mexico, - in every case he triumphed. Just at the time we were looking to the government to call him to head the colored officers training at Des Moines he was retired from the army because of "high blood pressure."! There is no disputing army surgeons and their judgment in this time may be justified but coming at the time it did nearly every Negro in the United States believed that the "high blood pressure" that retired Colonel Young was in the prejudiced heads of the southern oligarchy who were determined that no Negro should ever wear the star. This judgment may have been entirely wrong but it persists among Negroes.

38-2-232

To say that Negroes of the United States were disheartened at the retirement of Colonel Young is to put it mildly but there was more trouble. The provision that Negroes must be trained separately looked simple and was simple in places where there were large Negro contingents but in the North with solitary Negroes drafted here and there we had some extraordinary developments. Regiments appeared with one Negro where the Negro had to be separated like a pest and put in a house or even a village by himself while the commander frantically telegraphed to Washington. Small wonder that one poor fellow in Ohio solved the problem by cutting his throat. The whole process of drafting Negroes had to be held up until the government could find methods and places for assembling them.

On top of this came Houston. In a moment the nation forgot the whole record of one of the most celebrated regiments in the United States Army, and their splendid service in the Indian Wars and in the Philippines. It was the first regiment mobilized in the Spanish American War and it was the regiment that volunteered to a man to clean up the yellow fever camps when others hesitated. It was one of the regiments to which

Pershing said last December:

"Men, I am authorized by Congress to tell you all that our people back in the States are mighty glad and proud at the way the soldiers have conducted themselves while in Mexico, and I, General Pershing, can say with pride that a finer body of men never stood under the flag of our nation than we find here tonight."

The nation also forgot the deep resentment mixed with the pale ghost of fear which Negro soldiers call up in the breats of the white South. It is not so much that they fear that the Negro will strike if he gets a chance but rather that they with curious unanimity ~~assume~~ assume that he has REASON to strike; that any other person in his circumstances or treated as he is would rebel. Instead of seeking to relieve the cause of such a possible feeling ~~they~~ most of them strain every effort to bottle up the black man's resentment. Is it inconceivable that now and then it bursts all bounds as at Brownsville and Houston? But be that as it may the general problem of the Negro soldier remains. Most Negroes have not rebelled and have not shot up towns and are efficient fighting men.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Houston incident seriously embarrassed the government . All the forces of reaction poured advice on the Secretary of War against using Negroes at all, against entrusting them with arms, against Negro officers, etc. Decisions as to the calling and drafting of Negroes were held up, the graduation of the officers at Des Moines was postponed and something approaching consternation again swept over Black America.

But the government could not hesitate long. They know that when real war comes the nation will be only too glad to have the help of these black men, that it can ill afford to change to bitterness and disloyalty the willing, loyal hearts that can be found today.

To know the future we have but to remember the past. Everyone did can easily learn that not only Negroes fight for the New World in the days of discovery and Colonial Wars but that 3000 of them fought in the Revolution and there, too, without segregation. "No regiment is to be seen," writes a Hesian officer in 1777, "in which there are not Negroes in abundance and among them able-bodied, strong, brave fellows." Even the regiments of the South had their black men. New York State raised two Negro regiments in 1812 and Perry and Chauncey and Paul Jones used colored sailors. Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans said to his colored troops: "I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity and that like ourselves you had to defend all that is most dear to man, but you have surpassed all my hopes." Four hundred Negroes took part in the Battle of New Orleans and one of them gave Jackson the suggestion for his famous cotton breast works. There were 178,975 Negro soldiers who took part in the Civil War beside 150,000 Negro laborers. The soldiers took part in 449 battles and had 36,874 killed and wounded. In the Spanish American War it was the Negro Tenth Cavalry that saved Roosevelt's Rough Riders at El Caney and a southern writer said that they were physically "the best men in the army," and seemed to be "absolutely without fear." In the present war it is well known that Negro troops are already with Pershing in France.

True it is that the burdened nation is not at this time (more's the pity!) engaged in settling the Negro problem but is raising an army for war. Nevertheless, it is certain that the best way to raise an army in America today is to settle at least so much of the Negro problem as interferes with the effective training and use of Negro officers and troops.

POSTSCRIPT

Since writing the above there have been a series of important economic happenings involving the American Negro which ought to be noted.

Severe floods and the cotton boll weevil reduced Negro tenants in many parts of the lower South to great distress during the winter following the declaration of war. They sold their cotton at a low figure or had none to sell. When the price of cotton arose the plantation owners reaped the benefit and immediately began plans for the next season, calculating on labor at an unusually low price.

Meantime, a great foreign immigration of common laborers was cut off by the war and there rose in the North an unusual demand for common labor. The Negroes began to migrate. In eighteen months one quarter million left the South and moved into the North. They were chiefly attracted by wages which were from 50 to 200% above what they had been used to receiving. And they saw also a chance to escape the lynching and discrimination of the South.

Every effort was made by the South to maintain them. They were arrested wholesale, labor agents were taxed $500 to $1000 or more for licenses, and the daily press of the South began to take on a more conciliatory tone. A slow rise in wages has begun. The migration of Negroes, however, continues since the demand continues. It is probable that not for a generation after the close of the war will there be any great immigration to the United States from Europe. In that case the American Negro will have a chance to establish himself in large numbers in the North. We may look for a migration of two or even three millions.

To offset this the Labor Unions have used every effort. In East St. Louis they were the inciting cause of a riot of white foreign common laborers against the incoming blacks. The argument was that these blacks kept down the rate of wages. Undoubtedly they did keep

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wages from raising as high as they otherwise would have, but if they had been received into the Unions and trained into the philosophy of the labor cause which for obvious reasons most of them did not know they would have made as staunch Union men as any. They are not working for low wages because they prefer to but because they have to. Nine-tenths of the Unions, however, are closed absolutely against them either by constitutional provision or by action of the local Unions. It is probable, therefore, that the friction will go on in the North. East St. Louis has already been echoed at Chester, Pa., and in other industrial centers.

Thus, in his effort to escape industrial slavery, murder, riot and unbelievable cruelty has met the Negro and this not at the hands of the employers but at the hands of his fellow laborers who have in reality common cause with him.

119-12-83

# AFRICA AND THE PEACE MAKERS

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The problem of Africa is not a mere matter of government, important as it is in future to link the strong and usually efficient family and town rule of the native with a beneficient inter-tribal and continental system. The greater problem is economics and the world that is today ~~making~~ seeking peace must realize that in international affairs as in national and local matters problems in economics come down to matters of individual choice and ideal and not simply the dashing of great inhuman Forces and vague impalpable Trends.

Is the world to day willing for the sake of Peace to forego the high profits which the raw material of Africa is capable in the next century of pouring into the coffers of Europe and America? It is not a matter of giving up Africa's rubber, ivory, oils, gums, cocoa, lumber and fibres, but it is the local and even personal question put today to civilized lands: is permanent peace in the world worth foregoing the vast transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe and America which the low cost of labor and wasteful economy of capital has made possible in the past and will make even more possible in the future.

It is a matter of the transfer of wealth and not of the creation of wealth. The wealth of Africa in raw material and even in crudely transformed products is enormous. This material must today be manufactured in civilized lands. But the vital question is, whose shall be the profit that accrues from the production of the raw material, and the transportation and manufacturing of the product? The labor movement in the civilized world is determined that an equitable share of the profits of transport and manu-

And even the English Labor Party has not done much more than state this ideal

facturing shall go to laborers rather than promoters. But only in England has the conscience of the Labor movement articulately realized that civilized labor has a vital interest in the profits accruing from the initial production of the raw material through land labor and capital in Africa. This profit can go in two directions: to the Amelioration and uplift of Africa or to the wealth of Europe. In the latter case, the ulitmate consumers will get little of it. The price of palm oil and cocoa will usually not be less (it may even be more) but the possible profits of millionaire promoters will be swollen. Moreover, there will be every temptation to get quick and large profits in Africa at the least cost and the greatest waste of natural resources and degradation of labor. This golden flood will tempt the powerful of the world in the future as in the past.

41-6-366

For say what you will, it was not Mittel-Europa and the Berlin to Bagdad mirage that tempted Germany to world war. It was French and British Colonial Africa. And what tempted men in 1918 will it not still be tempting in 2000 or before?

~~Are we then well at the Peace table~~ To it possible absolutely to preclude by international enactment private profiteering in the raw materials of Africa and in cheap African labor? This will be but the next step to that taken by the Congress of Vienna a century ago in abolishing the slave trade. It will say ~~the~~ that a fair proportion of the income earned by African labor ~~and~~ or materials raised on African land must go to the uplift and development of Africa and not to the enlargement of private fortunes in Europe and America.

This is the kernel of the African problem and of World Peace.

Consider, my Reader; if you were today a man of some education and knowledge, but born a Japanese or a Chinaman, an East Indian, or a Negro, what would you do and think? What would be, in the present chaos, your outlook and plan for the future? Manifestly, you would want freedom for your people,-freedom form insult, from segregation, from poverty, from physical enslavement. If the attitude of the European and American worlds is in the future going to be based essentially upon the same policies as in the past, then there is but one thing for the trained man of darker blood to do, and that is definitely and as openly as possible to organize his world for eventual war against Europe and America. He may have to do it by secret, underground propaganda, as in Egypt and India, and perhaps eventually in the United States; or by open increase of armament as in Japan, or by desperate efforts at modernization as in China. But he must do it; he represents the vast majority of mankind; to surrender would be far worse than physical death. There is no way out, unless the white world opens the door.

41-6-367

Black Africa including British, French, Belgian, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish possessions and the independent States of Abyssinia and Liberia, and leaving out of account Egypt and North Africa, on the one hand, and South Africa, on the other, has an area of 8,200,000 square miles and a population well over one hundred millions of black men, with less than one hundred thousand whites.

Commercial exploitation in this Africa has already larger results to show than most people realize. Annually $200,000,000 worth of goods were coming out of Black Africa before the war, including a third of the world's supply of rubber, a quarter of all the world's cocoa, and practically all of the world's cloves, gum-arabic, and palm-oil, and increasing quantities of metals.

In exchange there was being returned to Africa one hundred millions in cotton cloth, twenty-five millions in iron and steel, and as much in foods, and probably twenty-five millions in liquor. Here are the beginnings of a great industrial system: iron and steel for permanent investment bound to yield large dividends: cloth, as the cheapest exchange for invaluable raw material; liquor to tickle the appetites of the natives and render the alienation of land and the break-down of customary law easier; eventually, forced and contract labor under white drivers to increase and systematize the production of raw materials. These materials are capable of indefinite expansion: cotton may yet challenge the southern United States, fruits and vegatables, hides and skins, lumber and dye stuffs, coffee and tea, grain and tobacco, and fibres of all sort, copper and tin can easily follow organized and systematic toil.

41-6-368

Is this a paradise of industry we thus contemplate? It may be and it may be a hell. Under present plans there will be little voice or law or custom to protect labor - no trades unions, no eight hour laws, no factory legislation - nothing of that great body of legislation built up in modern days to protect mankind from sinking to the level of beasts of burden. All the industrial deviltry which civilization has been driving from its slums and the backwaters will have a voiceless continent to conceal it. If the slave can not be taken from Africa, slavery can be made permanent in Africa.

Who are the folks that live here? They are brown and black, curly and crisped haired, short and tall, and long-headed. Out of them in days without date flowed the beginnings of Egypt; among them arose later centers of culture at Ghana, Melle, and Timbuktu. Kingdoms and Empires flourished in Songhay and Zymbabwe, and art and industry in Yoruba and Benin. They have fought every human calamity in its most hideous form, and yet they hold today some singular vestiges of a mighty past:- their work in iron, their weav-

ing and carving, their music and singing, their tribal government, their town-meeting and market-place, their desperate valor in war. Missionaries and commerce have left some good with all the evil. In Black Africa today there are more than a thousand government schools and some thirty thousand mission schools with a more or less regular attendance of three-quarters of a million school children. In a few cases training of a higher order is given chiefs' sons and selected pupils. These beginnings of education are not much for so vast a land and there is no general standard or set plan of development, but after all the children of Africa are beginning to learn.

41-6-391

In Black Africa today only 1/17 of the land and a ninth of the people, Liberia and Abyssinia are approximately independent, although menaced and policed by European capitalization. Half the land and the people are in domains under England, Portugal, France and Belgium, held with the avowed ~~avowed~~ idea of exploitation for the benefit of Europe under a system of caste ~~cast~~ and color discrimination ~~reform~~. Out of this dangerous nadir of development stretch two paths: one indicated by the condition of about 3% of the people who in Sierria Leone and the Gold Coast and in French Senegal are tending slowly toward the path of modern political development; the other path followed by a fourth of the land and people who have local self government and native customs and might ~~evolve~~ evolve if undisturbed a native culture along their own peculiar lines. A tenth of the land, sparsely settled, is being monopolized and held for whites to make an African Australia. To these latter folk must be added the 4½ black millions of the South African union who by every modern device are being forced into landless serfdom.

Before the war the tendencies were strongly toward the destruction of independent Africa, the industrial slavery of the mass of the blacks and the encouragement of white immigration where possible to hold the blacks in sub-

jection.

Against this idea let us set the conception of a new African World State, a black Africa, applying to these peoples the splendid pronouncements which have been so broadly and perhaps carelessly given the world ~~in the last few months.~~ and Recognizing in Africa the long forgotten declaration of the American Federation of Labor that "no people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live;" recognizing in President Wilson's message to the Russians that the "principle of the undictated development of all peoples;" recognizing the resolution of the ~~recent~~ last-war conference of the Aborigines Protection Society in England; "That in any reconstruction of Africa which may result from this war, the interests of the native inhabitants and also their wishes in as far as those wishes can be clearly ascertained, should be recognized as among the principal factors upon which the decision of their destiny should be based."

In other words, recognizing for the first time in the history of the modern world that black men are human.

The former German colonies with their million of square miles and twelve and one-half millions of black inhabitants could form the nucleus. Not only would this take a question of peculiar if not baffling irritation out of ~~the debates of the Peace settlement~~ world politics, but it would give black Africa its physical beginnings.

Beginning with the mandated German colonies two other sets of colonies could be added for obvious reasons. Neither Portugal nor Belgium have shown any ~~particular~~ peculiar capacity for governing colonial peoples. Valid excuses may in both cases be advanced but it would certainly be fair to Belgium to have

41-6-370

her ~~start her~~ great task of reorganization ~~after the war~~ with neither the burden nor the temptation of colonies; and in the same way Portugal has in reality the alternative of either giving up her colonies to an African State or to some other European State in the near future.

These two sets of colonies would add 1,700,000 square miles and eighteen millions of inhabitants.

It would not, however, be fair to despoil Germany, Belgium, and Portugal of their colonies unless, as Count Hertling ~~has~~ demanded, the whole question of colonies be opened. How far shall the modern world recognize nations which are not nations, but combinations of a dominant caste and unassimilable hordes of serfs? Will it not be possible to rebuild a world with compact nations, empires of self-governing elements and colonies of backward peoples under benevolent international control?

The great test would be easy. Does England propose to erect in India and Nigeria nations brown and black, to be eventually independent self-governing entities with a full voice in British Imperial Government? If not, let these states either have independence at once or if unfitted for that, be put under international tutelage and guardianship. It is possible that France, ~~with her great heart~~, may ~~after this war~~ welcome a black France--an enlarged Senegal, in Africa; but it would seem that eventually all Africa south of 20 degrees north latitude and north of the Union of South Africa should be included in a new African State. Somaliland and Eritrea should be given to Abyssinia and then with Liberia we ~~would start after the war~~ could have in Africa two ~~small~~ independent African States and one large state under international control.

Does this sound like an impossible dream? No one could be blamed for so regarding it before 1914. I, myself, would have agreed with them. But since the nightmare of ~~the last three years~~ world war + present depression; since we have seen the impossible happen and the unspeakable become so common as to cease to stir us; in a day when Russia has dethroned her Czar, when England has granted the Suffrage to women ~~and is in the act of giving~~ given Home Rule to Ireland; when Germany has ~~taken a step toward~~ established parlimentary government; ~~when~~ and Jerusalem has been ~~delivered from the Turks~~ in hands neutral + the Jews, ~~and the United States has taken control of its railroads,~~ is it really so far-fetched to think of an Africa for the Africans guided by organized civilization?

No one would expect this new State to be independent and self-governing from the start. Contrary, however, to present schemes for Africa the world would expect independence and self-government as the only possible end of the experiment. At first, we can conceive of no better way of governing this State than through that same international control by which we hope to govern the world for Peace. A curious and instructive parallel has been drawn by Simeon Strunsky: just as the common owner-ship of the Northwest territory helped to weld the colonies into the United States, so could not joint and benevolent domination of Africa and of other backward parts of the world be a cornerstone upon which the future federation of the world could be built?

Above all this government must represent the Negro himself. There are millions of educated, capable and efficient men of Negro blood in the world-in West and South Africa, in the United States, in the West Indies and South America. From the beginning the interest of these people should be solicited. They should be associated in the supreme commission and they should form the bulk of the lower executive officials. They should be selected with the greatest care and after patient experiment. No attempt should be

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and organized Communism

made to make this movement an effort at segregrating the whole Negroes and Negroes race in Africa. No such transplanting of thirty and more millions is practical or desirable, but out of that vast number there is a chance to select talent of the highest order and sacrifice ~~of~~ the finest ideals.

The practical policies to be followed out in the government of the new States should involve a thorough and complete system of modern education built upon the present government, religion and customary law of the natives. There should be no violent tampering with the curiously efficient African institutions of local self-government through the family and the tribe; there should be no attempt at sudden "conversion" by religious propaganda. Obviously deleterious customs and unsanitary usages must gradually be abolished, but the general government set up from without must follow the example of the best colonial administrators and build on recognized established foundations rather than from entirely new and theoretical plans.

The real effort to modernize Africa should be through schools rather than churches. Within ten years twenty million black children ought to be in school. Within a generation young Africa should know the essential outlines of modern culture and groups of bright African students could be going to the world's great universities. From the beginning the actual general government should use both colored and white officials and later natives should be worked in. Taxation and industry could follow the newer ideals of industrial democracy, avoiding private land monopoly and poverty, promoting cooperation in production and the socialization of income. Difficulties as to capital and revenue would be far less than many imagine.

If a capable English administrator on British Nigeria could with $1,5000 build up a cocoa industry of twenty millions of dollars annually what might not be done in all Africa without gin, thieves and hypocrisy?

Capital could not only be accumulated in Africa but attracted from the white world with one great difference from present usage: No return so fabulous would be offered that civilized lands would be tempted to divert to colonial trade and investment, materials and labor needed by the masses at home; but rather would receive the same modest profits as legitimate home industry offered.

41-6-374

There is no sense in asserting that the ideal of an African State thus governed and directed toward independence and self-government is impossible of realization. The first great essential is for that the civilized world to believe in its possibility. By reason of a crime (perhaps the greatest crime in human history) the modern world has been systematically taught to despise colored peoples. Men of education and decency ask, and ask seriously, if it is really possible to uplift Africa. Are Negroes human or, if human, developed far enough to absorb even under benevolent tutelage any appreciable part of modern culture? Has not the experiment been tried in Hayti and Liberia and failed?

One cannot ignore the extraordinary fact that a world campaign beginning with the slave trade and ending with the refusal to capitalize the word "Negro;" leading through a passionate defense of slavery by attributing every bestiality to blacks, and finally culminating in the evident modern profit which lies in degrading blacks--all this has trained unconsciously millions of honest modern men into the belief that black folk

are sub-human. This belief is not based on science, else it would be held as a postulate of the most tentative kind, ready at any time to be withdrawn in the face of facts; the belief is not based on history for it is absolutely contradicted by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Arabian experience; nor is the belief based on any careful survey of the social development of men of Negro blood today in Africa and America. It is simply passionate deep-seated heritage and as such can be moved by neither augument or fact. Only faith in humanity will lead the world to rise above its present color prejudice.

41-6-375

Those who do believe in men; who know what black men have done in human history; who have taken pains to follow even superficially the story of the rise of the Negro in Africa, the West Indies, and the Americas of our day know that our modern contempt of Negroes rests upon no scientific foundation worth a moment's attention. It is nothing more than a vicious habit of mind. It could as easily be overthrown as our belief in war, as our fear of educating the masses and as our belief in the necessity of poverty. We can, if we will, inaugurate on the Dark Continent a last great crusade for humanity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant.

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[c 1918]

# THE HANDS OF ETHIOPIA

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

The present Problem of Problems is nothing more than Democracy beating itself helplessly against the Color Bar - purling, seeping, seething, foaming to burst through; ever and again overwhelming the emerging masses of white men /and held back by those who dream of in its rolling back waters, future kingdoms of greed built on black and brown and yellow slavery.

34-1-29

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The indictment of Africa against Europe is grave. For four hundred years white Europe was the chief support of that trade in human beings which first and last robbed black Africa of a hundred million human beings, transformed the face of its social life, overthrew organized government, distorted ancient industry, and snuffed out the lights of cultural development. Today instead of removing laborers from Africa to distant slavery, industry built on a new slavery approaches Africa to deprive the natives of their land, to force them to toil, and to reap all the profit for the white world.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the essential facts underlying these broad assertions. A recent law of the Union of South Africa assigns nearly two hundred fifty million acres of natives' land to about half a million whites and leaves thirty-six millions for four and a half million blacks. In Rhodesia ninety-five million acres have been similarly confiscated. In the Belgian Congo all the land was declared the property of the State, twelve million blacks fell victims to murder and disease in a generation, and "the invasion of family life, the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the

introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror - in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

Slavery in all but name has been the foundation of the cocoa industry in St. Thome and St. Principe and in the mines of the Rand. Gin has been one of the greatest of European imports, having increased fifty percent in ten years and reaching a total of at least twenty-five millions a year today. Negroes of ability have been carefully gotten rid of, deposed from authority, kept out of positions of influence, and discredited in their peoples' eyes, while a caste of white overseers and governing officials has appeared everywhere.

Naturally, the picture is not all lurid. David Livingstone has had his successors, and Europe has given Africa something of value in the beginning of education and industry. Yet the balance of iniquity is desperately large, and worse than that it has aroused no world protest. A great Englishman, familiar with African problems for a generation, says frankly today: "There does not exist any real international conscience to which you can appeal."

If this is true, then is not today the time of times to evoke such a conscience? The future is big with possibilities, good and bad. Japan has an army and a navy, China will eventually evoke both; India has an army, albeit under alien leadership; even in Africa there are half a million trained black troops used to modern machines of murder. With such beginnings how long are the colored races of the world going to submit to their present treatment from the whites?

Moreover, that treatment shows no certain signs of abatement. Today in England the Empire Resources Development Committee proposes to treat African colonies as "crown estates," and by intensive scientific

exploitation of both land and labor to make these colonies pay the English national debt after the war! German thinkers, knowing the tremendous demand for raw material which will follow the war, have similar plans of exploitation, should the central powers be even partially victorious. "It is the clear common sense of the African situation," says H. G. Wells, "that while these precious regions of raw material remain divided up between a number of competitive European imperialisms, each resolutely set upon the exploitation of its 'possessions' to its own advantage and the disadvantage of the others, there can be no permanent peace in the world. It is impossible."

34-1-31

We, then, who are fighting the War against War; who in this present hell of blood and suffering hold hardly our souls in leash by the vision of a world organized for Peace; who are looking for industrial democracy and for the organization of Europe, so as to avoid incentives to war, - we, least of all should be willing to leave the backward world as the greatest temptation, not only to wars based on international jealousies like the present, but to the most horrible of wars which arise from the revolt of the maddened against those who hold them in common contempt.

Consider, my Reader: if you were today a man of some education and knowledge, but born a Japanese or a Chinaman, an East Indian, or a Negro, what would you do and think? What would be, in the present chaos, your outlook and plan for the future? Manifestly, you would want freedom for your people,—freedon from insult, from segregation, from poverty, from physical enslavement. If the attitude of the European and American worlds is in the future going to be based essentially upon the same policies as in the past, then there is but one thing for the trained man of darker blood to do, and that is definitely and as openly as possible to organize his world for war against Europe. He may have

to do it by secret, underground propaganda, as in Egypt and India, and eventually in the United States; or by open increase of armament as in Japan, or by desperate efforts at modernization as in China. But he must do it; he represents the vast majority of mankind; to surrender would be far worse than physical death. There is no way out, unless the white world opens the door. Either the white world after the war gives up such insult as its modern use of the adjective "yellow" indicates, or its connotation of "chink" and "nigger" implies; either it gives up the plan of color serfdom which its use of the other adjective "white," as indicating everything decent and every part of the world worth living in, - either that or trouble is written in the stars.

34-1-32

It is, therefore, of singular interest after disquieting delay to see the real Pacifist appear. Both England and Germany have recently been basing their claims to ~~at least~~ parts of black Africa on the wishes and interests of the black inhabitants. Lloyd George has declared "the general principle of national self-determination" applicable at least to German Africa, while Chancellor Hertling has welcomed a discussion "on the re-construction of the world's colonial possessions."

The demand that an Africa for the Africans shall replace the present barbarous scramble for exploitation by individual States comes from singularly different sources. Colored America writes me demanding that "the conquered German colonies should not be returned to Germany, neither should they be held by the Allies. Here is the opportunity for the establishment of a nation that may never recur. Thousands of colored men, sick of white arrogance and hypocracy, see in this their race's only salvation."

Sir Harry H. Johnston recently said: "If we are to talk, as we do, sentimentally but justly, about restoring the nationhood of Poland, about

giving satisfaction to the separatist feeling in Ireland, and about what is to be done for European nations who are oppressed, then we can hardly exclude from this feeling the countries of Africa."

Laborers, black laborers, on the Canal Zone write: "Out of this chaos may be the great awakening of our race, there is cause for rejoicing. If we fail to embrace this opportunity, NOW, we fail to see how we will be ever able to solve the race question. It is for the British Negro, the French Negro, and the American Negro to rise to the occasion and start a national campaign, jointly and collectively, with this aim in view."

34-1-33

From British West Africa comes the bitter complaint "that the West Africans should have the right or opportunity to settle their future for themselves is a thing which hardly enters the mind of the European politician. That the Balkan States should be admitted to the Council of Peace and decide the Government under which they are to live is taken as a matter of course, because they are Europeans; but no extra-European is credited even by the extremest advocates of human equality with any right, except to humbly accept the fate which Europe shall decide for him."

Here, then, is the danger and the demand, and the real Pacifist will seek to organize not simply the masses in white nations, guarding against exploitation and profiteering there after the war, but will remember that no permanent relief can come but by including in this organization the lowest and the most exploited races in the world. World philanthropy like national philanthropy must come as uplift and prevention and not merely as alleviation and religious conversion. Reverence for humanity as such must be installed in the world, and Africa is the talisman.

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population well over one hundred millions of black men, with less than one hundred thousand whites.

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34-1-39

In exchange there was being returned to Africa one hundred millions in cotton cloth, twenty-five millions in iron and steel, and as much in foods, and probably twenty-five millions in liquor. Here are the beginnings of a great industrial system: iron and steel for permanent investment, bound to yield large dividends; cloth, as the cheapest exchange for invaluable raw material; liquor to tickle the appetites of the natives and render the alienation of land and the break-down of customary law easier; eventually, forced and contract labor under white drivers to increase and systematize the production of raw materials. These materials are capable of indefinite expansion: cotton may yet challenge the southern United States, fruits and vegetables, hides and skins, ~~amber~~ rubber and dye stuffs, coffee and tea, grain and tobacco, and fibres of all sort can easily follow organized and systematic toil.

Is it a paradise of industry we thus contemplate? It may be, and it may be a hell. Under present plans there will be no voice or law or custom to protect labor - no trades unions, no eight hour laws, no factory legislation - nothing of that great body of legislation built up in modern days to protect mankind from sinking to the level of beasts of burden. All the industrial deviltry which civilization has been driving from the slums and the backwaters will have a voiceless continent to conceal it. If the slave can not be taken from Africa, slavery can be and is taken to Africa.

Who are the folk that live here? They are brown and black, curly and crisped haired, short and tall, and long-headed. Out of them in days without date flowed the beginnings of Egypt; among them arose later centers of culture at Ghana, Melle, and Timbuktu. Kingdoms and Empires flourished in Songhay and Zymbabwe, and art and industry in Yoruba and Benin. They have fought every human calamity in its most hideous form, and yet they hold today some singular vestiges of a mighty past - their work in iron, their weaving and carving, their music and singing, their tribal government, their town-meeting and market-place, their desperate valor in war. Missionaries and commerce have left some good with all the evil. In Black Africa today there are more than a thousand government schools and some thirty thousand mission schools with a more or less regular attendance of three-quarters of a million school children. In a few cases training of a higher order is given chiefs' sons and selected pupils. These beginnings of education are not much for so vast a land, and there is no general standard or set plan of development, but after all the children of Africa are beginning to learn.

Two States alone, Liberia and Abyssinia, are INDEPENDENT with the government wholly in the hands of their ten million black inhabitants spread over 400,000 square miles. Neither land is thoroughly modern or really free. Both are policed by European capitalism and political scheming, looking for a chance to pounce and rend. With time and internal convulsion each might fight out its destiny along well-worn lines, but as long as the world regards their existence as anomalous and their success as likely to threaten present plans for all black Africa, what can keep them from failing?

There are four EMERGING lands, as we may call them - British Sierre Leone, Gold Coast and Gambia, and the French Senegalese, with 162,000 square miles and three million native inhabitants. These represent

largely survivals of the old idea of Africa for Africans born of mid-nineteenth century abolitionism. Incomplete but considerable educational systems supplemented by European universities in many individual cases have furnished an educated black leadership. Some measure of political power was early granted, and in Senegal four communes have been granted full French citizenship and representation in the French Parliament. But a change has gradually come. The educated blacks have been carefully kept from all control of capital and industrial development and rejected as middlemen between Europe and the mass of natives. For this work a white official caste has been imported and the educated native is more and more regarded as distinctly in the way and without proper place or function.

34-1-35

We may next notice nine British PROTECTORATES with one and three-quarter million square miles and twenty-seven millions of people. They represent a puzzling mélange of theory, administration, and result; but on the whole they are those parts of Africa where the British politician has learned to encase the iron rod of authority in the velvet glove of regard for native tradition and power. His ultimate intention to develop these regions for the advantage of Europe, with little or no regard for native interests, is in the most cases firm and often openly avowed. Zanzibar, Uganda, and Basutoland have autonomous governments under British commissioners; Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Nigeria have a large measure of native local government with active British general administration; the Egyptian Sudan has a complete white overlordship administered, however, with careful regard for native opinion and in wholesome memory of the Mahdi and the Khalifa; Nyasaland and the Sierre Leone Protectorate are ruled without fear or any regard for native opinion. These governments show tendencies of all sorts: commercial exploitation in Sierre Leone; benevolent despotism in Nigeria and the Sudan; carefully curbed independence in Zanzibar, eventual absorption in white colonial governments

in Uganda and Basutoland.

The larger part of Black Africa we can call DOMAINS or CROWN ESTATES all held under the dominant and unashamed idea of exploitation for the benefit of white Europe. Portugal has 800,000 square miles and nine millions of people. The exploiters here are, themselves, colonists in the main and largely Portuguese mulattoes. Their grip on the resources and the people is only partial and unsystematic - cruel and intensive sometimes as in the cocoa islands and almost non-existent in the far interior of Angola and Mozambique. Unhampered from without, a local nation or nations of exploiting classes and exploited masses might arise here, but it has long been on the carpet that these colonies will soon pass to stronger nations.

The French domain of over a million square miles (in part desert) and twenty millions of people is distinguished by having its exploitation tempered with a wide spread system of native education and a tendency to make less rigid caste lines than the English and Germans against natives of exceptional ability; in much of this territory French authority has not thoroughly penetrated. The German domain of over a million square miles and twelve and a half millions of men is typical of the extreme of organization without regard to the wishes of the natives, and for the benefit of the owning county. Forced labor, compulsory sanitation, and industrial schools for training labor are the rule. If the natives bend meekly to the yoke they will become in time a labor caste of great value to their owners. If they revolt they may be exterminated like the Hereros in German South West Africa.

The Belgian Domain is the Congo and on this we need not expand. It nine hundred thousand square miles and nine million natives have been the most barbarously treated human beings in the modern world

with the single idea of commercial profit for Belgium. So terrible was the result and example of the Congo that they brought the protest of even those powers in Africa whose objects were similar, but who feared to arouse the conscience of the world by such patent excess.

There are 690,000 square miles of British Africa (Rhodesia and British East Africa) with two million natives and fifty thousand whites where the predominant idea is to plant a local white European land owning and industrial aristocracy on the back of a black laboring ~~protectorate~~ proletariat. This is "WHITE MAN'S AFRICA" and might include parts of German South-East and South-West Africa. The land has been largely confiscated and the natives made by law and custom a subordinate labor caste without voice. In this connection we must notice the four and a half million natives in the Union of South Africa who are by law and custom a subordinate caste, largely disfranchised and at present being deprived of their land. Other parts of Africa like French, Italian, and British Somaliland and Italian Eritrea we must look upon chiefly strategic outposts, despite the fact of their million native inhabitants.

34-1-38

Here, then, is Black Africa today. Only one-seventeenth of the land and a ninth of the people are approximately independent; half the land and the people are in domains, the fate of which is undecided, but which tends toward a great caste system of industrial serfdom exploited by white Europe. Out of this dangerous nadir of human development two paths lead. The modern path of political development under black leaders is shadowed among less than three percent of the black folk in West Africa. About a fourth of the land and people ~~have~~ indicate another path through local self government in varying degrees ~~and~~ which can ~~be led~~ lead up to independent existence or down to serfdom. A tenth of the best land sparsely settled with natives is being monopolized for whites who have not yet appeared to make an African Australia.

Before the war the tendencies were strongly toward the destruction of independent Africa, the industrial slavery of the mass of the blacks and the encouragement of white immigration where possible to hold the blacks in subjection.

Against this idea let us set the conception of a new African - World State, a black Africa, applying to these peoples the splendid pronouncements which have been so broadly and perhaps carelessly given the world in the last few months. Recognizing in Africa the declaration of the American Federation of Labor that "no people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live;" recognizing in President Wilson's message to the Russians the "principle of the undictated development of all peoples;" recognizing the resolution of the recent conference of the Aborigines Protection Society in England; "That in any reconstruction of Africa which may result from this war, the interests of the native inhabitants and also their wishes in as far as those wishes can be clearly ascertained, should be recognized as among the principal factors upon which the decision of their destiny should be based."

34-1-37

In other words, recognizing for the first time in the history of the modern world that black men are human.

It may not be possible to build this state at once. ~~In the event of the victory of~~ whether the Entente Allies are victors or not the German colonies with their million of square miles and twelve and one-half millions of black inhabitants could form the nucleus. Not only would this take a question of peculiar if not baffling irritation out of the debates of the Peace settlement, but it would give black Africa its physical beginnings.

Beginning with the German colonies two other sets of colonies could be added for obvious reasons. Neither Portugal nor Belgium have shown any particular capacity for governing colonial peoples. Valid excuses may in both cases ne advanced but it would certainly be fair to

Belgium to have her start her great task of reorganization after the war with neither the burden nor the temptation of colonies; and in the same way Portugal has in reality the alternative of either giving up her colonies to an African State or to some other European State in the near future.

These two sets of colonies would add 1,700,000 square miles and eighteen millions of inhabitants.

34-1-40

It would not, however, be fair to despoil Germany, Belgium, and Portugal of their colonies unless, as Count Hertling has demanded, the whole question of colonies be opened. How far shall the modern world recognize nations which are not nations, but combinations of a dominant caste and unassimilable hordes of serfs? Will it not be possible to rebuild a world with compact nations, empires of self-governing elements and colonies of backward peoples under benevolent international control?

The great test would be easy. Does England propose to erect in India and Nigeria nations brown and black, to be eventually independent self-governing entities with a full voice in British Imperial Government? If not, let these states either have independence at once or if unfitted for that, be put under international tutelage and guardianship. It is possible that France, with her great heart, may after this war welcome a black France--an enlarged Senegal, in Africa; but it would seem that eventually all Africa (south of twenty degrees north latitude and north of the Union of South Africa) should be included in a new African State. Somaliland and Eritrea should be given to Abyssinia and then with Liberia we would start after the war with two small independent African States and one large state under international control.

Does this sound like an impossible dream? No one could be blamed for so regarding it before 1914. I, myself, would have agreed with them. But since the nightmare of the last four years; since we have seen the impossible happen and the unspeakable become so common as to cease to stir us; in a day when Russia has dethroned her Czar, England has granted the

Suffrage to women and is in the act of giving Home Rule to Ireland; when Germany has taken a step toward parlimentary government; when Jerusalem has been delivered from the Turks, and the United States has taken control of its telegraphs and railroads,—is it really so far-fetched to think of an Africa for the Africans guided by organized civilization?

No one would expect this new State to be independent and self-governing from the start. Contrary, however, to present schemes for Africa the world would expect independence and self-government as the only possible end of the experiment. At first, we can conceive of no better way of governing this State than through that same international control by which we hope to govern the world for Peace. A curious and instructive parallel has been drawn by Simeon Strunsky: just as the common ownership of the Northwest territory helped to weld the colonies into the United States, so could not joint and benevolent domination of Africa and of other backward parts of the world be a cornerstone upon which the future federation of the world could be built?

The British Labor Party in their first and wisest declaration have expressed this idea splendidly: "With regard to the colonies of the several belligerents in tropical Africa from sea to sea,--the British Labor movement disclaims all sympathy with the imperialist idea that these should form the booty of any nation, should be exploited for the profit of the capitalists, or should be used for the promotion of the militarist aims of Governments. In view of the fact that it is impracticable here to leave the various peoples concerned to settle their own destinies, it is suggested that the interests of humanity would be best served by the full and frank abandonment by all the belligerents of any dreams of an African empire; the transfer of the present colonies of the European Powers in tropical Africa, however, the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed Super-National Authority, or League of Nations."

Lloyd George himself has said in regard to the German colonies, a

word difficult to restrict merely to them: "I have repeatedly declared that they are held at the disposal of a conference, whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. None of those territories are inhabited by Europeans. The governing consideration, therefore, must be that the inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purpose will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments."

34-1-42

The special commission for the government of this African State must naturally be chosen with great care and thought. It must represent not simply governments, but civilization--science, commerce, social reform, religious philanthrophy without sectarian propaganda. It must include not simply white men, but educated and trained men of Negro blood. The guiding principles before such a commission should be clearly understood. In the FIRST place, it ought by this time be realized by the labor movement throughout the world that no industrial democracy can be built on industrial despotism, whether the two systems are in the same country or in different countries, since the world today so nearly approaches a common industrial unity. If, therefore, it is impossible in any single land to build up a permanently successful skilled labor caste over the heads of an exploited mass of unorganized common laborers so, too, there can be no permanent uplift of English, Germany, American or French labor, so long as African laborers are slaves.

SECONDLY, this building of a new African State does not mean the segregation in it of all the world's black folk. It is too late in the history of the world to go back to the idea of absolute racial segregation. The new African State, would not involve any idea of a vast transplantation of the twenty-seven millions of Negroids of the Western world to Africa, or of the gathering there of Negroid Asia. The Negroes in the United States and the other Americas have earned the right to

fight out their problems where they are, but they could easily furnish from time to time technical experts, leaders of thought and missionaries of culture for their backward brethren in the new Africa.

With these two principles the practical policies to be followed out in the government of the new States should involve a thorough and complete system of modern education built upon the present government, religion and customary law of the natives. There should be no violent tampering with the curiously efficient African institutions of local self-government through the family and the tribe; there should be no attempt at sudden "conversion" by religious propaganda. Obviously deleterious customs and unsanitary usages must gradually be abolished, but the general government set up from without must follow the example of the best colonial administrators and build on recognized established foundations rather than from entirely new and theoretical plans.

12 The real effort to modernize Africa should be through schools rather than churches. Within ten years twenty million black children ought to be in school. Within a generation young Africa should know the essential outlines of modern culture and groups of bright African students could be going to the world's great universities. From the beginning the actual general government should use both colored and white officials and later natives should be worked in. Taxation and industry could follow the newer ideals of industrial democracy, avoiding private land monopoly and poverty, promoting cooperation in production and the socialization of income. Difficulties as to capital and revenue would be far less than many imagine. If a capable English administrator on British Nigeria could with $1,500 build up a cocoa industry of twenty millions of dollars annually what might not be done in all Africa without gin, thieves and hypocrisy?

Capital could not only be accumulated in Africa but attracted from the white world with one great difference from present usage: No return

so fabulous would be offered that civilized lands would be tempted to divert to colonial trade and investment, materials and labor needed by the masses at home; but rather would receive the same modest profits as legitimate home industry offered.

34-1-44

There is no sense in asserting that the ideal of an African State thus governed and directed toward independence and self-government is impossible of realization. The first great essential is for that the civilized world to believe in its possibility. By reason of a crime (perhaps the ~~blackest~~ greatest crime in human history) the modern world has been systematically taught to despise colored peoples. Men of education and decency ask and ask seriously ~~is~~ it is really possible to uplift Africa? Are Negroes human or, if human, developed far enough to absorb even under benevolent tutelage any appreciable part of modern culture? Has not the experiment been tried in Hayti and Liberia and failed?

One cannot ignore the extraordinary fact that a world campaign beginning with the slave trade and ending with the refusal to capitalize the word "Negro;" leading through a passionate defense of slavery by attributing every beastiality to blacks, and finally culminating in the evident modern profit which lies in degrading blacks—all this has trained unconsciously millions of honest modern men into the belief that black folk are sub-human. This belief is not based on science, else it would be held as a postulate of the most tentative kind, ready at any time to be withdrawn in the face of facts; the belief is not based on history, for it is absolutely contradicted by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Arabian experience; nor is the belief based on any careful survey of the social development of men of Negro blood today in Africa and America. It is simply passionate deep-seated heritage and as such can be moved by neither augument or fact. Only faith in humanity will lead the world to rise above its present color prejudice.

Those who do believe in men; who know what black men have done in

human history; who have taken pains to follow even superficially the story of the rise of the Negro in Africa, the West Indies, and the Americas of our day know that our modern contempt of Negroes rests upon no scientific foundation worth a moment's attention. It is nothing more than a vicious habit of mind. It could as easily be overthrown as our belief in war, as our international hatreds, as old conception of the status of women; as our fear of educating the masses and as our belief in the necessity of poverty. We can, if we will, inaugurate on the Dark Continent a last great crusade for hunamity. With Africa redeemed, Asia would be safe and Europe indeed triumphant.

34-1-415

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The hands which Ethiopia shall soon stretch out unto God are not mere hands of helplessness and supplication; but rather are they hands of pain and promise, hard, guarled and muscled for the world's real work; they are hands of fellowship for the half-submerged masses of a distempered world; they are hands of helpfulness for an agonized God.

U Du Bois Mss

1919

EASTWARD FROM SAINT LOUIS

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

38-2-246

St. Louis sprawls where mighty rivers meet — as broad as Philadelphia, but three stories high instead of two, with wider streets and dirtier atmosphere, over the dull brown of wide calm rivers. The city overflows into the valleys of Illinois, (and lies there mirking under its grimy cloud.) It is dusty and hot, beyond all dream, a feverish Pittsburg in the Mississippi Valley — a great ruthless, terrible thing! The sort that crushes man and invokes some living superman; a giant of things done; a clang of awful accomplishment.

Three men came wandering across this place; they were neither kings nor wise, but they came with every significance — perhaps far more — than than these other kings in the days of old. There was one who came from the North, brawny and rictious with energy, a man of concentrated power, who held all the thunder bolts of modern capital in his great fists and who made flour and meat, iron and steel, cunning chemicals, wood, paint and paper, and transformed to endless tools a disemboweled earth. He was one who saw nothing, knew nothing, sought nothing but the making and buying of that which sells; who out from the magic of his hand, rolled over miles of iron road ton upon ton of food and metal and wood, of coal and oil and lumber, until the thronging of knotted ways in East and real St. Louis were like a red festering ganglia of some mighty heart.

Then from the East and called by the crash of thunderbolts and forked flame came an Unwise Man, unwise by the fault of endless ages but human as anything God ever made. He was the slave for the

Miracle Maker; it was him that the thunderbolts struck and electrified into gasping energy. The rasp of his hard breathing shook the midnights of all this endless valley and the pulse of his powerful arms set the great nation to trembling.

And then, at last, out of the South, like a still small voice, came the third man; black, with great eyes and greater memories; hesitantly eager and yet with the infinite softness and ancient calm which come from that eternal race whose history is not the history of a day, but the history of an endless age. Here surely was fit meeting place for these curiously intent forces - for these epoch-making and age-twisting forces; for these human feet on their superhuman errands.

Yesterday I rode in East St. Louis. It is the kind of place one quickly recognizes —— tireless and with no restful green of verdure; hard and uneven of street; crude, cold and even hateful of aspect. Conventional, of course, in its business quarter, but quickly beyond one seesthe ruts and the hollows, the stench of ill tamed servage, unguarded railroad crossings, saloons out numbering churches, and churches catering to saloons: homes impudently strait and new, proctitutes free and happy; gamblers in paradise; the town "wide open", shameless and frank; great factories pouring out stench filth and flame - these and all other things so familiar in the world market places, where industry triumphs over thought and products overwhelm men. May I tell, too, how yesterday I rode in this city past flame-swept walls and over gray ashes, in streets almost wet with blood, and beside ruin where the bones of dead men new-bleached peered at me in sullen wonder?

38-2-247

Across the river in the greater city where bronze St. Louis, that just and austere kind, looks with angry, fear swept eyes down from the rolling heights of Forest Park, that knows him not nor heeds him,

there is something of the same thing, but the city is larger and older, the forces of hell have had some curbing from those who have seen the Vision and panted for Life; but Eastward from St. Louis there is a land of no taxes for great industries; there is a land where you may buy grafting politicians at far less rate than you would pay for franchises or privileges in a modern town. There, too, you may escape the buyers of indulgence from the great Terminal finger which squeezes the life out of St. Louis. In fact, East St. Louis is a paradise for high and frequent dividends and for the piling up of wealth to be spent in St. Louis, and Chicago, and New York, and ——— when the world is sane again, ——— across the seas.

33-2-248

So the Unwise Men, pouring out of the East, falling, scrambling, rushing into America at the rate of a million a year, ran, walked and crawled to this mallstrom of the workers; they garnered higher wage than ever they had before, and not all of it came in cash. A part, and an insidious part, was given to them, transmuted into whiskey, prostitutes, and games of chance. They laughed and disported themselves; (God! Had not their mothers wept enough?) It was a good town, there was no veil of hypocrisy here, but a wickedness frank, ungilded and open. To be sure there were things sometime to reveal the basic savagery and thin veneer: Once, for brawling, a man was lynched on the public square of the county seat; once a mayor who sought to "clean up" was publicly assassinated; always there was theft and rumors of theft until St. Clair County was a hissing in good men's ears; but always, too, there were good wages and jolly hoodlums and unchecked wassail of Saturday night. Gamblers, big and little, rioted in East St. Louis. The little gamblers used cards and roulette wheels and filched the weekly wage of the workers. The greater gamblers used meat and iron and undid the foundations of the world. All the Gods of

Chance flaunted their wild raiment above the brown flood of the Mississippi.

Then the world changed, then civilization built for culture re-built itself for wilful murder in Europe, Asia, America, and the Southern Seas; hands that made food, made powder, and iron for railways was iron for guns. The wants of common men were forgotten before the groan of giants; streams of gold lost from the world's work filtered and trickled into the hands of gamblers and put new power into the thunderbolts of East St. Louis.

38-2-249

Wages before this war had been growing. Slowly but remorsefully the skilled and intelligent, banding themselves, had threatened the coffers of the Mighty, and slowly the Mighty had disgorged. Even the common workers, the poor and unlettered, had again and again gripped the sills of the city walls, and pulled themselves to their chins, but, alas! there were so many hands and so many mouths, and all the feet of the disinherited kept coming across the wet paths of the sea to this old El Dorado.

War brought subtile but remorseless change. Wages shrunk as prices fattened. It was not that the white American worker was threat ened with starvation, but it was, what was after all a more important question, whether he should lose his front room and victrola, and even the dream of the Ford car.

There came a whirling and scrambling among the workers - they fought each other, they climbed on each other's backs; the skillful and intelligent, binding themselves even better than before, bargained with the Men of Might, and held them by bitter threats. The less skillful and more ignorant seethed at the bottom and tried as of old, to bring it about that the ignorant and unlettered should learn to stand together against both capital and skilled labor.

It was here that there came out of the East a beam of unearth-

ly light, a triumph of possible good and evil, so strange that the workers hardly believed it. Slowly they saw the gates of Ellis Island closing, slowly the foot steps of the yearly million men became fainter and fainter until the stream of immigrants over seas was stopped by the Shadow of Death at the very time when new murder opened new markets over all the world to American industry, and the giants with the thunderbolts stamped and raged and peered out across the world and called for men, and evermore, men.

38-2-250

The Unwise Men laughed and squeezed dollar after dollar out of the fists of the Mighty and saw in their dream the vision of a day when Labor, as they knew it, should come into its own; saw this day and saw it with justice and with right, save for one thing, and that was the sound of the moan of the Disinherited who still lay without the walls. When they heard this moan and saw that it came not across the seas they were at first amazed and said it was not true, and then they were mad and said it should not be. Quickly they turned and looked into the red blackness of the South, and in their hearts were fear and hate.

What did they see? They saw something at which they had been taught to laugh and make sport; they saw that which the heading of every newspaper column, the lie of every "cub" reporter, the exaggeration of every press dispatch, and the distortion of every speech and book had taught them was a mass of despicable men, inhuman; at best, laughable; at worse, the meat of mobs and fury.

What did they see? They saw nine and one-half million human beings. They saw the spawn of slavery - ignorant by law and deviltry, crushed by insult and debauched by systematic and criminal injustice. They saw a people whose helpless women have been raped by thousands, and men lynched by hundreds in the face of a sneering world. They saw a people with heads bloody but unbowed, working faithfully at wages

fifty percent lower then the wages of the nation, and under conditions which shame civilization, saving homes, training children, and hoping against hope. They saw the greatest industrial miracle of modern days - slaves transforming themselves to freemen and climbing out of hell by their own efforts, despite the most contemptible opposition God ever saw - they saw this and what they saw the distraught employers of America saw, too.

38-2-251

The North called to the South. A scream of impotent rage went up from the cotton monopolists and industrial barons of the New South. Who was this who dared to "interfere" with their labor? Who sought to own their black slaves but they? Who honored and loved "niggers" as they did? They mobilized all the machinery of modern oppression: taxes, city ordinances, licenses, state laws, municipal regulation, wholesale police arrests and, of course, the peculiarly Southern method of the mob and the lyncher. They appealed frantically to the United States government; they groveled on their knees and shed wild tears at the "suffering" of their poor, misguided black friends, and yet, despite this, the Northern employers simply had to offer two and three dollars a day and from one-quarter to one-half a million dark workers rose and poured themselves into the North. They went to the mines of West Virginia - because War wants coal; they went to the industries of New Jersey and Pennsylvania - because War wants ships an iron; they went to the factories of Detroit and the packing houses of Chicago, and they came to East St. Louis.

Now there came fear in the hearts of the Unwise Men. It was not that their wages were lowered - they went even higher. They received not simply a living wage, but a wage that paid for some of the decencies, and - in East St. Louis - many indecencies of life. What they feared was a deprication of some of the things they were used to and the shadow of this poverty which with set teeth they had left

forever. But if a fear were new-born in the hearts of the Unwise Men, the black man was born in a House of Fear; to him poverty of the i ugliest and straightest type was father, mother and blood brother. He was slipping stealthily Northward to escape hunger and insult, the hand of oppression and the Shadow of Death.

Here, then, in the wide valley which Father Marquette saw peaceful and golden, lazy with fruit and river and half-asleep beneath the nod of God, - here, then, was staged every element for human tragedy.

Ah! that hot, wide plain of East St. Louis is a gripping thing. The rivers are dirty with sweat and toil, and lip like lakes along the low and burdened shores, bridges ramble and thread among them, and above the steamers and flat boats swing with great arches of steel, striding with mighty grace from shore to shore. Everywhere are brick kennels, silent, tall black and red chimneys, tongues of flame. The ground is littered with cars and iron, tracks and trucks, boxes and crates, metals and coal and rubber. Nature, defying cranes, grin elevators, rise above pile on pile of black and grimy lumber. And ever below is the water, - wide and silent, gray, brown and gold.

This is the stage for the tragedy: the armored might of the modern urged by the bloody needs of the world wants, fevered to-day by a fabulous vision of gain and needing only hands, hands, hands! Fear of loss and greed of gain in the hearts of the giants. The clustered cunning of the modern workmen, skilled as artificer and skilled in the rythmn of the habit of work; tasting the world's good and panting for more; with the fear of poverty and hate of "scabs" in the hearts of the workers. The dumb yearning in the hearts of the oppressed; the echo of laughter heard at the foot of the Pyramids; the faithful,

plodding slouch of the laborer; and the fear of the Shadow of Death in the hearts of black men.

We ask, (and perhaps, there is no answer,) how far may the captain of the world's industry do his deeds despite the grinding tragedy of its doing? How far may men fight for the beginning of comfort out beyond the horrid shadow of poverty at the cost of starving other, and what the world calls lesser men? How far may those who reach up out of the black slime that fills the pits of the world's damned and compel those with loaves to divide with those who starve?

The answer to these questions are hard, and yet one answer looms above all - Justice lies with the Lowest; the plight of the lowest man, the plight of the black man deserves the first answer, and the plight of the giants of industry the last.

Little cared East St. Louis of all this bandying of human problems, so long as its grocers and saloon keepers flourished and its industries steamed and screamed and smoked, and its bankers grew rich. Stupidity, license and graft sat enthroned in the City Hall. The new black folk were exploited as cheerfully as white Polaks and Italians; the rent of shacks mounted merrily, the street car lines counted gleeful gains, and the crime of white men and black flourished in the dark. Higher the Skilled and Smart climbed on the bent backs of the ignorant; harder the mass of laborers strove to unionize their fellows and to bargain with employers; nor were the new blacks fools. They had no love for nothings in labor; they had no wish to make their fellows' wage envelopes smaller, but they were determined to make their own larger. They, too, were willing to join in the new Union movement. But the Unions did not want them. Just as employers monopolized meat and steel so they sought to monopolize Labor and beat giant's bargain. In the higher trades they succeeded. The best electrician in the city was refused admittance to the Union and driven from town because he

38-2-253

was black. No black builder, printer or machinist could join a union or work in East St. Louis, no matter what his skill or character But out of the strike of the stock yards and the dust of the aluminum works and the sweat of the lumber yards the willing blacks could not be kept.

They were invited to join unions of these laborers and they joined. White workers and black struck at the Aluminum works in the fall, and won better wage and better hours; then, again in the spring they struck to make a bargaining compulsory on the employer, but here they fronted new things.

38-2-254

The conflagration of war had spread to America; government and court stepped in and ordered no hesitation - no strikes, the work must go on. Deeper was the call for workers. Blackmen poured in but red anger flamed in the hearts of the white workers. The anger was against the wielders of the thunderbolts, but there it was impotent, because employers stood with the hand of government before their faces; the anger was against the number of entrenched Union labor which had risen on the backs of the unskilled and unintelligent, and those whom for any reason of race or prejudice or chicane they could beat beyond the bars of competition - has risen and beaten its way to affluent wage and political power.

And finally, the anger of the mass of white workers was turned toward these new black interlopers who seemed come to spoil their dream of a great monopoly of common labor. These angers flamed and the union leaders, fearing their fury and knowing their own guilt, not only in the larger and subtler matter of bidding their way to power across the weakness of their less fortunate fellows, but also conscious of their part in making East St. Louis a miserable town of liquor and lust, leaped quickly to ward the gathering thunder from their own heads.

The thing they wanted was even at their hands: here were black men, guilty no only of bidding for jobs which others could have held at war prices, even if they could not fill, but also guilty of being black. It was at this blackness that the unions pointed the accusing finger. It was here that they committed the unpardonable crime. It was here that they entered the Shadow of Hell where suddenly from a fight for wage the protection against industrial oppression, East St. Louis became the center of the oldest and nastiest form of human oppression, race hatred.

The whole situation loamed itself to this terrible transformation. Everything in the history of the United States from slavery to Sunday supplements, from disfranchisement to residence segregation, from "Jim-Crow" cars to a "Jim-Crow" army draft - all this history of discrimination and insult festered to make men think and willing to yhink that the venting of their unbridled anger against 10,000 humble upstriving workers was a way of settling the industrial tangle of the ages. It was the logic of the broken plate which, seared of old across its pattern, cracks never again, save along the old destruction.

38-2-253

So hell flamed in East St. Louis! They drove even black unio men out of their union, and when the black men, beaten by might and assaulted, bent to arms and shot back as the marandus, five thousand rioters rose and surged like a crested storm wave from noonday till midnight - they killed and beat and murdered - they dashed out the brains of children and stripped off the cloths of women - they drove victims into the flames and havged the helpless to light poles. Fathers were killed before the faces of mothers, children were burned, heads were cut off with axes, pregnant women crawled and spawned in dark, wet fields! thieves went through houses and firebrands followed, bodies were thrown from the bridges, and rocks and bricks flew through the air.

The Negroes fought. They grappled with the mob like beasts at bay. They drove them back from the thickest cluster of their homes and piled the white dead on the street, but the mob, turning, caught the black men between the factories and the homes where they knew were armed only with their dinner pails. Firemen, policemen, and militiamen stood with hanging hands, or, as the victims again and again declare, joined eagerly with the mob.

58-2-252

It was the old world horror come to life again; all that Jews suffered in Spain and Poland; all that peasants suffered in France and Indians in Calcutta; and all that aroused human deviltry has accomplished in ages past, they did the other night in East St. Louis, while the rags of 6,000 half-naked men and women fluttered across the bridges of the calm Mississippi.

The South laughed - it was infinitely funny - the "niggers" who had gone North to escape slavery and lynching had met the fury of the mob which they fled. Delegated rushed North from Mississippi and Texas with suspicious timelines and with great-hearted offers to take these workers to a lesser hell. The man grom Queensville, Miss., who wanted a thousand, got six, because after all the end was no so simple.

No, the end is not simple. On the contrary, the problem raised by East St. Louis is curiously complex. The ordinary American, tired at the persistence of "the problem" sees only another anti-Negro mob and wonders not when we shall settle this problem, but when we shall be well rid of it. The student of social things sees another mile post in the triumphant march of Union labor - is sorry that blood and rapine should mark its march, - but, what will you? War is Life!

Despite these smug reasonings the bare facts are these: East St. Louis, a great industrial center, has lost 5,000 laborers, good,

honest, hardworking laborers. It was not the criminals, either black or white, who were driven from East.St. Louis. They are still there. They will stay there. Half the black laborers are gone. The crippled ranks of industrial organization in the mid-Mississippi Valley cannot be recruited from Ellis Island, because in Europe men are dead and maimed and restoration when restoration comes will raise a European deman for labor such as this age has never seen. The vision of industrial supremacy has come to the giants who lead American industry and finance. But it can never be realized unless the laborers are here to do the work, - the skilled laborers, the common laborers, the willing laborers, the well-paid laborers. The present forces organized, however cunningly, are not large enough to do what America wants; but there is one group of laborers, 12,000,000 strong, the natural heirs by every logic of justice, to the fruits of America's industrial advance. They will be used simply because they must be used, and yet their using means East St. Louis.

38-2-257

Eastward from St. Louis lie great centers like Chicago, Indianapolis and Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and New York; in every one of these and in lesser centers there is not only the industrial unrest of war and revolutionized work but there is the call for workers, the coming of black folk and the deliberate effort to divert the thoughts of men, and particularly of working men, into channels of race hatred against blacks. In every one of these centers what happened in East St. Louis can be attempted with more or less success. Yet the American Negroes stand to-day as the greatest strategic group in the world. Their services are indispensable, their temper and character are fine and their souls have seen a vision more beautiful than any other mass of workers. They may win back culture to the world, o if their fight can be made with the forces of the world that make for justice and not against the hidden hates that fight

for barbarism. For fight they must and fight they will.

Rising on wings we cross again the rivers of St. Louis, winding and threading between the towers of industry that threaten and drown towers of God. Far, far beyond, we sight the green of fields and hills but ever below lies the river, blue, brownish-gray, touched with the hint of hidden gold. Drifting through half-flooded lowlands with shanties and crops and stunted trees, past struggling corn and straggling village, we rush toward the Battle of the Marne and the Aisne and from the Battle of East St. Louis, Westward, dear God, the fire of thy mad world crimsons our Heaven. Our answering Hell rolls Eastward from [redacted] St. Louis.

38.2.258

To Mr. Shillady
10 am - Apr. 29-20
Nigh

Miss Fauset, read also

1920

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

The facts as to Frederick Douglass' life are ~~successfully~~ succinctly set forth by Brawley.

Douglass was born in 1817 and lived for ten years as a slave upon a Maryland plantation. Then he was bought by a Baltimore shipbuilder. He learned to read, and, being attracted to "The Lady of the Lake," when he escaped in 1838 and went disguised as a sailor to New Bedford, Mass., he adopted the name Douglas (spelling it with two s's, however). He lived for several years in New Bedford, being assisted by Garrison in his efforts for an education. In 1841, at an anti-slavery convention in Nantucket, he exhibited such intelligence and showed himself the possessor of such a remarkable voice that he was made the agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He now lectured extensively in England and the United States, and English friends raised L150 to enable him regularly to purchase his freedom. For a time he published a paper in Rochester. Later in life he became Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia, and then Minister to Hayti. At the time of his death, in 1895, Douglass had won for himself a place of unique distinction. Large of heart and of mind, he was interested in every forward movement for his people; but his charity also embraced all men and all races. His reputation was national, and many of his speeches are to-day found in the standard books on the subject of oratory.

The speech of Douglass in 1841 marked the turning point in his career and that of the abolitionists. Parker Pillsbury says:

"When the young man (Douglass) closed, late in the evening though none seemed to know nor to care for the hour, Mr. Garrison rose to make the concluding address. I think he never before nor afterwards felt more

profoundly the sacredness of his mission, or the importance of a crisis moment to his success. I surely never saw him more deeply, more divinely inspired. The crowded congregation had been wrought up almost to enchantment during the whole long evening, particularly by some of the utterances of the last speaker, as he turned over the terrible Apocalypse of his experiences in slavery. But Mr. Garrison was singularly serene and calm. It was well that he was so. He only asked a few simple direct questions. I can recall but a few of them, though I do remember the first and the last. The first was: 'Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or to a man?' 'A man! A man!' shouted fully five hundred voices of women and men. 'And should such a man be held a slave in a republican and Christian land?' was another question. 'No, no! never, never!' again swelled up from the same voices, like the billows of the deep. But the last was this: 'Shall such a man ever be sent back to slavery from the soil of old Massachusetts?'- this time uttered with all the power of voice of which Garrison was capable....Almost the whole assembly sprang with one accord to their feet, and the walls and roof of the Athenaeum seemed to shudder with the 'No, no!' loud and long continued in the wild enthusiasm of the scene."

Frederick Douglass' claim to fame rests on these facts:

He was born a slave.

He acheived his own freedom and education and became a notable public speaker.

He served as a living example of the injustice of slavery and as such gave great impetus to the anti-slavery movement.

He was a great and effective leader of the abolitionists and marshalled the free Negroes as their helpers.

He was the prime mover in recruiting Negro troops for the war when the Nation doubted their worth and did not want them and

when the Negroes ~~persistent~~ Hesitated to offer their services.
He became the greatest and most inspiring leader of the millions of freedmen and represented them with dignity and success.
He was until his death interested in all forward movements and was an early advocate of woman's suffrage.
He founded a ~~g~~ family which still lives and serves - one grandson being a violinist of repute.
He was in the great word of the poet "the noblest slave that ever God set free!"

34-7-4

Marcus Garvey

When I was in Jamaica in 1915 I received a letter from Mr. Marcus Garvey presenting his compliments and tendering me "on behalf of the Universal Negro Improvement Association a welcome to Jamaica". As I was on the point of departure I had no opportunity of meeting the writer or knowing anything about his organization. I heard nothing further about Mr. Garvey until he came to New York when he wrote me once or twice asking information and opportunities to speak. Finally I heard of the meetings which he held with regard to the Peace Conference, the buying of the ship Yarmouth and I attended one session of the convention which he held last August. Meantime letters have come to me from many different sources asking what estimate THE CRISIS puts upon the honesty and efficiency of Mr. Garvey and his work. I have long hesitated to make any statement and my hesitation has been based upon the fact that I knew very little about Mr. Garvey or his movement and that my efforts to get exact information had been unsuccessful. For instance when courteously invited by Mr. Garvey to attend his conference and be a candidate for "Leader" of the "Negro Peoples of America" I wrote thanking him but declining to be a candidate. I then appended the following questions:

However, I desire to publish in THE CRISIS some account of you and your movement.

For some time THE CRISIS has been in receipt of inquiries concerning you and your organization. To these we have simply answered that we had no reliable information at had.

It seems, however, increasingly important as your movement grwos that we should present to our readers a critical estimate of it.

We wish, however, to be sure to have all the essential facts in hand and I therefore write to ask the following questions. I expect, of cours only such answers as you are willing to divulge and to have the public

File under P.M. Johnson

1920

WELCOME

The weekly press among American Negroes has become a power, and when a new periodical of this class is born it deserves welcome particularly if it has the right spirit and the right aim and is fearless and free. Toledo has grown to be a might city and the little uncertain colored group which I saw there nine years ago has expanded to many working thousands led and led well by a group of well trained leaders. Of this group the Pioneer seeks to be the mouthpiece and organ. It starts after the terrible War of Wars untrammelled by ancient party allegiances, seeking no political support from party funds, afraid of nothing human, and standing absolutely foursquare on the platform of Negro manhood with every right which an American citizen may justly claim.

As such an organ, the CRISIS from its ten years of hard but heartening experience stretches its hand across five hundred miles in glad welcome. We need pioneers today and particularly in Ohio. The 150,000 Negroes of Ohio are asleep. They are about to lose the oldest Negro college in the world; they ought to have ten Negro legislators where they have one,and one hundred city councilmen instead of a half dozen. They need a new and decent Civil Rights law, they need teachers, doctors and lawyers, they need banks and groceries and especially co-operative business enterprizes. They need to train and watch over the new black workingmen who are pouring in and get more to come. The time is ripe for big things---we welcome the Pioneer to lead in their doing.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois.

34-7-1

# The Battle of 1920

## An Account of the Work of the N. A. A. C. P.

A paid organization which demands the support of thinking men must at regular intervals make an account of what it has done and proposes to do and what moneys it has received and how it has expended them.

Section I - What we have done.

The N. A. A. C. P. was founded in 1909 and incorporated in 1911. From that time to 1920 it has held in the United States nearly two thousand large meetings and conferences, not to mention thousands of other meetings, before perhaps four millions of people where it has appealed for justice for Americans of Negro descent. In addition to this it has sent 4,462,899 copies of THE CRISIS to every state in the Union and every country on the globe. It has also distributed millions of copies of other literature. It has from the first taken the matter of the rights of American Negroes into the courts. Court cases have been defended involving false arrest, peonage, segregation, Jim Crow Cars, the right to vote, intermarriage, Civil Service, rioting, lynching, slander and civil rights in general. Many of these cases have been lost but we have won remarkable victories in the case of the segregation law, which was declared unconstitutional, November 5, 1917 and in the case of the Grandfather Clause where we joined with others in defending a case which resulted in the outlawing in that method of disfranchisement.

We have won hundreds of civil rights cases involving the right to use theatres, restaurants and other places of entertainment from Boston to California, and we have gained forward looking decisions in many peonage and lynching cases. Another avenue of work has been to oppose hostile legislation. In this we have been singly successful. Of the thirteen anti-intermarriage bills introduced in state legislatures in 1913, we helped to kill twelve. Of the twenty anti-Negro measures introduced in the 63rd Congress, including inter-marriage, Jim Crow bills, service in the Army

and Navy, segregation, etc. we did efficient work in helping to kill everyone. Of the 11 similar bills in the 64th Congress not one was made into law. In many cases of laws about to be enacted we have succeeded in protecting the rights of colored people as in the Smith-Lever Bill for national aid to agricultural training and in the civil rights bill enacted in New York and copied in several other cities. We have especially sought to attack the barbarious practice of lynching. We have raised an anti-lynching fund which has been used to support a great anti-lynching conference. We have sent literature of lynching together with pictures all over the civilized world so as to arouse protest from men like Bernard Shaw. We have helped in the passage of a law in Kentucky to punish sheriffs who surrender prisoners. We have made the statistics of lynching available to everyone and we have encouraged a series of careful personal investigations. We have especially given attention to the economic rights of Negroes investigating workingmen's riots like those in St. Louis and Chicago, opposing discriminations against Negroes in the Civil Service and in the labor unions, disclosing the illegal efforts for stopping colored workers from migrating, and illegal oppression in places where they have gone.

34-7-7

In the outbreak of race rioting we furnish investigators, lawyers and publicity. In elections we have questioned leading candidates from presidents down on their attitude toward our civil rights. We kept one judge, who had decided that Negroes had no right in pullman cars, off the bench of the Supreme Court and we have helped defeat congressmen and other officers who we considered enemies of the race. We have fought discrimination in great public movements as in the National Bar Association and when the World War broke upon us we began a fight that made Negro officers possible. We carried on the effort to secure for them fair treatment and promotion. We led the march of Silent Protest made

in one dozen cities against unpatriotic discrimination and we used every effort against discrimination in the draft in the S. A. T. C. and against nurses and physicians. We have a special resort to put justice loving states on record against the lynching states by inducing governors in three noticeable cases to refuse to extradite Negro prisoners who were threatened with lynching. We have aided unjustly condemned prisoners from poor little Virginia Christian in Virginia to Pink Franklin in South Carolina up to the twelve victims of intended judicial lynching in Arkansas.

To do this our officers in a single year have traveled over one hundred thousand miles and in the ten years a distance equal to twenty times around the earth. We have initiated a Pan-African Congress for the meeting together of all Negroes, of all persons of African descent throughout the world for self-knowledge and self-protection. To support this work we have sought the co-operation of men and women of every race who believed in justice.

Our membership has grown as follows:

| | Branches | Members |
|---|---|---|
| 1912 | 8 | 329 |
| 1913 | 10 | 1,100 |
| 1914 | 24 | 3,000 |
| 1915 | 50 | 6,000 |
| 1916 | 70 | 8,785 |
| 1917 | 80 | 9,282 |
| 1918 | 165 | 43,994 |
| 1919 | 310 | 91,203 |

Work like this costs money and we have raised during these eleven years the following sums for our work:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1911 | $ 5,108.90 |
| 1912 | 11,815.15 |
| 1913 | 16,841.73 |
| 1914 | 14,030.70 |
| 1915 | 13,094.36 |
| 1916 | 23,521.48* |
| 1917 | 14,427.27 |
| 1918 | 29,454.11 |
| 1919 | 61,755.70 |

*Includes $11,539.64 from special anti-lynching campaign.

No part of this money has gone for the support of THE CRISIS magazine, nor has the Association or anyone else furnished any capital for that magazine except in the first five years of its existence the Association paid part of the editor's salary and furnished THE CRISIS office space. THE CRISIS is now absolutely self-supporting in every respect.

Section II, the present.

Coming now specifically to the year 1920 we are glad to be able to report progress. The outstanding work for the year has been our defense of Arkansas peons, the exposure of conditions in Haiti, the pushing of anti-lynching legislature, the defeat of the Graham Sedition Bill, the winning of one-half dozen cases involving civil rights, discrimination and activities to increase and guide the Negro vote during the campaign. In Arkansas twelve men were condemned to death and 67 sentenced to long terms of imprisonment as a result of the "riots" when they tried by legal methods to collect their wages and were met by mob murder.

34-7-9

These cases we have fought through the courts of the State of Arkansas and laid the foundation for the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. We have secured a new trial for six of the men condemned to death and six others await decision in their cases. We have also prevented the extradition from Kansas to Arkansas of Robert Hill who was falsely accused of fomenting the "riots". Beside this we are defending Thomas Ray to prevent his extradition from Michigan. We have secured the release of all but one of the men arrested in the Duluth rape cases and we fought although in vain to defend the brave young soldier Caldwell hanged for killing the street car conductor who has assaulted him.

In March we sent Secretary Johnson to Haiti where he stayed six weeks and studied the American invasion. As a result he published a

series of articles in The Nation, put the administration on the defensive, led to the startling disclosure of an official report which alleged "indiscriminate killings" of over 3,000 Haitians and undoubtedly hastened the decision of President Wilson to partially free Santo Domingo. We have kept up our fight on lynching continuing our investigations, publishing the facts, and pushing the Curtis resolutions and the Dyer Bill in Congress until we feel sure that the 67th Congress will enact anti-lynching legislation. Already a strong anti-lynching law has been passed by Kentucky.

We were foremost to fight the dangerous Graham Sedition Bill which was especially aimed at THE CRISIS and the N.A.A.C.P. to curtail their activities. Our civil rights cases have been unusually successful. In California we have won an important decision insuring our rights in theatres. In Colorado we have settled our rights at bootblack stands and in Wisconsin we have won a resturant case. In Connecticut and Rhode Island we are pushing civil rights bills. We stopped discrimination in the case of a New York post office clerk, helped to increase the wages of colored porters, put down discrimination in the Brooklyn High School.

34-7-10

In the presidential campaign we sent questionnaires to all presidential candidates, sent out instructions for voting to the new women voters, encouraged colored voters throughout the country to register and investigated and published the election discriminations in Florida and elsewhere. Our representatives appeared before Congress to advocate reduction of congressional representation in the South because of disfranchisement. During the year we have held 287 meetings, eight by national officers in addition to hundreds of other meetings. Our officers have traveled 77,500 miles.

(Postage Enclosed) 04

{W. E. B. DuBois 70-5th Ave., N. Y. City. Jan 7.

# THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The late Booker T. Washington may be considered in four aspects.

First there can be no doubt that his chief significance lies in the fact that he cannot be considered simply as an individual but that he is so inextricably woven into the national and even world movements of his day that his death becomes historic. Again most colored men in America are simply "colored." They are submerged in a great undifferentiated group; they are not considered as individuals but are lumped together as a "race." Mr. Washington was more than "colored." He was an American, and the comments upon his career tend continually to emphasize the fact that such a struggle upward against terrific odds, such indomitable persistence and versatility of expedient was peculiarly American. After Frederick Douglass, Mr. Washington was the next great exemplification and revelation of problems of race and labor in America, so significant as to go to the very core of our democracy; and finally, there is to consider Mr. Washington's own personality: the silent, watchful, cautious man, rugged, nervous, popular but unsocial, slow but tireless.

34-2-1

One must always look upon Mr. Washington's career against that Second Reconstruction beginning late in the eighties and known usually as the rise of the "New South." The first attempt at Reconstruction was not a failure because it was impossible or illogical to make good voters of black men, but simply because the white southerners would not accept a democracy that included Negroes, and the white North was not disposed to compel them to accept it. There ensued an oligarchy which like all modern government turned its attention to an economic solution of its political problem. This economic problem was complicated.

The South had its great staple of raw cotton and its industrial and manufacturing prospects. It needed large amounts of capital because of war's destruction and for new enterprises. It needed labor of two kinds: unskilled farm hands and skilled artisans and factory hands. If it was to attract capital by high profits it must avoid the new northern labor legislation and keep wages down. But white labor with new political power could not be depended on not to make demands unless held in check by powerful motives. It was a delicate situation. It called first of all for Negroes "in their places" — education without intelligence as far as possible. It called secondly for the disfranchisement of laborers by laborers and this meant the making of the feeling of class difference (in this case race difference) between laborers greater than the feeling of solidarity among laborers — the keynote of the rising labor movement. And finally this class or race hatred of laborers must be held sufficiently in check to avoid lawlessness and bloodshed and thus frighten capital.

34-2-2

The men and measures which visualized the solution of these problems came to be called in the early eighties the "New South" and they seemed to point a disirable solution to the impasse reached by North, South and Negroes after the revolution of 1876.

The South demanded the disfranchisement of the Negro; the Negro demanded political and civil rights and the North demanded peace and security for its investments.

The North looked on rather helplessly; not the Old North but a New North, — a New North which, after the spiritual uplift of war and the inevitable reaction and poverty of the ensuing war debt and disorganization, had now gathered itself for a tremendous forward industrial development. There was capital to invest and there were trained hands to be busied. There were keen minds to be used. Capital and skill

looked toward the South as a place for future industrial development. Naturally the curse of war and slavery, the irritating race problem set in the way, as those who hurried first into the field soon learned.

The overture for understanding came from the New South and the New South said to the New North: Is it worth while that colored folks should stand between the reconciliation of brothers or the investment of capital on good return?

The New North quickly saw the point but they were held back by the war-born sentiment of justice or at least something that looked like justice toward the freedmen.

Here it was that out of the Negro race itself there came a voicing of the thing that was in the North's mind, namely: let the Negro become the great efficient laboring force of the South. Let it cease asking for anything more than a fairly definite and protected caste system and let the white South be depended upon to see that this laboring class was not unduly oppressed.

34.2-3

Had this proposition come from the white South it would have had in the North the opposition of all the old abolitionists and all the new doctrinaires. If it had come from the North it would have been a volte-face which even the North itself could not have made with a straight countenance. But it came from a quarter least expected and it was received with enthusiasm. To the abolitionists it appeared as an appeal to the old home virtues of work and thrift. To the South it appeared as a giving up of the more impossible results of emanicpation. To the northern captains of industry it appealed as the "business man's solution," and to the laboring man North and South it did not appeal at all but was received in stolid indifference with no apparent dream that the race problem was connected with the labor problem.

The personalities that emerged in this curious and fateful new

reviving of thoughts and forces were of great and pressing interest. We may name four as typical: Booker T. Washington, W. H. Baldwin, Jr., Henry Grady and Benjamin Tillman. They were widely separated men, for the most part not acquainted with each other. They perhaps hardly thought themselves as working at the same great problem, but they were.

In the first place, the very emergence of Mr. Washington as a personality was epoch making. We think in terms of personality; we rise with great difficulty to group conceptions; what we call our conceptions of race and ~~things~~ nationality are in most cases mere heresay, convention and prejudice. When, therefore, we refuse to know individuals and adopt a convention as typifying a race we are on the most unsubstantial ground. With the Negro race in America it is almost as though we shut all these millions in a box and marked them "Exhibit 1." We are striving to allow no emergence, no exceptions. They are "Negroes;" they are "The Problem." We instinctively feel that knowledge of the individuals among them may make our problem so hard to settle and grasp that our ready-made solution will not fit. Yet the essential part of the Negro problem is the beating of wearied spirits against this barrier—this conventionalism of race.

Despite everything then personalities now and then emerge. This is not an easy thing. How did we get to know men like ~~[illegible]~~ Roosevelt and Edison? To some extent we actually meet and talk to them, to a still larger extent we talk about them and hear them talked about. We read about them. We get side-lights and anecdotes and gradually there emerges the personality that we know. But seldom if ever do we meet black folk. Black folk are not pictured in papers and they are not talked about, except in bulk. The emergence of personality, therefore, of the Negro race is an unlikely thing attended with great difficulty and often almost an accident.

Frederick Douglass emerged by the sheer logic of circumstance: He was "The noblest slave that ever God set free." He was a living example of the evil of slavery, ~~so inconsistent,~~ so unanswerable that he caught the imagination of the world. Then came a lull, a sort of troubled lifting of the darkened waters here and there but, so far as the white world was concerned, no real emergence of a definitely grasped individuality in the colored race until Mr. Washington came.

Mr. Washington was the man of this group that voiced the compromise offered by the colored race. He was met more than halfway by the group of northern people represented by W. H. Baldwin, Jr.

34-2-5

Mr. Baldwin knew the South because he had worked there. He knew a certain class of Negro labor for he had "bossed" it. He was an abolitionist by descent and he was firmly convinced that the solution of the problems of the South was to put the white South in power and make the Negro stop complaining and become a docile, laboring class while the white North furnished capital and philanthropic effort.

Henry O. Grady was a leader who preceded both Washington and Baldwin and ~~probably~~ perhaps knew neither of them; but he was the one who voiced the position of the white South so logically to the new commercial North that they listened to him with increasing pleasure. Especially after Mr. Grady's unusually persuasive speech in Boston before the Merchants' Association, December, 1889, the North was more and more disposed to let the South have its way with the Negro; but it was difficult for the North to say this without appearing to repudiate the Civil War and its results. It was at this critical junction that Mr. Booker T. Washington began to be heard from.

To add Ben Tillman to this quartette may seem illogical but it is not. He is insolubly bound up with them. He is the voice of the militant, protesting white southern laborer filled with the idea that the only salvation of that class lies in the absolute degradation of

their black competitors. He was uncouth, wild, intemperate and thus served as a counterpoise to the more suave and pleasant and also more far-reaching designs of the white southern employers. Yet, he became the tool, he and his, by which the white South secured a new oligarchy and the disfranchisement and partial peonage of half its laboring force.

We now come to the facts themselves: Here was Booker T. Washington born in that curious and undiscussed Southern way; the unacknowledged son of a prominent white man, allied to the first families of Virginia. His white relatives, it is said, occupied and still occupy high positions; yet this dark waif was left uncared for, unattended, unthought of, to the helpless tutleage of his poor, black mother. Just as in slavery days white men without thought or twinge sold their own children into slavery, so Booker Washington was let adrift into poverty, hunger, ignorance and suffering. He was eventually fed and educated by that very philanthropy of northern abolitionists which the South so long reviled and hated. Mr. Washington started out from Hampton and was soon in the Black Belt to upbuild a school. He had almost no funds from city or state but must secure his money by begging in the North. His path of advance was strait and thorny. He must conciliate his white southern neighbors or his school could not last. He must appeal to the rich white North or again his school would die. His predecessors in this field had conceived this situation as a complete dilemma and chose sides accordingly. But Mr. Washington, shrewd and watchful, a student of human nature such as the world has seldom seen saw signs of a change. Understanding was coming between North and South. The North was tiring of its traditional attitude toward the South and it had a strong economic motive for change. Quickly Mr. Washington grasped the new line of advance. Other colored men before him had seen the way but had not been able to follow it. They had either flattered the South too grossly or yielded too little.

In 1889 (he was then thirty-one years of age) Mr. Washington spoke before the National Education Association at Madison, Wisconsin, and a number of white southern people present were surprised and interested. They did not have to sit through that uncomfortable quarter of an hour which ~~was~~ had usually been their portion when a colored speaker ~~is~~ was stating his case. On the contrary they felt a certain tinge of shame and self-accusation ~~when~~ because they were ~~praised~~ commended not so much directly as by many most tactful omissions. They began to watch this young man.

In 1893 at the meeting of Christian Workers in Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Washington made a still stronger impression upon the South. Finally with some misgivings and opposition he was selected by the officials of the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition to represent the Negro race at the opening exercises. 34-2-7

He spoke September 18th 1895 before a distinguished, critical and somewhat uneasy audience. The South had heard many Negro speakers many times but the occasion had usually been unofficial or religious. They had listened de haut en bas to apology and evident flattery or passionate denunciation. In a sense for the first time since emancipation the Negro race was officially addressing the South at the South's own invitation. To the surprise of the world Mr. Washington said ~~to an unusual degree~~ what the South wanted to hear, but said it with rare tact. Mr. Washington began by thanking the people of the South for what they had done for the Negro in this exposition. He then touched the keynote not only of the exposition but of the growing American thought on the Negro problem: ~~He~~ he reminded his listeners of the great service which the colored people as a working class could do for the South. He said that the colored race stood willing to do this and he followed with the sentence which made his speech famous: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers and yet one as the hand in all things essential for mutual progress."

The sentence seized the imagination of the nation. I was, I remember, at that time, a teacher at Wilberforce University in Ohio and I wrote to the New York AGE, then the leading colored weekly, commending Mr. Washington's stand and saying, "Have we not here the basis of honorable compromise with the South?" The editor of the T. Thomas Fortune AGE said emphatically, No. I recognized, ~~of course~~, even then, that the phrase was capable of serious ~~difficulty~~ differences of interpretation; but what mere phrase is not? The colored people could and would say as I ~~had~~ said: the fingers of the hand are in pretty close touch with each other and equal in general esteem if not in ability and prominence. Their separation, moreover, while real, is not great enough to preclude them from being one hand.

He afterward changed his mind and so did I.

34-2-8

The South on the other hand could and did put an interpretation on the speech which came seriously to alarm me and ~~the~~ all colored people. The Negro, it said, has come to his senses. He is willing to surrender political and civil rights; he is going uncomplainingly to work and going to give up agitation for impossible things.

The interpretation on the part of the North was even more distressing. The abolitionists ~~were~~ grew silent. How could they ask for a people things ~~that~~ which the people did not ask for themselves? Moreover, of how much value was the ballot anyway? What had the right to vote accomplished for the masses in New York City and in Boston? The speech agreed with that cold reaction against democracy and its pretentions which swept over us in the eighties and nineties. It met that detached, critical attitude which said: ~~After all~~ in view of the plainly perceptible differences between men what is all this pother about Rights and Law and Uplift? ~~Moreover~~ Finally, beneath all this articulate thought swept the great ground-swell of the world making middle class, looking for investments, looking for industrial peace and seeing in Mr. Washington's speech the shadow of a splendid solution: a docile, laboring

class, estranged from politics, ready and willing to replace recalcitrant white laborers and a powerful engine against the arrogance of trade unions. Mr. Washington, they said, is a vertiable God-send. We must strengthen his hands, spread his propaganda and build up his school.

What happened? We have only to look at the statute books and court decisions. Before 1890 Negroes were largely disfranchised in the South, and often forced to travel in smoking cars. But this caste system was illegal. Beginning with 1890 the South made caste legal. Between 1890 and 1900 "Jim-Crow" railway car laws were passed in six states (Ala., Ky., Ark., Ga., S. C. and N. C.). Disfranchisement laws were passed in three states (Miss., S. C. and La.); and restrictions on private Negro schools were laid in Florida and the principal of discrimination in public school facilities was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. In the next decade, 1900 to 1910, not only was nothing accomplished in the courts to stem this tide but more drastic restrictions on Negroes in private schools were made possible by the Supreme Court decision in the Berea case, while Kentucky began to separate school funds by race; "Jim-Crow" cars in the South were made universal by the passage of laws in Virginia and Maryland and a new movement put "Jim-Crow" street cars in ten states while disfranchisement laws were passed in four more states (N. C. Ala. Va. and Ga.).

Mr. Washington was not, of course, responsible for this legislation but while it was passing he was industriously preaching to a wider and wider audience the following thesis:

FIRST, he insisted that Negro education had begun at the wrong end, that is, with the college instead of with the industrial school. SECONDLY, that the Negro should not complain at grievances but should face his opportunities. THIRDLY, that the right to vote was of little

present importance to the Negro. FOURTHLY, that even in the matter of "Jim-Crow" legislation it was more important that the Negro should be worthy than that he should complain at the injustice.

This program without doubt clinched Mr. Washington's chances for being leader of the race and this was brought about not by the will or desire of the colored people but by the overwhelming determination of the white people of the country North and South. With almost unanimous voice the nation said: This is the first man who has voiced a WORKABLE program for the coexistence of the white and black in the South. He must be listened to and he must be followed.

34-2-10

Extraordinary opportunities were given to Mr. Washington. Occasions for wide publicity were made. Men of national renown honored him and deferred to him and he became from 1900 to 1905 perhaps the most widely known single man in America.

~~It would be fair to say that~~ During these years from 1895 to ~~1905~~ 1900 the Negro race sat silent and astonished. Few of the leading Negroes of that time agreed with the "Atlanta Compromise." They regarded it as a fatal surrender; but on the other hand, they could not help being impressed and profoundly impressed by the sight of a colored man held in such unprecendented esteem by the mass of the nation: his picture in every paper, his articles in every magazine, his books on every library shelf. Those then who disagreed must become broodingly silent and there came forward a number of newer leaders who either voiced Mr. Washington's doctrine or at least did not publicly oppose it.

Nevertheless opposition and bitter opposition began to develop among the northern Negroes who had long been used to outspoken insistence upon their rights as American citizens. The result was that this opposition gradually centered around a group of young Boston collegemen who started a paper called the "GUARDIAN" and began to attack Mr. Washington's

doctrines fiercely about 1900. The GUARDIAN voiced uncompromising opposition to Mr. Washington's proposals. The editors accused him of cowardice, they declared that he was selling the birth right of a race for a mess of pottage and that for the sake of ~~the~~ advantage to a few students of Tuskegee the greater dues of millions of colored Americans were being sacrificed. Most colored people, myself included, thought at first that the stand of the GUARDIAN was too extreme. We believed in the moral earnestness of Mr. Washington and his essential honesty of purpose. We thought he was making a great mistake, but we expected him to retrieve that mistake as soon as he saw whither things were tending. Directly and indirectly we brought to his attention the fact that inaction, silence and acquiesence on the part of the colored race in this struggle for citizenship rights was a chance for the worst elements of the South to write caste on the statute books.

34-2-11

Mr. Washington paid no attention to the early opposition in the colored race. The reason was easy to see. He was talking to white people, not to Negroes. He was receiving large and larger backing from the monied people of the North. He was receiving unusual attention and commendation in the South. Embarked upon his chosen line of action it was practically impossible for him to turn back. Nevertheless the protest of the Negroes began to reach such men as the late William H. Baldwin. They tried to reassure the colored people and ~~assured~~ tell them that the whole movement was a strategic one in the ultimate favor of Negroes and that their role at present was to keep quiet and accept the inevitable. I remember being called from Atlanta by Mr. Baldwin ostensibly to address a conference on the condition of Negroes in New York but in reality to sit up over half the night discussing the Tuskegee plan. Mr. Baldwin was very anxious that I should go to Tuskegee and help Mr. Washington organize the school. Before this I had been called in consultation by the authorities at Hampton

and in conjunction with the present Ambassador of England, the late Bishop of Rhode Island and several other men discussed a race magazine. Doubts, however, eventually arose in the minds of these persons as to how far I was going to follow the Hampton attitude and I very soon put their doubts at rest. Mr. Washington ~~however~~ joined Mr. Baldwin in urging me to come to Tuskegee. I was, however, by this time convinced that things were going wrong and that it was my duty to join in protest. I therefore, included in my book, the "Souls of Black Folk," published early in 1903, a criticism of Mr. Washington's attitude and work. Read today that protest seems exceedingly mild and in good temper. One can hardly realize how much indignation it aroused ~~at first~~ when published. But when this mild protest aroused ~~mild~~ indignation what was the attitude of the country when ~~this same year~~ a few months later Mr. Washington was the center of such an uproar of protest in a colored Boston church that the incident has been denominated the "Boston Riot!" This disturbance was in reality an attempt led by the editors of the GUARDIAN to make Mr. Washington state his position on several moot questions. Mr. Washington was in a peculiar sense the responsible minister of the American Negro at the court of white public opinion. The Boston group demanded the right to interpellate him, to insist that he state unequivocably his attitude toward disfranchisement and "Jim-Crow" cars.

34-2-12

The attempt was irregular and extra-legal but it was not unjust or unreasonable. Mr. Washington, however, either entirely mistook the nature of the demand or determined to ignore it. His friends had policemen on hand and no sooner had the hecklers risen to their feet than they were arrested. A great uproar ensued and the incident gained wide publicity.

I was not present at this meeting, had not the slightest knowledge that it was going to occur and only knew of it from the newspapers. Nevertheless, as was natural under the circumstances, I came in for a great deal of blame and responsibility as being the one who had already

criticized Mr. Washington. What Mr. Trotter and his colleagues in the co-called "Boston Riot" were trying to do was to make a responsible minister, in the English sense of the term, answer his constituents from the Front Bench. What they were accused of doing was creating a riot and trying to do bodily injury to the foremost man of their race. The anger of white America blazed against them and Mr. Trotter was uncerimoniously thrown into jail and made to serve a thirty days' sentence.

Nevertheless Mr. Trotter's object was curiously accomplished. The American people were violently awaken~~ing~~ed to the fact that all colored America did not ~~altogether~~ agree with Mr. Washington, that there was another side. ~~On the other hand,~~ Men too within the ranks of the colored race there was a feeling that Mr. Trotter was suffering martyrdom and that the principle of reasonable speech on the part of colored men was being unfairly attacked. I myself felt this very strongly. I did not agree with Mr. Trotter at the time and would not have joined him in his attempt to make Mr. Washington answer. But after it was done I recognized that ~~while his method might be criticised~~ his motives were high and his object ~~was~~ correct, and that in some way the colored people must arise and assert their just indignation against the program which the white people were presumptously demanding that the colored people assent to.

The "Boston Riot" at awoke Mr. Washington's white friends to action. They determined that he must persuade the mass of conservative colored opinion to accept his program.

~~Thereupon~~ Efforts were immediately made to seek to get hold of a number of the more conservative colored leaders and keep them from falling into the hands of the radicals. With a little more thoughtfulness and diplomacy this movement might have succeeded; but American white men in dealing with colored men are not usually thoughtful and do not take into account natural and human feelings. Thus while pleasant words were being

passed, the

~~The~~ "Ogden Movement" about this time was yielding to the South, laying less stress upon Negro schools and practically accepting the dictum "Educate the whites first." ~~Thus~~ Many were ~~had~~ withdrawn from the support of Negro colleges and colored men of influence were being asked rather peremptorily to support Mr. Washington. I was soon invited by Mr. Washington to help him select about fifty colored men throughout the United States who should meet together and come to an understanding. The Boston radicals were left out but otherwise there have probably been few meetings in modern times which so well represented the colored race as the meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York in 1904.

34-2-14

Compromise and soothing were in the air but I did not believe in further compromise. Andrew Carnegie, Lyman Abbott, Carl Schurz and other distinguished men addressed us and praised Mr. Washington and his program without stint. The more they talked the more we of the more radical group felt that we were being pushed willy-nilly in the support of Mr. Washington. My own speech was unbending. Straight to Mr. Washington's face I told him the indictment against him, the things that we would accept and the things that we would not accept.

I proposed finally a Committee of Twelve as a sort of steering committee for the colored race in America, to be elected and financed by the Negroes. Mr. Washington and his friends apparently assented. The committee was to be ~~appointed~~ nominated by Mr. Washington, Mr. Hugh Brown and myself. When, a month later, I reached New York to help in the ~~appointment~~ naming of the committee I found that Mr. Washington and Mr. Brown had already practically appointed it; and that it was to be supported from funds from some unknown source in Mr. Washington's hands; that Mr. Washington ~~was~~ had been made chairman of a small executive committee of five, which he absolutely dominated. I immediately resigned. Evidently Mr. Washington's friend had no notion of allowing the colored people to have any real voice in the conduct of Negro propaganda. ~~He and his friends~~ They wished the Negroes passively to follow a prepared program of which Mr. Washington became was to

be more and more the mouthpiece and personification.

This by 1905, to upwards of 90,000,000 people and largely to the rest of the world, Mr. Washington was the one person to be consulted concerning the Negro problems in America and race problems everywhere. He was a sort of clearing house for information, speaking to the white people concerning colored folk and speaking to colored people concerning white folk. From 1905 to 1911 he was the chief political advisor on racial appointments to Presidents of the United States and to state officials. He was the treasurer of funds, temporary and permanent, set aside by philanthropists for the help of the Negro race; he was the voice and visible representative of the colored people.

34-2-15

This was an impossible assumption of power. No one voice ever did or ever can speak for ten million. This is not democracy, it is tyranny and even granted a large measure of right in the tyrants' dicta, the situation is intolerable and full of danger.

With such thoughts before me I sent out letters to a number of colored friends. In 1905 twenty-nine of us met at Niagara Falls and formed the "Niagara Movement."

We set forth a strong perhaps even bitter indictment of what we called the policy of compromise and surrender and began a campaign of agitation. Mr. Washington's friends became equally bitter. The whites conceived that we were a set of jealous sore heads envious of a great man and that no understanding with us was possible. They proceeded to organize a campaign completely to crush us. We were pictured as agitators and jail birds ashamed of our race and anxious to marry white women. By various methods some legitimate and some not the support of the great majority of the colored weeklies was secured. Mr Washington's wide personal acquaintance and influence enabled him to put serious pressure to bear upon colored men in all parts of

the country. For a while it became a serious matter for any colored man to criticize Mr. Washington in any way. To this from 1905 to 1911 was added additional influence which Mr. Washington gained from being the political referee, so far as colored appointments was concerned, and even white appointments in the South, through three presidential administrations. It was one of the most critical periods in the history of the Negro race and probably never before has that race in America seen so much personal bitterness and dissension within its ranks.

About 1910 there came a change. First of all Mr. Washington must have realized where his propaganda was failing. Evidently the South was using his words to forward its anti-Negro ~~propaganda.~~ bias. Having accomplished their disfranchisement program ~~they were~~ it was sweeping on to demand the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment and other extravagances.

The opposition to Mr. Washington within his race, furnished with this fuel, gathered strength. Mr. Washington and his white advisors saw that ~~a more direct appeal~~ some concession to colored ~~people~~ opinion must be made. Mr. Washington began to address colored audiences more frequently, and to explain himself at length. He accepted positions on the trustee boards of two colored colleges and openly declared his advocacy of higher education ~~for certain classes.~~ with some limitations. He admitted that attention could not be wholly withdrawn from the right of suffrage and civil rights and he began gradually to voice the just grounds of complaint which the colored people have against whites, for their treatment.

On the other hand Mr. Washington's opponents also began to see light. They realized that his strong insistence upon work and saving was bearing fruit in the keeping up of the courage of the race, the rapid accumulation of Negro property and the turning of colored men towards the trades and business. Of course, it would be too much to say that any final agreement was reached between the two parties. To the last Mr. Washington's opponents maintained that he never adequately explained or withdrew his very damaging attacks upon the Negro colleges or his slurring of the right to vote. Mr. Washington's friends

too always felt in a certain sense of personal injury and dissatisfaction ~~and~~ at the severe attacks long made on their leader.

Thus matters stood when Booker T. Washington died. The personal bitterness within the race had died down considerably but still smoldered. The black world joined the white in acknowledging the great work which this man did in establishing a great school, spreading counsels of thrift and establishing a channel of communication between white and black in the South.

Through this channel there has without doubt come a new figure on the field - a Third Southerner as distinguished from the old master class, and the Tillman-Vardaman type of radical: He asks for justice to Negroes; not complete and ungrudging in all cases but so far beyond anything heretofore heard in the white South that he is being walked with both jealous suspicion and lively hope.

34-2-17

Looking back over these twenty years of controversy what can either side point to in justification of its contentions? First of all both sides ~~can~~ must grant each other essential honesty of purpose. The Washington propaganda was not all compromise and cowardice, the opposition was not all envy and moonshine. On the other hand both sides could not be wholly right and supplementary in their efforts. The Tuskegee plan has given peace with lynchings, and dividends with caste. It has allowed oligarchy and rotten boroughs to become firmly established in the South; but at the same time it has enabled Negroes to find steady employment, accumulate property rapidly and be fairly well contented as a mass. The opposition can be blamed for bitterness, friction and cross purposes within and without the Negro group, but it has kept the ideal of a real democracy in America which should include black men, before the country; and held it there so persistently that not even the most optimistic Bourbon believes that the American Negro is ever going permanently to accept caste. The real question is then this:

Would a firmer attitude on the part of Mr. Washington and his friends have held back the excesses of Southern caste legislation, or would larger acquiesence and silence on the part of the Negro have brought his real emancipation nearer? The answer to the latter question must be No; and can the answer to the former be less than Yes? For remember that the cost of caste is the deep hatred of the black and white laboring group in the South. This hatred means child labor, low wage, the exploitation of girlhood and motherhood, the hindering of uplift work and the choking of democracy as a means of giving the poor and oppressed a chance to have their voice heard in government and — lynching. This is a heavy cost, - how heavy this generation may never know, but the next will.

34-2-18

Meantime the thinking mass of American Negroes suffer no illusions. Despite the most optimistic judgment of Mr. Washington's work they are disfranchised, insulted by caste and facing a more implacable race hatred than ever before in this land. Out of this slough of despond they must fight their weary way. One star of hope guides them: their upward path is the path of all civilization: they stand for Peace, Democracy among races as well as nations and individuals, the economic Equality of the Sexes and the abolition of Poverty through the ~~abolition~~ stopping of the ruthless exploitation of undeveloped darker races by rapacious whites. Unless human culture turns permanently backward this program must eventually win.

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It was not more than two months before the end. Booker T. Washington was already ~~under~~ beneath the shadow of death. He had hired his Pullman berth from Chicago to Montgomery and was riding during the day alone in his section. A white man and his wife entered. They had seats for a day ride and the seats were in Mr. Washington's section. The man glared at him. He announced to the conductor and to the public that he did not propose "to sit with a nigger." The conductor shrugged his shoulders and made off, It was the only space left. Mr. Washington got up slowly and went forward

to the empty dining car and sat there among the dishevelled tables. At mealtime he went out and stood in the vestibule.

Close up

I can see the shadow of a certain fineness in this action. To us black folk it is a common experience. If there is a colored man in America who has not more than once thus crawled that his children might walk I have yet to know him. Certainly I have. And yet this method has limits and distinct limits. Beyond a certain point it is not Sacrifice. It is Injustice. It is injustice to humanity. It is injustice to the American people. It is double injustice to the poor, misguided American who was trying to be "white" by insulting a "nigger." If the colored world is going to make a practise of supinely letting the white world walk thus on its face all the world white and black must suffer and suffer horribly. There is a point where such sacrifice becomes cowardice; where meek submission becomes crime; and while no man may idly and easily draw metes and bounds for other souls, yet this incident throws curious and revealing light on the controversy which may always envelope the meaning of Booker T. Washington to America.

34-2-19

# NEWS FROM PAN-AFRICA

Etymologically Trans-Caucasia was the term I preferred. But, what with Tiflis and oil, Bolshevism and Baku the name has been more than preempted despite its lying so appropriately on the Black Sea. But the Black Sea of which I write lies much farther away than Russia. It lies even beyond Africa and is in that geographical third dimension of Fixed Ideas which makes it unusually difficult to approach; and despite our stream of travel, the cables of Yap and the swift flying trains and steamers, somehow, news and embassies from this land beyond the White World filter in even more slowly than before the War.

The Africa of European expansion - of ivory oil and rubber, of complicated labor systems, of economic empire - this Africa of the White World is but indirectly and negatively a part of Pan-Africa - or better it is its direct antithesis: Pan Africa is the thought of the vast African World, not only on these but on other matters; not only of this African present but of the past and future. And this thought and deep and its accompanying tumultuous swell of feeling hovers not so much today in the vast trunk and limbs of Africa itself - it is to be sure there, but not solely there - as in the worlds outside where African blood and brains have flown. This Pan-Africa includes Africa, but spiritually more than physically; and at the same time in this outer penumbra of thought and emotion Africa itself is always goal and center and living ideal.

Pan Africa, therefore, becomes an isolated indefinite little known region. Even there are those experienced and lettered folk who could easily prove its iron existence, and certainly only once in modern

days, has there been actual conscious contact between the white world and a center of Pan Africa. It was not all Pan Africa that Booker Washington perceived or represented. But what part he did represent was a living entity and not as heretofore an inert speechless or at least unheard fact. Booker Taliaferro Washington received the recognition of the white world, and through him precise and definite information and, what was more appreciated, easily comprehended news and policies were regularly sent out. Men heard vaguely of some turmoil within — of dissatisfaction and even revolt, but they did not understand it and learned that it was put down with a heavy hand, as such uprisings in semi-civilized quarters ought to be. For half trained and untrained men are with difficulty made fit for self rule and for this reason whites were willing to maintain Mr. Washington's rule with large contributions and political recognition, something the same way as Porfirio Diaz was enabled long to rule in Mexico with the support of foreign corporations. This is no reflection on Washington or Diaz. They served willingly and effectively - they were great men. But what the world has learned but slowly is that both they and their systems are dead.

37-4-67

Since Mr. Washington's death November 15, 1915, sources of information have either been stopped entirely or are confused, contradictory or unauthentic. There is, so far as the outer world is concerned, no recognized ruler today anywhere in Pan Africa, and what is more disconcerting, there seems to be less inclination within to appeal to the decision and judgment of the white world without. No ambassadors properly credentialled are even being sent and the names of power and influence which trickle through are mainly the names of strangers.

And yet in size and numbers Pan-Africa is a great land. Ignoring its alleged spiritual alliance with the Yellow and Brown Worlds, with whom white have more direct methods of communication, we find Pan-Africa a straggling congeries of groups so loosely bound together as to be by many with difficulty regarded as one. The 20th century has seen four efforts at something like at least nominal unity; in 1900 a Pan-African Conference met in London, but most of the delegates although born abroad were London residents. In 1912 Mr. Washington called a second conference at Tuskegee with a considerable foreign attendance, and the object of beginning the extension of the Tuskegee system to Africa - of expounding a centralized ganglion until it functioned for a vaster body. At the end of the Great War, Pan Africa attempted to assemble with accredited delegates at the capital of the world during the Peace Conference. The attempt met much secret and some open opposition. The foreign offices at London, Paris and Washington discussed the matter and it was finally allowed to meet on assurance that its voice would not be allowed to rise above a whisper and little news of its action would be issued to the world.

That it was allowed to meet at all, however, was interesting. Troops from Pan-Africa in all its ramifications were needed in the War and were decisive for France. A black undersecretary in Clemenceau's cabinet had been indespensible in importing this black cannon fodder in an unending stream. When then he was shrewdly selected to preside over the Congress, France could not stop the meeting, but she could and did watch over and curb its action.

There met at Paris in 1919 fifty seven delegates representing 16 groups of the scattered Pan-African populations. Twenty three of these

came directly as representatives and the rest, resident in France, acted as proxies for their birth places. How far now did these folk represent a real Pan-Africa - a real world wide union of thought and effort and idea among say 200,000,000 human beings? One admits immediately that most of the 200 million or more never heard of the Congress nor of their brothers, cousins and far kin beyond their own narrow horizon in Africa, America and the isles. But after all most men of all groups are only relatively less ignorant. On the other hand, that there are little glowing centers newly and increasingly self conscious and other-conscious flaming in Pan-Africa today cannot be gainsaid. They are but beginnings - thickening ganglia - but they are uniting men of Negro blood not simply in the United States, the Western Indies, West, South and East Africa, Abyssinia, Haiti and Liberia, among themselves, but also slightly but definitely with each other.

37-4-69

The impulse to union came and comes chiefly, of course, from without - the well nigh unanimous crystalizing of white public world opinion drew by its very negations Pan-Africa into a great urge toward unity. In reality these Africans were mutual strangers. Some common heritage of dark and ancient blood was there of course, but what is blood amid language, custom, history, land and landscape? We were strangers meeting there with but one bond - oppression, age long, and a certain darkening of skin and crinkling of hair of infinite variety. We asked the question of strangers: "I do not understand" said Deputy Diagne of Senegal repeatedly - "You ride in separate cars, there in America? <u>You</u>?" "What connections have you with the Nigerian natives?" We asked of the black Sierra Leonean and "Were there really no Negro officers in the English army?" of yellow Jamaica. Least organic of all Pan-Africa are these natives in the hinter-

land of the great European possessions. Only recently from the Sahara to the Zambesi - from Guinea to Somaliland are they hearing of each other and of dark leaders in the outer world who speak the white mans ways. A vast seething unrest is spreading and European practical politics is set to keep the leader-evolving groups from contact with this unrest - the educated West African from contact with Nigeria and Congo, the colored Cape Colonist from the Matabele, the American Negro from the Zulu or Abyssinian.

Meantime these little leader-making groups are swiftly evolving, talking, thinking, even acting. They are becoming alive, conscious, nearly modern. They are discovering themselves and the world. Consider, for instance, Jamaica. Jamaica has long consisted of some 800,000 black peasants - voiceless toilers. Today they are awaking, swept by a great unrest. They built the Panama Canal, they went to war, they migrated to America, they argued on the streets. More and more radical have become their ideas of change and betterment. Their whilom masters, - English investors, English and Mulatto merchants and civil servants - view these gusts of hate and passion with alarm, especially because of their new direction; the appeal is being made not to the rulers of Jamaica but straight over their heads to the rulers of Pan-Africa. "Pan-Africa?" sputters the United Fruit Company - "Pan-Africa!" complains the Daily Gleaner - is there a Pan-Africa - is there a Negro world uniting all Negroes out side the white? No, say some - but others and wiser answer: there is, if people think there is, and many people do.

In Panama, where West Indian laborers from Jamaica, Barbadoes, Trinidad and elsewhere flocked to the lure of high wage, the Negro revolt tried to find common cause with the revolt of labor the world over; thousands of them joined the unions, but their efforts to cooperate with American labor unions not only met the strong arm of the United States government but the impotenence, indifference and deception of the American Federation of Labor.

Gradually they turned towards Pan-Africa. I have before me the statement of the "National Association of Loyal Negroes" formed at Cristobal, C.Z. in January 1919 with the motto: "Freedom, Democracy, Africa!" They lay down their peace aims.

"1. That the African colonies wrested from Germany during the course of the war, and more especially German East Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland be incorporated in one large Central African State under native leadership and government, protected by the international guarantees of the League of Nations now in process of formation. In order to carry out this scheme effectively and in a practical manner so that all the colonies named may be linked up territorially East and West, it is suggested that British East Africa, the Belgian and French Congo States and Portuguese West Africa be ceded to the Central African State projected, taking as a line of demarcation all the territories stretching East and West from about 4 degrees north to 10 degrees south of the equator.

"2. That the British colony of Sierra Leone be merged into the little Republic of Liberia to form one West African State so as to afford better harbor facilities to Liberia, which is essential to the economic growth and development of this Negro Republic.

"3. That the Independent native state of Abyssinia be given an outlet to the sea by ceding to her British, French and Italian Somaliland and the Italian colony of Eritrea.

"4. That German South-west Africa be internationalized under the joint control of all the powers comprising the League of Nations with the understanding that the interests of the natives must be paramount.

" In the above peace aims it must be borne in mind that the Negro is not asking for any thing that is not his. Where the word British or French or Belgian occurs in the text, it is simply used adjectively to

territories under control by means of force by the several governments named.

" On all sides one is confronted with these questions: Can the Belgians, who were unable to protect Belgium their national home, protect the Congo? and what of Portugal who is still under leading string of other European Powers - is she capable of colonial trust?

" It was Negroes who helped to stem the tide of the Piave when the Italian morale was at breaking point. It was Negroes who drove Germany out of Africa, and it is Negroes who must determine the fate of these African colonies."

Crossing the world to South Africa we find the Blacks in bitter despair. If to live in Pan-Africa, is to be utterly outside the white world - denied courts, schools, churches, railroads, side walks, labor unions, cities and land, then the South African Natives are in the center of Pan-Africa. In one state alone, Cape Colony, the colored folk cling to the vestiges of political power and guide themselves through the African Political Organization - but elsewhere disfranchised and half enslaved, citizens of a country which declares by constitutional provision that the "equality of black and white" shall "never" be recognized, they are fighting today for the last of modern human rights, the right to live on the land and till the soil. The South African Native Congress however, lives and appeals and agitates. It sends delegates to England, and today at last it appeals to Pan-Africa throughout the world.

Perhaps the greatest meeting of recent years in Africa itself so far as Negroes are concerned was the National Congress of British West Africa, held at Accra, Gold Coast, March 11 to 29, 1920. It was attended by the Paramount Chief of Lagos and six delegates, including chiefs, from Southern and Central Nigeria; the Paramount Chief of Accra, five chiefs from

the Gold Coast together with 15 barristers at law, 2 physicians, 3 pastors, 2 editors and 14 citizens; and five delegates from Sierra Leone. These 54 leading Negroes of British West Africa sent up to the English throne a petition which ~~from~~ for restraint, learning and clearnesss has seldom been surpassed by a popular assembly; they said, among other things:

"7. That your Petitioners desire to bring to the notice of Your Majesty that the administrations of the several British West African Dependencies are composed of Executive and Legislative Councils. The Members of the Executive Councils are all Government officials who also together with Members nominated by the Governors compose the Legislative Councils. As such the nominated Members do not really represent the people, and they are not directly in touch with them.

"8. That the anomaly in the preceding paragraph indicated has from time to time been complained of by the people in the press and otherwise and by the nominated Members themselves in the Legislative Councils; and that on two occasions the people of the Gold Coast, one of the British West African Colonies, have directly appealed to Your Majesty's Government, namely in the year 1898 by a petition addressed to Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and in the year 1912, by a petition addressed to Your Majesty, praying that the constitution of the Legislative Council might be "altered," inter alia, "by providing that the people of the "Gold Coast may elect the Unofficial African Members to the "Legislative Council." The first petition was settled by Your Majesty's late Prime Minister the Right Honourable H. Asquith, M. P., as counsel, and the second petition was presented on behalf of the Petitioners by Messrs. Ashurst Morris Crisp & Co., Solicitors of London.

"9. That a Select Committee of Your Majesty's House of Commons in the year 1865 laid it down as the policy of Your Majesty's Government "that the object of our policy should be to "encourage in the Natives the exercise of those qualities which may "render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the "administration of all the Governments," in other words, that Your Majesty's British West African Subjects should be trained for self-Government.

"10. That in faith of that policy British West African Kings and Chiefs and other representative men have sent their sons to be educated in England as professional men and otherwise besides a large class of well-educated men who have taken advantage of, and benefited by, the educational facilities the Dependencies afford, and who have become the natural leaders of their people.

"11. That apart from the fact that the National Congress of British West Africa represents substantially the intelligentsia and the advanced thought of British West Africa, and that the principles it stands for are some of those fundamental ones that have always actuated communities that have arrived at the stage of national consciousness, it also represents as to existing disabilities, and to submit recommendations for the necessary reforms.

"12. That your Petitioners would respectfully beg leave to point out that in asking for the franchise the people of British West Africa are not seeking to copy a foreign institution. On the contrary, it is important to notice that the principle of electing representatives to local councils and bodies is inherent in all the systems of British West Africa which are essentially democratic in nature, as may be gathered from standard works on the subject.

"13. That, further, according to the African system no Headman,

Chief, or Paramount Ruler has an inherent right to exercise Jurisdiction unless he is duly elected by the people to represent them, and that the appointment to political offi ces also entirely depends upon the election and the will of the people.

"14. That such being the British West African System of representation, the arrangement by which the Governor of a Crown Colony nominates whom he thinks proper to represent the people cannot but strike them as a great anomaly and does constitute a grievance and a disability which they now respectfully pray may be remedied.

"15. That it is consequently desired that the people may be given the opportunity of electing one-half of the Members of the Legislative Council, the other half being nominated by the Crown besides the power of electing six other financial representatives to a House of Assembly, whom together with the Members of the Legislative Council, shall have the power of imposing taxes and of discussing freely and without reserve the items on the annual estimates of revenue and expenditure prepared by the Governors in the Executive Council and approving of them, and that the advantage of the reform herein advocated be extended to both the European and African Members of the various British West African communities.

"20. That Your Majesty's Petitioners would further draw attention to the urgent need there is for separating judicial functions from those of the Executive, the grounds upon which they so pray being fully set out in the Memorandum.

"21. That Your Majesty's Petitioners would respectfully submit that the people of British West Africa suffer at present from the disability of invidious distinctions to appointments to offices in your Majesty's British West African Civil Service. The facts bearing upon this point are also set out fully in the Memorandum.

27-4-25

"22. That another grievance is the attempt to close the West African Medical Service to duly qualified West African Medical Men as to which also the facts relating thereto have been set out in the Memorandum.

"24. That your Petitioners would respectfully submit that the time has come for the establishment of Municipal Corporations in all the principal towns of British West Africa with full power of electing four-fifths of the Members thereof and the remaining one-fifth nominated by the Government, such elected and nominated members having the power of electing the Mayor of the Corporation, whom however must be an elected member.

"25. That your Petitioners desire the establishment of a British West African University, and are prepared to promote the necessary funds for its establishment, supported by Government subsidies.

"32. That Your Majesty's Petitioners view with grave alarm the right assumed by the European Powers of exchanging or partitioning African countries between them without regard to the wishes of the people, and beg leave respectfully to request that the partitioning of Togoland between the English and the French be reconsidered for the reasons assigned in the Memorandum."

A delegation bore this petition and its supporting documents to London. The colored secretary refused to receive them, the Governor of the Gold Coast induced his native appointed members of council to denounce them and the English government in a formal letter has declared that this action shows that the Congress was not representative and its words cannot be listened to! Are not the eyes of West Africa turned toward Pan-Africa?

When we turn from British to French and Portuguese Africa we cross the apparently slight but most significant line, - a line which at once makes the interest of the French African and the Portuguese African in

Pan-Africa less and the interest of Pan-Africa in them more. The point is that theoretically there is no color line in these colonies either as between natives and white colonials or as between colonial citizens and citizens of the Mother country. A black French deputy from Senegal sits in the Chambre des Deputes in Paris representing four enfranchised communes, and Negroes are represented inthe local government; in Portuguese Africa the former Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs said to the Pan-African Congress: "D'apres la constitution de la Republique, aucune difference n'est faite entre les provinces metropolitaines et celles d'outre-mer, comme aucune difference n'est admise entre les Portugais, qu'ils soient nes au de ci ou au-dela des mers. Tous ont les memes droits politiques et c'est ainsi que nos africains siegent au Senat et a la Chambre des Deputes, elus, non seulement par leurs concitoyens africains, mais aussi, ce que je crois n'arrive que chez nous, par leurs concitoyens Europeens."

32-41-77

This, however, does not mean that there are no distinctions and no cries of distress from these parts of Africa. Quite the contrary. It means only that the educated African, the talented and rich find it more easy to escape into the French and Portuguese world than into the British; but they are very few in number and small in proportion to the great mass of blacks. Moreover the very facility with which they escape tends to identify their interests with France and Portugal rather than with Africa and deprive the unrisen native of any indigenous leadership. The economic problem which is the largest element in the race problem everywhere still remains a large problem in French and Portuguese Africa. It is intensified in Portuguese Africa because the British so thoroughly dominate the Portuguese particularly in Mozambique; but it is present in French Africa

where for a long time conditions in the French Congo under the exploiting monopolies were quite as bad as in the Belgian Congo. Still one can easily see that when intothe counsels of Pan-Africa there come the leaders of black France and Portugal their attitude and their meaning is quite different from that of the British African or the American Negro.

We turn now to three so-called independent centers of Negro development, Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti. They present in reality a common problem. They are rich new countries in the sense of being practically untouched by modern capitalistic development. They need capital but the process of borrowing capital from modern civilization involves, for small countries, open or concealed political control. To avoid the political control of the white man and at the same time get the use of his material, tools and machinery on reasonable terms is the problem of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti. Not that it would be at all easy sailing if this capital was put into their hands: they lack skill and experience and knowledge of modern industry and commerce. They are only partially trained in modern business conventions. When, however, teachers go out to help them they are more often in the shape of shrewd business men who dislike "niggers" and who deem it perfectly defensible ethics to cheat them. Behold the complications! Soo too why these countries are turning with more eagerness to Pan-Africa. The Abyssinia post-War Embassy when in the United States was especially eager to get in contact

22-4-38

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# NEWS FROM PAN-AFRICA

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Etymologically, Trans-Caucasia was the term I preferred. But, what with Tiflis and oil, Bolshevism and Baku, the name has been more than preempted despite its lying so appropriately on the Black Sea. But the Black Sea of which I write lies much farther away from Russia. It lies even beyond Africa and is in that geographical third dimension of Fixed Ideas which makes it unusually difficult to approach; and despite our stream of travel, the cables of Yap and the swift flying trains and steamers, somehow, news and embassies from this land beyond the White World filter in even more slowly than before the war.

The Africa of European expansion - of ivory, oil and rubber, of complicated labor systems, of economic empire - this Africa of the White World is but indirectly and negatively a part of Pan-Africa - or better, it is its direct antithesis: Pan-Africa is the thought of the vast African World, not only on these but on other matters; not only of this African present, but of the past and future. And this thought and deep, and its accompanying tumultuous swell of feeling hovers not so much today in the vast trunk and limbs of Africa itself - it is to be sure, there, but not solely there - as in the worlds outside where African blood and brains have flown. This Pan-Africa includes Africa, but spiritually more than physically; and at the same time in this outer penumbra of thought and emotion, Africa itself is always goal and center and living ideal.

Pan-Africa, therefore, becomes an isolated, indefinite, little known region. Even there are those experienced and lettered folk who could easily prove its non-existence; and certainly only but seldom in modern days, has there been actual conscious contact between the White World

and a real pulsing center of Pan-Africa. It was not all Pan-Africa that Booker Washington perceived or represented. But what part he did represent was a living entity and not as often before an inert, speechless or at least unheard fact. Booker Talliaferro Washington received the recognition of the White World, and through him they got much precise and definite information and, what was more appreciated, easily comprehended news and policies. Men heard vaguely of some turmoil within - of dissatisfaction and even revolt, but they did not understand it and learned that it was put down with a heavy hand, as such uprisings in semi-civilized quarters ought to be. For half-trained and untrained men are with difficulty made fit for self-rule and for this reason whites were willing to maintain Mr. Washington's rule with large contributions and political recognition, something the same way as Porfirio Diaz was enabled long to rule in Mexico with the support of foreign corporations. This is no reflection on Washington or Diaz. They served willingly and effectively - they were great men. But what the world has learned ~~but~~ slowly, is that both they and their systems are dead.

Since Mr. Washington's death, November 15, 1915, sources of information from Pan-Africa have either been stopped entirely or are confused, contradictory or unauthentic. There is, so far as the outer world is concerned, no recognized ruler today anywhere in Pan-Africa, and what is more disconcerting, there seems to be less inclination within to appeal to the decision and judgment of the White World without. No ambassadors properly credentialled are even being sent and the names of power and influence which trickle through are mainly the names of strangers.

And yet in size and numbers, Pan-Africa is a great land. Ignoring

its alleged spiritual alliance with the Yellow and Brown Worlds, with whom white ~~have~~ the world has more direct methods of communication, we find Pan-Africa up to the 21st century a straggling congeries of groups so loosely bound together as to be by many with difficulty regarded as one.

Indeed, Africa never regarded itself as One. It was Egypt, Yoruba, the Mellistine, the lands of the far flung Bantu. Later in Latin America and the islands, colored emancipators like George William Gordon of Jamaica, Arabi of Guiana, Maceo of Cuba, the Caribs of the Isles and the revolutionists of Bakia, Brazil, all were thinking of tribe and island and local wrong rather than the world-sweep of all Africa. In the United States, the earlier freedmen of the late 18th century were a moment conscious of the greater dark fatherland, but they forgot it in the 19th century and sought to think simply as Americans. The 20th century has seen four efforts at something like at least nominal unity of Africans: in 1900 a Pan-African Conference met in London, but most of the delegates, although born abroad, were London residents. In 1912 Mr. Washington called a second conference at Tuskegee with a considerable foreign attendance, and the object of beginning the extension of the Tuskegee system to Africa - of expanding a centralized ganglion until it functioned for a vaster body in certain limited lines. At the end of the Great War, Pan-Africa attempted to assemble with accredited delegates at the capital of the world during the Peace Conference. The attempt met much secret and some open opposition. The foreign offices at London, Paris and Washington discussed the matter and it was finally allowed to meet on assurance that its voice would not be allowed to rise above a whisper and little news of its action would be issued to the world.

That it was allowed to meet at all, however, was interesting. Troops

38-3-65

from Pan-Africa in all its ramifications were needed in the war and were decisive for France. A black under-secretary in Clemenceau's cabinet had been indespensible in importing this black cannon fodder in an unending stream. When then he was shrewdly selected to preside over the Congress, France could not stop the meeting, but she could and did watch over and curb its action.

There met at Paris in 1919 fifty-seven delegates representing 16 groups of the scattered African populations. Twenty-three of these came directly as representatives and the rest, resident in France, acted as proxies for their birth places. How far now did these folk represent a real Pan-Africa - a real world wide union of thought and effort and idea among say 200,000,000 human beings? One admits immediately that most of the 200 million or more never heard of the Congress nor of their brothers, cousins and far kin beyond their own narrow horizon in Africa, America and the isles. But after all most men of all groups are only relatively less ignorant. On the other hand, that there are little glowing centers newly and increasingly self-conscious and other-conscious flaming in Pan-Africa today, cannot be gainsaid. They are but beginnings - thickening ganglia - but they are uniting men of Negro blood not simply in the United States, the Western Indies, West, South and East Africa, Abyssinia, Haiti and Liberia, among themselves, but also slightly but definitely with each other.

The impulse to union came and comes chiefly, of course, from without - the well nigh unanimous crystalizing of white public world opinion drew by its very negations Pan-Africa into a great urge toward unity. In reality these Africans were mutual strangers. Some common heritage of dark and ancient blood was there, of course, but what is blood amid language, custom, history, land and landscape? We were strangers meet-

ing there with but one bond - oppression, age-long, and a certain darkening of skin and crinkling of hair of infinite variety. We asked the questions of strangers: "I do not understand," said Deputy Diagne of Senegal, repeatedly - "You ride in separate cars, there in America? You?" "What connections have you with the Nigerian natives?" we asked of the black Sierra Leonean; and "Were there really no Negro officers in the English army?" of yellow Jamaica. Least organic of all Pan-Africa are these natives in the hinterland of the great European possessions. Only recently from the Sahara to the Zambesi - from Guinea to Somaliland, are they hearing of each other and of dark leaders in the outer world who speak the white mans ways. A vast seething unrest is spreading and European practical politics is set to keep the leader-evolving groups from contact with this unrest - the educated West African from contact with Nigeria and Congo, the colored cape Colonist from the Matabele, the American Negro from the Zulu or Abyssinian.

Meantime these little leader-making groups are swiftly evolving, talking, thinking, even acting. They are becoming alive, conscious, nearly modern. They are discovering themselves and the world. Consider, for instance, Jamaica: Jamaica has long consisted of some 800,000 black peasants - voiceless toilers. Today they are awaking, swept by a great unrest. They built the Panama Canal, they went to war, they migrated to America, they argued on the streets. More and more radical have become their ideas of change and betterment. Their whilom masters, - English investors, English and Mulatto merchants and civil servants - view these gusts of hate and passion with alarm, especially because of their new direction; the appeal is being made not to the rulers of Jamaica but straight over their heads to the rulers of Pan-Africa. "Pan Africa?" sputters the United Fruit Company - "Pan Africa!" complains the Daily

38-3-67

Gleaner - is there a Pan-Africa? - is there a Negro world uniting all Negroes out side the white? No, say some - but others and wiser answer: there is, if people think there is,-and many people do.

In Panama, where West Indian laborers from Jamaica, Barbadoes, Trinidad and elsewhere flocked to the lure of high wage, the Negro revolt tried to find common cause with the revolt of labor the world over; thousands of them joined the labor-unions, but their efforts to cooperate with American labor unions not only met the strong arm of the United States government but the impotence, indifference and deception of the American Federation of Labor. Gradually they turned towards Pan-Africa. I have before me the statement of the "National Association of Loyal Negroes" formed at Cristobal, C.Z., in January 1919 with the motto: "Freedom, Democracy, Africa!" They lay down their peace aims:

"1. That the African colonies wrested from Germany during the course of the war, and more especially German East Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland, be incorporated in one large Central African State under native leadership and government, protected by the international guarantees of the League of Nations now in process of formation. In order to carry out this scheme effectively and in a practical manner so that all the colonies named may be linked up territorially East and West, it is suggested that British East Africa, the Belgian and French Congo States and Portuguese West Africa be ceded to the Central African State projected, taking as a line of demarcation all the territories stretching East and West from about 4 degrees north to 10 degrees south of the equator.

"2. That the British colony of Sierra Leone be merged into the little Republic of Liberia to form one West African State so as to afford better harbor facilities to Liberia, which is essential to the

economic growth and development of this Negro Republic.

"3. That the Independent native state of Abyssinia be given an outlet to the sea by ceding to her British, French and Italian Somaliland and the Italian colony of Eritrea.

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"In the above peace aims it must be borne in mind that the Negro is not asking for any thing that is not his. Where the word British or French or Belgian occurs in the text, it is simply used adjectively to territories under control by means of force by the several governments named.

"On all sides one is confronted with these questions: Can the Belgians, who were unable to protect Belgium their national home, protect the Congo? and what of Portugal who is still under leading string of other European Powers - is she capable of colonial trust?

"It was Negroes who helped to stem the tide of the Piave when the Italian morale was at breaking point. It was Negroes who drove Germany out of Africa, and it is Negroes who must determine the fate of these African colonies."

Elsewhere, as in Grenada, a crown colony - where 12 of the 14 prominent citizens chosen to meet the Prince of Wales on his late visit, were colored - there has risen a demand for representative government and delegates are now in London to press it. And - is it not significant? - the colored part of the delegation will attend the second Pan-African Congress.

Crossing the world to South Africa, we find the Blacks in bitter

despair. If to live in Pan-Africa, is to be utterly outside the white world - denied courts, schools, churches, railroads, side walks, labor unions, cities and land, then the South African natives are in the center of Pan-Africa. In one state alone, Cape Colony, the colored folk cling to the vestiges of political power and guide themselves through the African Political Organization; but elsewhere, disfranchised and half-enslaved, citizens of a country which declares by constitutional provision that the "equality of black and white" shall "never" be recognized, they are fighting today for the last of modern human rights, the right to live on the land and till the soil. The South African Native Congress, however, ~~lives and~~ appeals and agitates. It sends delegates to England, and today at last it appeals to Pan-Africa. ~~throughout the world.~~

38-3-69

Perhaps the greatest meeting of recent years in Africa itself, so far as Negroes are concerned, was the National Congress of British West Africa, held at Accra, Gold Coast, March 11 to 29, 1920. It was attended by the Paramount Chief of Lagos and six delegates, including chiefs, from Southern and Central Nigeria; the Paramount Chief of Accra, five chiefs from the Gold Coast, together with 15 barristers at law, 2 physicians, 3 pastors, 2 editors and 14 citizens; and five delegates from Sierra Leone. These 54 leading Negroes of British West Africa sent up to the English throne a petition which for restraint, learning and clearness has seldom been surpassed by a popular assembly. They said, among other things:

"That your Petitioners desire to bring to the notice of Your Majesty that the administrations of the several British West African Dependencies are composed of Executive and Legislative Councils. The Members of the Executive Councils are all Government officials who also together with

Members nominated by the Governors compose the Legislative Councils. As such the nominated Members do not really represent the people, and they are not directly in touch with them.

"That the anomaly in the preceding paragraph indicated has from time to time been complained of by the people in the press and otherwise and by the nominated Members themselves in the Legislative Councils; and that on two occasions the people of the Gold Coast, one of the British West African Colonies, have directly appealed to Your Majesty's Government, namely in the year 1898 by a petition addressed to Her late Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and in the year 1912, by a petition addressed to Your Majesty, praying that the constitution of the Legislative Council might be 'altered,' inter alia, 'by providing that the people of the Gold Coast may elect the Unofficial African Members to the 'Legislative Council.'

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the English government in a formal letter has declared that this action shows that the Congress was not representative and its words cannot be listened to! Are not the eyes of West Africa turned toward Pan-Africa?

Today an Imperial Conference of Greater Britain is meeting in London, but no Negroes are represented. Jamaica and the British West Indies and all black Africa have, so far, been excluded.

When we turn from British to French and Portuguese Africa, we cross the apparently slight, but most significant, line -a line which at once makes the interest of the French African and the Portuguese African in Pan-Africa less and the interest of Pan-Africa in them more. The point is that theoretically there is no color line in these colonies either as between natives and white colonials or as between colonial citizens and citizens of the Mother country. A black French deputy from Senegal sits in the Chambre des Députés in Paris representing four enfranchised communes; and Negroes are represented in the local municipal government; in Portuguese Africa, the former Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs said to the first Pan-African Congress: "D'après la constitution de la République, aucune différence n'est faite entre les provinces metropolitaines et celles d'outre-mer, comme aucune différence n'est admise entre les Portugais, qu'ils soient nés au de ci ou au-delà des mers. Tous ont les mêmes droits politiques et c'est ainsi que nos africains siègent au Sénat et à la Chambre des Deputés, élus, non seulement par leurs concitoyens africains, mais aussi, ce que je crois n'arrive que chez nous, par leurs concitoyens Européens."

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easy to escape into the French and Portuguese world than into the British; but they are very few in number and small in proportion to the great mass of blacks. Moreover the very facility with which they escape tends to identify their interests with France and Portugal rather than with Pan-Africa and deprive the unrisen native of any indigenous leadership. The economic problem, which is the largest element in the race problem everywhere, still remains a large problem in French and Portuguese Africa. It is intensified in Portuguese Africa because the British so thoroughly dominate the Portuguese, particularly in Mozambique; but it is present in French Africa where for a long time conditions in the French Congo under the exploiting monopolies were quite as bad as in the Belgian Congo, Still one can easily see that when into the counsels of Pan-Africa there come the leaders of black France and Portugal, their attitude and their meaning is quite different from that of the British African or the American Negro.

We turn now to three so-called independent centers of Negro development,-Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti. They present in reality a common problem. They are rich new countries in the sense of being practically untouched by modern capitalisitc development. They need capital; but the process of borrowing capital from modern civilization involves, for small countries, open or concealed political control. To avoid the political control of the white man and at the same time get the use of his material, tools and machinery on reasonable terms is the problem of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti. Not that it would be at all easy sailing if this capital was put into their hands: they lack skill and experience and knowledge of modern industry and commerce. They are only partially trained in modern business conventions. When, however, teachers go out to help them they are more often in the shape of shrewd business men who

dislike "niggers" and who deem it perfectly defensible ethics to cheat them. Behold the complications! So naturally these countries are turning with more eagerness to Pan-Africa. The Abyssinia post-War Embassy when in the United States was especially eager to get in contact with American Negroes but the War Department all but frustrated this. Yet Abyssinians have a vague knowledge that there are black men of training and experience in the world and even black capital, who might help Abyssinia; but who and where are these helps? Great Britain, France and Italy, who have the mountains of Abyssinia clenched in their fists of steel, are not eagerly imparting any knowledge as to this fabulous Pan-Africa.

On the other hand, both Liberia and Haiti have come into direct and helpful negotiations with the Negroes of the world. The Liberian Plenary Commission to the United States to borrow five million dollars is as much a commission to Pan-Africa, as represented by the American Negroes, as to the State Department; and if they are successful it will be because of the efforts and cooperation of black United States. So too the great effort for the emancipation of Haiti from the tentacles of the National City Bank is in the hands of American Negroes.

Spiritually then, if not physically, Pan-Africa centers in the United States, in the hearts and thoughts of a nation within a nation whose population is one-half that of Brazil, three-fourths that of Mexico, equal to that of Belgium and Holland together, or Jugo-Slavia or Czecho-Slovakia; twice that of Australia or Portugal and three times that of Ireland or Bulgaria. These American Negroes own land in fee simple that is as large in area as the whole of Ireland or of Holland, Belgium and Denmark together, and while they are yet a poor and ignorant people, their wealth and intelligence is great enough to place them in a modern

world.

38-3-76

Of the past history of this group we all know because it is part of the history of the land and is largely a matter of the record of relationships. But of the inner thought and striving and particularly the streams of emotion and norms of action since the death of Mr. Washington and the process of spiritual transmutation by which colored America is becoming the center of Pan-Africa - all this is largely unknown and, as I have said, news emerges and travellers penetrate with difficulty into this land.

What has happened since Mr. Washington's death? Much. So much that were he to return he would hardly recognize his Negro problem. He had been chosen to guide a great movement, at once philanthropic and economic. Philanthropy was in his early days non-plussed. For a generation it had educated Negroes but the South stood fast at the caste line of color. Then blood cried to blood and South said to North - (acquaintance to acquaintance, kin to kin, business man to merchant, Henry Grady to the Home Market Club) - is there no common ground? The common ground easily appeared: the building of a great black semi-skilled laboring force in the South bound to the employing class by gratitude and charity, disfranchised labor movement held back from extreme demands by the present and possible competition of the blacks.

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This plan was ideal save in its misreading of human nature: the competition of blacks angered the white worker to a blaze of prejudice which culminated in mobs and lynching. The manipulation of the black worker without his consent thwarted a natural ambition and made him clamor for wider training and a vote. Thus Negro thought divided sharply. In the center was the old thought of Douglass and Langston, that Negroes

but under legal protection; these would stand as a vast counter-balance to the white semi-skilled and skilled laborers who formed an enfranchised

would gradually be recognized as Americans with all rights of citizens. From this the growing influence of Mr. Washington swung a great army to the right - declaring that rights could come only from consent of the whites and that this consent was only to be won by concession and finesse, by giving up pretentions to political power and gaining economic importance: "Be willing to be Negroes and proud of that fact, before you try to be white Americans." To balance this, back to the left swung a growing revolt saying: "No, stand fast, resist, agitate, demand your rights and seek education rather than money; for the more you yield to white prejudice the more they will ask and the less able you will be to back demand with power."

Here Mr. Washington died and on came War. When the smoke cleared, a vast reforming of lines was visible. Out from the former left wing swung a much more radical left - a real left, as compared with world radicalism. Young Negro socialists and radicals said to the former left: "You are ignorant and misguided. As a mass of oppressed working people your place is in the great labor movement. Peace is but incidental and is being artificially played up and emphasized in order to split the laborers. Join the radical revolutionists in a Socialist or even Communist movement and realize that capitalistic exploitation, with its natural monopolies, low wage and political power, is the real and only race question in America as elsewhere." This was the voice of young, colored, educated America, newly returned from a war, disillusioned with both human cruelty and exquisite American prejudice.

Hardly, however, had this voice been raised and begun to gain in power and influence than it was most unexpectedly and curiously drowned by a

38-3-78

literal roar from the extreme Right. Out from the former Washington movement, and fastening on its dogma of race pride, economic independence and futility of appealing to mere justice from the whites, there rose from the West Indies an "Africa for the Africans" movement under a keen but blustering fanatic, Marcus Garvey. Historically it was based on the failure of racial justice in the West Indies. There the natural mulatto and black leaders of the freedmen, were incorporated politically and even socially with the resident whites. Limited political power was bestowed on the islands by the home government, and economic exploitation based on land monopoly and commerical trusts and carried out by favors to the resident whites and mulattoes fastened a chain of virtual serfdom on the mass of black peasants. The building of the Panama Canal with its demand for labor, the declaration of war, and migration to the United States, loosed the limbs and the thoughts of this peasantry. They thought black, because they had never had white leadership or ideals. They cried with the voice of Garvey - "Give us our own land and culture - back to Africa." Starting in Jamaica, Garvey was curbed and choked but among his migrant compatriots in the United States he stirred a mighty rumpus and attracted the attention of the world, particularly with his absortive but high sounding steamship lines.

Meantime the former Left Wing, found itself pushed further left and away from its tendency to rest as an intelligensia demanding privilege for the Talented Tenth but forgetting the plight of the mass of laborers. At the same time its own intelligence warned it of too wide a step in radicalism; it had to fear making the race a scape-goat for all radicals, as was attempted at the beginning of the war; it knew that great as was the economic element in the race problem, that the race element in the economic

problem was so bitter that not even American socialists could be trusted to forget the difference between white and black; that before surrender to a cause represented in part by such gross discrimination as that of the American Federation of Labor, they must make careful terms. And finally they saw, with all thinking men, that the war had brought new aspects of socialistic philosophy and that the grounds of economic development must receive new criticism and statement. This halted the left movement of the former left and under the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People it became a strong Center; ~~and~~ from the right it was approached by Mr. Washington's Business league members and by the cooperating philanthropists of the Urban League and by the political leaders.

Here then stands the coalition which is today leading the Negroes. Far to its left are the young colored college socialists and former service-men. Far to its right are the West Indian Garveyites with their "Provisional" officials of a future African state, their "Black Cross" nurses and hatred and distrust of all white folk.

The difficulty and danger of the central coalition is that the white world does not at all realize its significance or position. To them it is still the left wing fighting Mr. Washington's doctrines. Anything that harasses or hinders it or makes its position illogical is hailed with ill-concealed glee and given advertisement and encouragement. That it has moved to the left rather than in chastened mood, retreating to the right, is looked on as pure perverseness.

The complete loss of touch between Pan-Africa and its contemporary worlds is perhaps best illustrated by the attitude of American whites today, especially in the South. The Southerner, holding fast to memories and predictions, is sure that the main mass of Negroes are dumb, good-natured children, easily swayed by leaders. He is a little alarmed be-

cause that leadership (which was of old in the hands of the masters, and exercised either directly or indirectly by means of some favorite servant or so-called "white folks nigger",) ~~that leadership~~ is now in the hands of colored men with whom the whites are out of touch. The whites are sure that these Negro leaders are, for the most part, either fools or knaves and bid fair to lead the silly masses to destruction. They do not for a moment see and cannot be told that there is today a real dominant Negro public opinion which these leaders represent, rather than make, and which they are powerless to change at will. If the present leaders fail to represent this New Negro public opinion they will quickly lose their preeminence. They have, to be sure, ~~decisive~~ much influence within limits, but the limits are strait and strong.

Wilfully ignoring these facts or abysmally ignorant of them, the whites have tried several methods of attack:

(a) They have denounced the present leaders, representing them as arrogant, dangerous radicals, bent on hatred and race war. (b) They have extravagantly commended certain Negroes whom they consider amenable to their direction and instruction. (c) They have sought in all possible cases of social organization, as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., to take power from colored workers, place it in the hands of white superiors and reduce the Negro to a clerical executive without power. In this campaign they have had always the passive and often the active and enthusiastic help of Northern whites as philanthropists and social workers. The movement has been hailed as evidence of renewed interest in the Negro's welfare on the part of the white South and proof that the whole direction and leadership of the blacks can be left in the hands of the whites.

But how dangerous is this situation! The mass of the blacks are today more estranged from the whites than ever; they have ~~less~~ little faith in

black men whom the whites commend. Every move made by the whites to pull down a popular colored leader but adds to his racial popularity. The strain and responsibility thus put on him is terrific. If he is wise, educated and honest, he knows perfectly well that racial hatred and separation must not be encouraged. But if he tried to explain the just demands and complaints of Negroes against whites, he not only risks suspicion on the part of his followers, but he invites rebuff and insult from the whites! He finds himself fighting a double - a triple battle - strife involved within strife - and all hedged by an atmosphere of petty personal insult and contempt against which few dispositions are proof.

On the other hand, the whites see in such leaders simply stubborn obstacles. If they would shut up, if they would stop "agitation" and deliberate misrepresentation of the motives of the whites, all would be well. The blacks would be silent and contented and Time would in the end do its perfect work of gradual adjustment. Thus it becomes a matter of motives, and who knows or can know the real motives save as we know real men? But blacks and whites cannot meet as real men face to face and heart to heart — that is "social equality"!

In Pan-Africa, however, the attitude is much different. There lurks in all hearts a mighty query: Can a path of Reason and Justice be followed by modern Negroes, or must they choose between Retreat and Revolution? Is the only chance for black men in the modern world flight to Africa and a desperate attempt to take and hold that continent against the white race, or a union with all radicals and revolutionists of the white world to overthrow the present system? There are thousands - nay millions - of Negroes who have given up in despair all hope of gaining treatment as men by an appeal to the reason and sense of Justice of the

38-3-82

modern white men who are today in power. Fifty years and more after Emancipation in the United States they point to lynching and peonage in America; eighty years after Emancipation in the West Indies they point to hundreds of thousands of landless unenfranchised serfs, not to mention the horrors of Angola and Congo. In South America, the Negro is escaping but only by the self-annihilation of absorption. What then shall be done, say these dark cynics and peasants? Those who still have faith in whites base their hopes on the proletariat. They say that the poor, disfranchised and despised of the whites must see that the water of modern capitalism is thicker than blood; they must realize that as long as slaves can work in China, Africa, Jamaica and Georgia, starvation wages will rule in Lyons, Essen and Manchester. The cry of "Workers Unite!" then, calls to black and yellow equally with white, and only in such union is victory possible.

But the reactionary Right in Pan-Africa accepts not even this red programme. Nonsense! they cry. No white man is to be trusted, be he Millionaire or pauper, king or miner; all are the same, all hate us and we hate them all. There is one salvation: "To your tents, O Israel!" Africa is our fatherland. Let us return across the waters, streaming back the red path of the slave trade; let us seize Africa and set up our banners. Africa for the Africans. Let the white man get out and if he hesitates we will drive him out and keep him out.

Between these powerful and even logical wings stand the mass of thinking educated Negroes in America, the West Indies, Africa and South America. They have little choice as to programme. They cannot finesse and quibble, be politic and reticent. They must stand on a programme of full equality and manhood for black men. Otherwise the ground would be swept from beneath their feet. They must argue: we demand equal manhood rights,— social, political, economic; we must back this demand by action;

this action must follow law and be guided by experience. While we suffer great wrongs, they are the same kind of wrongs which oppressed classes have suffered from time immemorial. These classes have won recognition and redress of grievances, by appeals to reason, investigation and publication of the facts, the securing of new legislation and an appeal to the decision of the courts.

Beyond this, the Centrum of Pan-Africa must recognize the truths which underly the radicalism of the wings. They must encourage a thoughtful rapprochement of all Pan-Africa in order that those united by common grievances may unite in pushing common remedies and so that the black fatherland may eventually be made a seat of civilization for all men.

Then too the Centrum sees that as between the philanthropic dole of the rich and the socialistic trades-unionism of the poor, the natural alliance of the laboring Negro is with the latter. Many of the Centrists are theoretical socialists and all realize that more than any other laboring class the Negro is the miserable victim of present day organized capital and is repeatedly and remorselessly used as a tool to beat back emerging white labor by "scabbing" and underbidding. The Negro of the Center is resolved to end this régime, but in the process he is going to take no chances. He is going to make terms with labor and not naïvely assume the good will and sympathy of the white laborers. Why should he? They are, by no fault of their own, as ignorant and prejudiced as the mass of the blacks and, therefore, all the more need of a great and specific Treaty of Labor Peace across ~~social~~ racial lines, preceeding any real alliance cooperation.

Ordinarily, in this world, the ones without, peering into the

microcosm, would sense its difficulties and would see the reinforcements of Reason and Right that were called for. But today this natural sympathy and understanding is stopped by the intransigeance of the South. Despite an undoubled growth of liberal opinion in the South, and a new conscience, the old slaveholding, Negro-fearing, nucleus, revivified by a re-born Ku Klux Klan stands an unreasoning, unyielding bloc, determined that no person of Negro descent, no matter what his character, education or accomplishment, shall be recognized as a man. This powerful mass of American opinion shows little sign of yielding and the mass of American people, far from frowning on it, are almost disposed to applaud it - certainly to let it alone. But something must yield sooner or later: either the Negro must cease to advance, or the Ku Klux, and what it represents, must cease to oppose its advance. There is - there can be - no middle ground.

Meantime the Negro is reaching out hands of inquiry and aid. A second Pan-African Congress will meet in the Fall. It represents the Negro Centrum, and not the Garveyites or the ultra Radicals. It bases itself on knowledge, mutual acquaintanceship and cooperation among Negroes of all groups and their friends. It will hold a preliminary conference in London late in August and then go to the Palais Mondial in Brussells where, August 31 and September 1 and 2, its main sessions will sit and where it hopes to gather on its program the representatives of ~~colored~~ Colonial powers, the delegates from Negro groups the world over and men who represent organized philanthropy, and economic Justice on racial lines. Final sessions, in Paris, will prepare memorials for the League of Nations Assembly.

The spirit and temper of Pan-Africa can perhaps be judged by the Resolutions adopted by the First Congress in Paris in 1919. They said in part:

"The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the Peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles.

"1. - The land: The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

"2. - Capital: The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for the social and material benefit of the natives.

"3. - Labor: Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

"4. - Education: It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical istruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

"6. - The State: The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience

proceeds, to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans.

38-3-84

8. - Civilized Negroes: Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert. "

All this may be the futile striving of dreamers - it may be the founding of a New World; but in any case, the news of this thought and striving in the far and unknown - perhaps even non-existing - world of Pan-Africa, ought not to go on without some news of its doings trickling to the busy outer world.

Diary of Journey

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA - The Jim Crow Cars of the Atlantic Coast Line and of the Texas and Pacific are much improved. The cars are exactly the same as the white cars, with the same furnishings and evidently built at the same time. A full car with smoking compartment is given to the Negroes. On the other hand the Seaboard Air Line and others have exceedingly poor accommodations. The Rock Island from Memphis to Muskogee had as its colored coach a car that must have been at least twenty years old,-dirty, rattl~~e~~ing, dissh~~uttled.~~ oveled

The Jim Crow population has noticeably improved. On the whole they are quite equal in behavior to travelers on Northern coaches of any color. There is not as much inquiry of each others names, and destinations; there are fewer bundles and chickens, and better dressing.

One notes all through the south, with some exceptions ~~to be~~ noted hereafter, the new hope and power of the colored folk. It is not any increased faith in the white people - quite the contrary- it is a distinct sense of their own ability and the sensing of a way out.

The Negroes vote very generally in the cities of North Carolina, but not in the small towns or country districts.

There are two colored banks in Durham - one recently opened; one is about to open in Raleigh, two in Winston-Salem.

34-7-35

In Durham the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company is putting up a six story building of stone and brick for their use. It is on a prominent street and is one of the finest buildings in the town. Two Negro Fire Insurance Companies have been organized, one with headquarters in Durham, and the other with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It is interesting to note that the son of John Merrick is an efficient official in the North Carolina Mutual.

Durham is to have a new Negro High School, and at last they have begun to pave the main Negro thoroughfare which is already lined with very favorable and even pretty Negro residences. Representative Scale of North Carolina made a spirited defense of Negro Education in general before the legislature.

34-7-36

A bank phoned to a white man, a friend to Mr. Spaulding, and told him that the Penn Mutual Equitable and New York Life Insurance Companies had sent money to North Carolina to be loaned to farmers, but to white farmers only.

In Clarksdale, Mississippi, a bank with resources of twenty-two million has two Negro directors and one Negro clerk. When the colored banks failed in Mississippi, this bank secured a number of Negro depositors, and put these Negroes on their directorate in order to keep the Negro's money. The clerk was formerly a janitor who helped the bookkeeper out with his books in an emergency.

Invited Moore, Spaulding, Shepherd and others to the Pan African Congress.

In Durham an attempt was made first to keep Negroes from registering. A presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Church was refused registration and immediately went to swear out a warrant against the registrar. The judicial officer phoned the registrar and advised against trouble. The registrar offered then to register the minister, but the minister would withdraw the warrant only when all those Negroes who had been refused registration were accepted. In the case of Dudley, his attempt to dissuade colored women from voting resulted only in arousing them. It was a cheap and unnecessary attempt to make his position more secure.

In Winston-Salem there was a good deal of apathy in voting.

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CHARLESTON, South Carolina.

Charleston has greatly improved in the last ten years. Colored teachers have replaced white teachers in the public schools. The schools have still homely proportions, the grading is not good, and no attempt was made to find the most efficient school principals. The buildings are still poor, although some new ones are promised. There are two colored banks, one on a prominent street, well

34-7-37

started, the other just beginning. Negroes are working as laborers, semi-skilled and skilled artisans in many industries. They earn from fourteen to twenty-one dollars a week. Colored women have been replacing white women in the Jute Mills.

The administration squandered about thirty million dollars in North Charleston during the war, building a marvelous set of useless docks. There are many scandals connected with the expenditure of the money.

34-7-38

Congressman Thomas E. Miller is still vigorous at 73. Dr. McFall has a beautiful home in which I stopped. Mrs. Susie Dart Butler and the DaCostas were at the dance.

There were 1400 registered colored voters in Charleston, but few women.

There are two new colored school houses - one rather poorly built, the other, when finished, will be a first class building, except that it has no auditorium and very little play space.

The case of the colored doctor show that the mob spirit is still in Charleston. He was driving down a crowded street when suddenly a white man, without looking or signaling, turned out in his way so that the doctor narrowly avoided a collision. He called to the white man and said sharply, "Why don't you signal when you turn?" As they stopped with the traffic at the next

34-7-37

corner, the white man threatened him with his starting crank. Doctor went to a drug store, taking out and opening his pocket pen knife, in the meantime, which was his only weapon. This kept the white man off, but immediately he and the city officers conspired to arrest the doctor at his home and beat him for alleged resistence to arrest. The colored servant girl overheard the conversation and notified the doctor. He and colored friends called up the Mayor, and the Mayor promised protection. When the warrant was sworn out they went down the next day, themselves unarmed, but with two well armed friends with them. The case was sent to the Grand Jury and is pending. The charge is "Attempt to Assault the white man with a murderous weapon."

There is much trouble on the street cars. The conductors are poor whites from the country, armed with full police power, and yet not subject to the Chief of Police. Two or three negroes have been killed by these men, and well known and prominent negroes like Congressman Miller and Counselor Sasportes have been insulted. Sasportes, who is a lawyer and knew he was within his rights, refused to move saying to the conductor, "I am in my rights." The conductor replied, "You have no rights."

The Standard Oil Company is constructing large works near Charleston. The Phosphate industry is large and asbestos is being manufactured. The Standard Oil Company employs colored laborers

34-7-40

and some skilled workmen. The others employ many colored men as laborers and skilled workmen.

A Jew is building a home on the Battery. This is causing considerable social comment. Harleston, the artist, is doing some portrait work and is a director of the bank. He is undoubtedly the best artist in the city, but the Local Art Gallery will not admit negroes. There is also a prominent cemetery which negroes can not even visit.

The Phyliss Wheatly Society is a literary Society of young colored women. It gave a reception and seemed lively and interesting.

The branch meeting was practically another lecture with six or seven hundred people attending. Much was said about killing negroes on the street cars and the boycott was proposed. A Bond Issue election is about to be held for school purposes. Some of the negroes think that it ought to be killed because the negroes get so little of the school appropriations.

Note in Charleston the poignant beauty side by side with crass ugliness - the blatant and naive exploitation, the difference between the "People" and "Negroes", the continued imminence of the mob.

Remember that in the lynching like that at Athens, Georgia, of the six or seven thousand people, nine tenths are church members in good standing, Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, business men, and even philanthropists. There is not, there can not be today in Athens

a single white man of prominence who cannot put his hand upon a murderer, or who would refuse to shake hands and recognize socially that same murderer. This is the real lynching problem.

Note in the environs of Charleston and other cities the "shanty towns" with no effective group leadership;these might be made very effective and even pretty little suburban settlements, but the City and County officers allow the negroes no chance at such general planning. They permit farmers and groups of real estate sharks to sell lots to negroes, arrange for no plans, sanitary arrangements, street car facilities etc., and then these unguided, poor and ignorant people try to escape from the high rents and discrimination of the city and build,as their meager finances allow,these pathetic little homes and centers of life. The very energy which they display shows what could be done with the barest guidence and group help. Yet these nondescript looking "shanty towns" are pointed out as "typically negro."

Southern Legislatures are always seeking new subjects of race discrimination which are usually either scraps thrown to the mob or thinly veiled exploitation. For instance colored movie theatres are going up, and the Legislature of South Carolina is proposing that no woman of one race is to be portrayed upon the film in the theatre of another race,except in the cases of theatres catering to both races.

34-7-42

Rather strenuous efforts are made in the South to provide play grounds in prominent places for white children. There are either no play grounds for colored children or they are in out of the way places and wretchedly equipped.

In the country districts wages are being ground down to the lowest. Mr. Miller reported negro women planting potatoes, not far from Charleston, at 40¢ a day, and men working at from 90¢ to a dollar, a day.

There is a new and very excellent Dunbar school in Columbia, South Carolina for the negroes.

A new Dunbar theatre is being built in Savannah, Georgia.

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SAVANNAH.

The school buildings of Savannah are wretched, and school conditions are very bad. At one school, the white tinner was afraid to go on the roof to repair the leak lest he fall through. New and beautiful white schools have been built. In the colored schools there are double sessions; the first from 8 to 12 o'clock; the second from 12:30 to 5. The same teachers teach in both sessions. Some of the colored children have to rise at six and seven o'clock in order to get to school on time. There is no high school and the A.M.A. Beach Institute has been closed.

34-7-43

In beautiful Central Park negroes are not expected to sit.

The industrial and commercial development of the Savannah negro is tremendous. There are two negro banks, one of which has been the largest and is at least the second largest in the United States. There are 22 colored physicians, 5 undertakers, a number of lawyers, dentists, etc. Unfortunately the colored town is torn by factions, partly social - partly industrial - and partly personal, so that there is not the unity of development which one finds in Durham.

The rising colored household in cities like Savannah is finding the problem of housework exceedingly difficult. The negroes are building beautiful homes and owning them. This can be seen all over the south, but these homes have to be taken care of by the new wives and mothers. These young women are educated and beautiful, with natural desire for some social life. When in addition to this there are children in the family, the problem of the home is exceedingly difficult. Household help is hard to secure, in most cases impossible. The result is a gradual disappearance of the traditional, much boasted of Southern cooking, and a good deal of cramping and hard work in the home. The flat and apartment have not yet appeared in the colored south, and are only just beginning to appear in the white south. It is the mark of social distinction in the colored south to own a beautiful home. Hinc illae lachrinae?

34-7-44

One notices throughout the south among colored people, the continued custom of the submergence of women. At dinners given me in several cities, the lady of the house did not sit down at the formal dinner, but waited on her husband and his friends. Only in Charleston, South Carolina and in New Orleans was the woman a fellow guest, discussing with us the problems of the hour, and apparently a co-worker. In the South East she did a good deal of the work of committees. In the South West she did not even appear on committees.

The exploitation of the poor in the south is shameless. Taxes are high, 8 and 10 per cent and complicated. In Charleston one is taxed about 42% of the assessed value. Old laws are continually brought forward to confuse and fleece the ignorant negroes. One Magistrate near Savannah has made a neat income by discovering old couples who could not prove an actual marriage ceremony, and furnishing them license at two or three dollars each.

In the country districts of South Georgia it is exceedingly difficult for a negro to defend himself. In one case whites deliberately attacked a negro church. Both sides began shooting. One well-to-do colored man killed a white man who was beating his son, and also killed another white man. The negroes ran away to Savannah, and the murderer is being tried there. He was acquitted on the charge of killing the man who was beating his son, but is

34-7-45

still to be tried on the other charge. Meantime his property is at the mercy of the whites, and even white men are afraid to look it over and see its condition.

There called upon me a southern white woman author and her husband, Mrs. Marie Conway Oemler, 830 E. Anderson Street, Savannah. She is the author of "Slippy McGee," and other novels published in The Century and elsewhere. She had read "Dark Water". Her husband was a Socialist and she was liberal minded. She objected to my quotation "bitterness." She recognizes the exceedingly difficult position of colored girls in the south. She especially mentioned the pretty daughter of her own servant for whom she could see no future except migration north. She was in actual danger in the south. She was obsessed by the idea, however, that the crime of rape among negroes was unusually prevalent as compared to the whites.

Note in Savannah the attempt a few months ago to arrest a negro. He was accused of "disturbing the peace," and a policeman who had an unusually bad reputation in his treatment of colored people sought to arrest him. He barricaded himself in his house and a pitched battle ensued. A New Jersey white man volunteered to go in and bring him out. He was killed. Finally the Negro was burned in his home by the police and mob.

The South hinders the group action and leadership of Negroes - furnishes them nothing of the sort themselves - laughs

34-7-46

and jeers at their failures in group action, and mobs their successes.

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA.

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One notes continually the ~~appearance and~~ ugliness that is thrown about the colored people. Anything of gracious beauty in their case is entirely accidental so far as the city is concerned.

There was and perhaps still is a law in Florida by which a mere promissory note given by a property holder, become automatically after a certain lapse of time a mortgage. Colored people were urged to borrow money, especially elderly householders, and after the death a mortgagor suddenly appeared.

One goes from the yellow waters of Georgia to the black waters of Florida. There is a flush of crimson and gold in the grey woods. We note the grey, grim, moss that clings and kills.

Jacksonville, that is colored Jacksonville is distinctly scared. Since the fire of 1901, it has grown from 45 to nearly ninety thousand inhabitants. Crackers from Georgia and Alabama have come in to share its prosperity. Before this, the negroes of Jacksonville were unusually free and had a strong economical foot-hold. The new comers have set out to depose him economically and cow him socially and politically. High war wages led to systematic recording of white workers in order that the negroes

should not receive too much. There had grown up in Jacksonville the traditional group known so well in Charleston and New Orleans of colored men in close affiliation with the whites who led the colored group, not by their sympathy, but by their prominence. These men have found themselves forced rather suddenly and violently back upon the colored group. They are beginning to make strong social and economic nexus with their own group, but the group is suspicious. The lynching of a negro in Jacksonville not so long ago, an unusual incident for that city, led to the practical ousting of white industrial insurance companies among negroes. Some four or five Negro companies have resumed and taken the field during the last election prominent Negroes were allowed to vote unmolested but the mass of the registered Negroe voters were kept from voting by deliberate delay and other devices. This led to bitter feeling;when the charge was made the N. A. A. P. C. in Washington that Florida Negroes were disfranchised, the local member of the House of Representa tives telegraphed the Mayor. The Mayor undertook to get an affidavit denying this from prominent colored people. He called up Dr. Hills, and asked Dr. Hills if he voted. Dr Hills said yes. He then asked Dr. Hills if he had seen anybody forcibly kept from voting. Dr. Hills said no. He asked Dr. Hills if he would be willing to make affidavit to those two facts. Dr. Hills said he would. The Mayor then deliberately forged his

34-47

34-7-48

name to a telegram and sent it to Washington virtually denying that there had been any disfranchisement in the election. This finally aroused Hills and it also aroused the mass of the colored people who threatened Hill's life and some declared they would not patronized him. Hills secured a copy of the telegram from the Western Union Company with Hills' name signed but marked "Charged to the Mayor." Of course Hills' unforgiveable fault was not to have said and published in the first place the fact that while he voted himself and saw nobody forcibly kept from voting that nevertheless, he personally knew of numbers of colored people, men and women, of his own acquaintance who were not allowed to vote through the deliberate delay and other action of the election officers.

This has put the whole present leadership of colored Jacksonville on the defence. They seem to have an air entirely apologetic. My Audience of four or five hundred was nervous and while I came under the auspices of three insurance societies, a representative of one of them being afraid, I suppose, that the societies might be entirely blamed, took occasion in introducing me, to deny that it was simply the insurance societies that were inviting me there. He assured the audience that it was "the people". Whereupon another of the Insurance socidies the next day refused to pay its quota of the expense and so forth.

34-7-49

On the other hand, the economic development in colored Jacksonville, fully equals that of other southern cities. There are numbers of excellent , well equipped grocery stores, one or two theatres, a beautiful and commodious Odd Fellow's Temple, a good shoe store, and dry good store, a weal built school house, howbeit, with poorly finished grounds.

The primitive Baptists have a National Convention sixteen years old. The Headquarters are at Huntsville,Alabama. Gurley is President. They have schools, a publication house, etc.

Note the long hours of the colored porter on the Sea Board Air Line. He leaves Jacksonville at 5.15 P.M. and arrives at River Junction at 1.50 in the morning. He leaves at 1.05 P.M. and arrives at Jacksonville the next morning. He then starts out again at night.

Tallahasse, Florida.

The audience at Tallehasse came from fifty miles round and about- some 500 persons in a large, rather barn-like but nicely finished church. They listened gratefully. Many came from Quincy. Quincy is a small Florida town where there was much trouble during the election. Doctor Stevens was specially a victim. He is well to do, had about $12,000 loaned out, a nice home and family. Another man who was urging the colored people to vote and travelling around to give them instructions

was mistaken for Stevens. Stevens was put upon , grossly

insulted and threatened, and practically compelled to deny that there was any voting trouble in Quincy. As a matter of fact Negroes were absolutely prohibited from voting by threats, Stevens himself went to the country upon that day and did not appear at the polls. He intends to leave the town as soon as he can get his finances straight as he said to me "I had to deny the story."

34-7-50

In Quincy the County Commissioner of education recently said to a meeting of his colored teachers who were complaining of their wretched lack of school facilities for Negroes "You Negroes wont get any more schools until you stop reading The Crisis."

Lecture Audiences: In Durham school children and town peoples, 200; in Charleston AME Church, 600; branch meeting,500; in Savannah, 500.

In Jacksonville, St. Luke's Hospital, the city Hospital used to get $8000 from the city, and this has been increased to 13,00[illegible] and finally to 35,000. No Negroes are received here. They asked for $7000 for the Brewster Hospital and got $1500 from the city

Pass through Mc Clennan Georgia; a few months ago Negroes here disputed with a white farmer and killed him. Two Negroes were affested and lynched. Two of the lynchers were afterwards ambushed--and killed. Nothing further has happened.

Pass through Quincy: Negroes have no school house here and few schools in the county.

Presiding Elder S.H.Betts of Mariana, instructed Negroes how to vote. He was warned that he was going to be attacked by the whites. He learned the name of the leader in the attack and went to him, told him frankly that he, Betts, was armed and prepared to meet any attack that came. No attack was made. On a barn as we passed through this part of Georgia is the legend "God is love: Jesus Saves."!

In Escumbia County which contains Pensacola, Negroes voted and colored women were treated with courtesy. In Dallas County which contains Quincy, no Negroes voted. They were openly warned not to approach the polls.

Pensacola: Here is something different. There is a distinctly Spanish flavor much more evident than in any city I have seen elsewhere. There is a wonderfully beautiful harbor and "Palafox" which is Main Street. It has a wide green parkway center and arcades, and leads down to a square and shiny harbor. 15,000 Negroes and 15,000 whites live in the city. San Charles, 402 W. Wright Street has two shoe stores; in the lar large one downtown, 80% of his customers are white. He counts six colored shoe stores in the United States, two here, one in Jacksonville, one in Pittsburg, one in Kansas City, Missouri, and one in Charleston. There was an audience

34-7-51

of five hundred with half a dozen whites, and a woman sang a daringly racial song to the tune of "My Rosary."

There was difficulty about voting around Montgomery Alabama.

New Orleans: Here is the subtle old world flavor. There is a rampart of wide, flat lands, and shining waters. The low city lines in ancient disarray, in homely delapidation.

34-7-52

Negroes voted in New Orleans. Among them 1650 of 1800 registered colored women. On the other hand, in Alexandria, no Negro dared to vote. In 1896 there were 14,000 registered Negro voters. The issue was a reform movement against the old ring A suffrage amendment to exclude Negroes was defeated, and the Negroes helped elect the Reform Party. The reformers immediately turned around and disfranchised the Negroes. No Negroes are allowed in the beautiful city park, or in the Pontchartrain improvement, all supported by city taxes. There are in New Orleans100,000 Negroes and according to various estimates from ten to fifty thousand of unacknowledged Negro descent. There are extraordinarily beautiful Negro types.

One senses the remants of a fine old Ante-bellum culture in Charleston and New Orleans colored folks. They are descendents of those who formed an inter-coterie of free Negroes, whose fathers and mothers had education and property and who still possess their souls in fine dignity.-. There was something of this in Jacksonville; less in Savannah, little or none in Pensacola.

The New Orleans group is not yet economically organized..

This tremendous and rich Negro city has no bank. It has a Pythian Temple, several prosperous insurance societies, and large numbers of small businesses. Always there is the delicious cooking and it is the only city in the United States where you can get coffee.

34-7-53

In general throughout the South, the number of Negroes who vote is increasing. There is more careful organization, particularly in business lines, but these things are all more true of the cities. In the small towns and country districts the Negro is barely holding his own, or actually losing. Well-to-do Negro farmers are being systematically driven out in South Georgia and certain parts of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana. This small town and country district frontier is the place of the real race battle.

There was a splendid audience in New Orleans gotten together by the energetic and devoted but over worked Dr. Lucas, which gave particular and careful attention at every point, and there was a large attendance of teachers and business men.

Dunn is organizing colored A. M. A. work. Get his story and Hughe's story of .. M. E. work.

Pictures of colored and white schools of New Orleans and get for "Men of the month" pictures of Commissioner Harris and Mr. Favrot.

Note the home where I stayed with its great canopied

34-7-54

bed, massive in mahogany.

The clean, equal and beautiful cars on the Texas Pacific were commendable. We passed the tawny, pale brown flood of the Mississippi; the piled levees rose above us for miles.

They bury their dead above ground in New Orleans on o account of the waters. Remember Cohen and his canny politic power, also Mrs. Bell and Yolande, Dr. and Mrs. Beattie. They live in Alexandria, but will stay there only one year more.

One sees a lovely freshness of Spring in the Louisiana fields and forests. It is February 27th. Green and yellow and red appears.

40% of the colored children in the New Orleans Schools are on half time. The Catholic School is good and improved.

Colored teachers wages in the public schools have been increased and begin with $100 a month.

Louisiana. The lynching at Plaquemine. A Negro visited the colored mistress of an overseer. The overseer threatened him, met him in the field. He severely warned the overseer and was lynched. Governor Parker has been blaming Negroes for concealing criminals and he tried every way to get news of the lynchers among the whites and could not. Whose concealing criminals now?

34-7-55

Dr. Lucas and a delegation at one time waited eleven hours to see Governor Pleasants. At last when they got to him he told them that race antipathy was above the law.

It is stated that in Texas Negroes cannot be received in a Governor's office.

The frontiers or civilization in the South are something like this:

The large cities
Moderate size cities or border states
Moderate size cities of the South
Country districts of the border states
Country districts of the South
Small towns and villages of the South.

In this last and furthest frontier the mob reigns and where at the same time the white population has an over balance of political power.

Note the state school at Baton Rouge. Get data concerning it. The president is J. S. Clark and the institution is known as the Southern University. Usually the school has gotten thirty thousand dollars a year or less. Last year the state gave two hundred sixty seven thousand dollars for building and maintenance.

Consult Ford of Jacksonville concerning Leland University.

The Jim Crow population from New Orleans to Shreveport was as well behaved as passengers between New York and Philadelphia.

Alexandria, a city of suppression. No Negro votes except, I believe, one physician. Mrs. Battie does not dare talk politics there. Leland was to go to Alexandria the citizens objected.

We dined on the pullman diner between New Orleans and Shreveport at 3 P.M. The dining car conductor was elaborately negliee. The white coach through which we passed was exactly like ours, but jammed with passengers, three in some seats and others in the isle. The Jim Crow coach had six or eight very comfortable folk. This arises from the fight made by the colored people for equal accommodation on trains. In Texas the contrast was painful.

34-7-56

We are passing through the sugar ~~barrians.~~ farmes There are masses of Negroes but no individual land culture. The small farmers have been cheated and driven out. Big and costly sugar mills betray the secret of the capitalists power. There are numbers of small houses of the same patern for the workmen.

Note the democracy of mediocrity among the whites in the case of "news boys" at Big Sandy, Texas - an old grey haired ~~colored~~ man shabbily and carlessly dressed, selling peanuts, lunches and newspapers, but "equal with the whites". The car from Big Sandy to Tyler was disgraceful. From ten to fifteen years older than the white coach, dirty and worn, no smoking compartment for the Negroes, only one toilet. Ministers aboard objected to the smoking of one of the colored passengers, but they said nothing when the assistant conductor sat in the back seat and smoked a pipe and read a newspaper.

In Tyler there was a fire in the colored district. It caught in the carlessly piled debris of the box factory. The owner of the car in which we had started out for a ride rushed us back to find his own house on fire. Colored people were working furiously to get their goods out. The water supply was poor. A block from the fire was an old colored church, dilapidated, unused. It ought to have been torn down years ago, but there it stood and the sparks began to drop on it. At last a little

tiny flame began to burn on the old dry shingles. Fifteen minutes more and two or three blocks of colored dwellings must have gone. Then a black boy carefully climbed up where I shouldn't have trusted a pet dog, creeping along he stamped out the fire and looked out for other sparks. ~~Then~~ afterward a white man came along with a ladder and helped pass water up. Finally the white man climbed up on the roof and the colored people laughed. "Showing off" they said, "now that he sees it's safe!"

Note the case of Mrs. Banks and the telegraph officer. "Don't you say Mrs. to me".

Note the unconscious comedy. The accepted rule in the small towns is for the Negroes to watch the whites and the whites to ignore the Negroes, but if the Negroes don't watch the whites the whites are mad and if any white man notices a Negro the whites are also mad.

Note the tremendous wrong of the lack of sleeping cars. In the journey from Durham to Charleston I was riding from ten o'clock in the morning until midnight. From Jacksonville to Pensacola from 5 P.M. until 10 A.M. From Pensacola to New Orleans from 10 P.M. until 7 A.M. From New Orleans to Shreveport from 10:30 A.M. until midnight. From Memphis to Okmulgee from 10:45 P.M. until 2;15. Then a wait of three hours and a half and a ride from 5:50 until 7:25. In none of these cases could sleeping cars or dining cars be obtained.

24-7-57

Note the tremendous hardship in the case of Bishop Hurst who had to rush from Jacksonville to Texas to a meeting and then back to a meeting of Bishops Council and then back to Jacksonville. When Bishop Turner was paralyzed in Savannah he was refused a sleeping car accomodation to Atlanta.

In Memphis there are twelve stores in the Roddy Co-operative System. Griggs Church stands unfinished. Secured President Sanford for loan of the amount. There are 5 hospitals. The best is Collins Chatel Home and Hospital at Ashland Court and Lane Avenue.

An Insurance Company tells me that when they address their agent in Mississippi as Mr. he does not get his mail.

34-7-58

The bank asks the Park Commissioner to hire a band for the colored park for two concerts a week at $35 a concert. White bands and white parks were getting $75 a concert. The Park Commissioner refused, but when the bank threatened to withdraw the deposits in his bank he acquiescenced. Shreveport is noted as a lynching center. They reported no lynchings last year but that was simply due to "new methods" because in at least two cases Negro prisoners disapeared while in the hands of the police or sheriff.

The entrance to the colored waiting room at Shreveport was being repaired. We walked through the white waiting room. As the gentleman who was conducting me "an officer of the N.A.A.C.P." entered he removed his hat. I did not but I am afraid I broke the jungle law. Note this shadow of fear and its sudden sign. Conceive the time wasted in holding the color line firm. One unused to the situation can't imagine the sensation: the beautiful land, the ~~twang~~ Lang of spring, leaves covered dismasking graves, ~~limping~~ lilting and laziness in the air and then suddenly the snarl of the human beast. There must be men, numbers of men with nothing less to do or think but to worship and guard the color line.

Gray Gray leaf bearded tree moss, from Charleston to New Orleans and from New Orleans to Shreveport, hanging in sullen silence.

"Black Billy Sunday" in Alexandria six weeks now in Bungie. A long fight was made by the colored people in Louisiana for smoking compartments and separate toilets on Jim Crow cars. The railroad asked a year's delay and after that tried to get more but the Railway Commissioner forced them to comply. The battle was fought by a special association aided by the fraternal orders. Let there be a special rennaissance of Negrodom like that of the Jewish captivity, with history, poetry, novels, painting and the drama.

34-7-59

Note the Czar Registrar in the south. In Memphis, a gasoline tank in a colored neighborhood blew up, fourteen houses were destroyed and eleven men killed, ten of whom were colored. This took place early in February. The Solvent bank started a fund with one hundred dollars. Six thousand dollars were raised. The Ku Klux Klan offered one hundred dollars but the colored people refused.

Note the case of Mr. Jackson of Pine Bluff with 35 oil wells. He pays 60,000 dollars income tax.

The Tri-State Casket Company has been formed in Memphis. A colored man who had $30,000 in a Mississippi bank came to Memphis and checked it out. He had to sacrifice his property and his life would be in danger if he returned. Leiitenant Lee of the 368th A. E. F., received his commission at Des Moines and went south to visit Alcorn, his school. While in Vicksburg he noticed a crowd of whites following him and he went into the movies. Negroes there were alarmed and some of them went out. Others formed a guard around him as he went out. He went to his lodging place and was called up by colored friends who advised him to leave. He asked the federal officers for protection but they professed inability . He left in the morning.

The Ku Klux Klan made a brave show in Savannah but it did not march

out West Broad Street and in Jacksonville but it disbanded without visiting the colored district. You remember the time when it was "Fashionable" to have conferences on the Negro problem with no Negroes present. Ordinances at the conference in New Orleans. There were one hundred people present and at the lecture five hundred. In Tyler there were two lectures with three hundred and two hundred and fifty people present and two conferences with 15 and 12 present. In Shreveport there were five hundred present in Memphis fifteen hundred and 12 at the Memphis Conference.

The Texas and Pacific Jim Crow Cars had electric fans, double toilets and wash basins. It was clean and new.

34-7-60

Southern reformers are helpless without the initiative of the Negro in complaint, and yet they oppose Negro initiative and hamper it. At Tyler, the Banks, man and wife are rebuilding schools. Note the singing and the fresh young earnestness. There was a meeting of the Interracial Committee of Texas and a senator presided. He stated that he did not know that Negroes had any complaint accept Social Equality and that the southern whites would never allow that. He sat down. There was a pause and then one after another Negroes rose and stated their grievances. The senator was astonished almost beyond expression. He declared he had never dreamed of such things and that he would help, etc. At Shreveport a sort of quiet guard body was thrown about me. There was a new hospital movement there, also at Dallas, Marshall, Houston. The Free Masonary of Educated Negroes throughout the United States and indeed throughout the world is to do one of the finest fases of human intercourse.

Oklahoma. This is another land, a south westernized or west southernized with much conscious exaggeration: Towns painted and bungalowed; Indians appearing quite frequently. The little town of Holdenville was quite neat and clean on a Saturday afternoon, with the three races in their own little groups on the streets. One house was elaborate and tile roofed, and there were good schools and public buildings, at least for white folk.

About Jim Crow Cars: On the Atlantic Coast Line and the Texas and Pacific they are equal except there are no sleeper accomodations or dining car privileges. On the Sea Board there are separate cars, old and not very clean, on the Cotton Belt the car is old and dirty with no smoking compartment. On the Rock Island in Arkansas the car was very old, dirty and rattly, a dangerous trap. Many of the roads have chair cars for the whites but none for the Negroes.

34-7-61

About banquets. Most of these are cruel and ~~unreasonable~~ unusual punishments. Even if one has sinned surely there are bowels of mercy. Usually there a bare room, a riggling set of tables and three chairs but in place of two. There are not enough nives and forks and spoons. There are painful pauses between courses, and "salad". Lord! what have I not suffered in the name of salad? I turn positively green when I think of it. There is ice cream of corn starch and strong coffee to keep you awake together with a whisp of cake. All the woman and the interesting and frivolous persons are on the other end of the table while you sit by the fat president, the deacon and the minister and the man who asks "How do you like our town?" Then speaks along droning, rambling, endless, objectless subjects. "I did not expect to be called on." "Our honored guest". "That reminds me of a story." "I am no speaker." Finally, at 12.30 just as salad is beginning its all night vigil you are asked to speak. You want to say — you try to avoid sarcasm and above all you seek desperately to avoid the subject of food. It is over.

So are you. All night you tumble with salad. Oklahoma has been a peculiar nesting ground for frogs and inspired ones. There have been five movements that have sweep over the country: The proposed African Movement in 1907-08, The Sam Movement 1912-13, the Abyssinian Prince 1918-20 and the beginnings of Garvey 1920-21. It is estimated that the Abyssinian Prince got from thirty to forty thousand dollars. He was induced to start two co-operative stores with an investment of $10,300 but these were insolvent in fourteen months. His credentials were signed by three Bethrols, and was called the international rescue and relief conference.

34-7-62

Editorials on the inter-race movement. If it sags the N. A. A. C.P. did it and must stand by its actions to make it go further and this in spite of pussyfooters and White folks niggers." If it fails the N.A.A. C. P. is needed all the more. African knocked from migration.

Okmulgee. There are twenty colored grocery stores in Okmulgee, a large dry goods and furnishings store, three drug stores, and numbers of houses rented by colored people to white people. Note Fifth Street, the business section and G. B. Key, the colored oil man. Negroes own fifty big buildings, two large business blocks, A state organizer for Oklahoma N.A.A.C.P. is needed.

Note the manufacturing sale of Choctow Beer.

The Indians and Negroes worked together in Oklahoma before statehood came, but whites separated them and legislated for the Indians and their land in the white group. Herman Morton, who runs the biggest store in a leading Okmulgee, Oklahoma, is an Indian of Negro descent with a white wife. When he visited Texas not long ago he was refused service in hotels. The old Creek national capital, a sturdy stone building is in Okmulgee. There Indians and Negroes used to legislate for the territory. It is now a Y.W.C.A. and the Red Cross headquarters

3 [The Tulsa store was burned in the riot.

In Muskogee, T. J. Elliott, 111 to 113 South Second Street has a large dry goods and furnishing store with a stock of $100,000. He owns three other stores in Tulsa, Okmulgee and Beggs. In Muskogee, 35% of his trade is white. His wife is cashier, and he has from eight to fifteen employees. South Second Street in Muskogee, leads right up to the Square and is filled with colored businesses; steam laundry, hotel, dry goods and grocery stores, etc. Note the following rich Negroes of Oklahoma: Sarah Rector, now living in Kansas City, Mo., care of Dr. Thompson, one million dollars. Luther Manuel, near Haskel, one million dollars, still under age. George Davis, near Haskel, five hundred thousand dollars, Etta Durand Harrison, near Haskell, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Russell Davis, Jr., a minor, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, F. Nave Muskogee, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, P. A. Lewis, Muskogee, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Martha Jones, Muskogee, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Queenie Jackson Jones, Chicotah, One million dollars, Bagby, three hundred thousand dollars, Curtis Reed, Muskogee, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, T. J. Elliott, one hundred thousand dollars. Elliott was a teacher 16 years ago.. Jake Simmons near Haskel, three hundred thousand dollars. Eugene Simmons seventy five thousand dollars. Johnny Haskel near Muskogee, five hundred thousand dollars, Jake Anderson, Muskogee, five hundred thousand dollars.

There are 22 colored mail carriers in Muskogee and a shoe store making a specialty of shoes to order. Harvey Green is a large dealer in mules and horses, The only one in town. W. T. Greene has an excellent art shop and photograph gallery. J. W. Adams has a dry goods store, T. Corruthers owns the above shoe store. Neal Fuller runs the hotel, Two drug stores are run by M. C. Simmons, and Wilson and Jones. Howard King and Charles Banks run two confectionary stores, the former quite large. Harves and Rivers own the laundry with $3,900 worth of machinery.

.24-7.63

Ragsdale has the largest undertaking establishment in the city, with twenty-five dollars invested. He also runs a grocery store. Most of the rich Negroes noted above made their money in oil. No Negroes are employed as oil drillers. R. E. Stewart and C. E. Corbet are lawyers in the Carter Building, South Second Street. Stewart is an especially fine lawyer. Oklahoma is extraordinary individual and democratic. ~~Ready to fight with~~ race prejudice and forced ~~by the~~ other of ideal from Texas and Arkansas. The Negroes are groping for group consciousness and race idea. It is a phantasmagoria of unrest and deficiency.

34-7-94

Return to DuB.

Muskogee. A daughter of Peter Clark teaches music in the school. The school is crowded but has some good teachers. Note the extraordinary school law for "majority and minority schools". The majority school gets the city taxes which is the main revenue while the minority school gets the county taxes. As a result in the prosperous city of Muskogee with its large Negro tax payers a Negro school is about to be closed after a six or seven months session. It rained the night I spoke here but there was an audience of four or five hundred comfortably filling the church. Dinner was served at a restaurant and lunch at the school. The residence sections for the colored people in Muskogee are of extraordinary beauty and desirability. Cotton is rotting in the fields and bales lie untended in the rain. How terrific an indictment of modern economic organization. Oklahoma is ragged, uncouth, unfinished but magnificent in it brute strength.

34-7-65

The train conductors are polite. The Midland road has new, clean, separate cars. Mr. and Mrs. Foreman entertained us at dinner at Okmulgee. Only one woman sat down with the men and she seemed apologetic.

Cotton, cotton all through the south. Idle, waiting, helpless cotton in bales, in fields in ragged smudges waiting, waiting disconsolately.

A proposed pagent in Oklahoma. Tulsa has a sky line of three red towers, a byzantine dome and a sky scraper on the prairie. Muskogee colored folk are pretty well scattered in the town. Tulsa colored city is practically separate. There is a new hotel, two story brick and my apartment had a reception room, bed room, clothes closet, bath with hot and cold water. The building was not well finished, but was clean and quiet. Muskogee is a "native" city, that is the colored folk

are largely freed men. Tulsa is a state town, that is the colored folk are immigrant Negroes from other states who came since statehood was established. A colored man owns a moving picture theatre, Dreamland, in Tulsa with branches in Okmulgee and Muskogee. The Tulsa theatre is in competition with a white man's Dixieland. The colored theatre is always full. The white theatre is very poorly patronized. The colored people are using the boycott and race economic solidarity in Tulsa to an extent which I had never before witnessed. They put up with poor Negro carpenters rather than hire good white ones.

34-7-66

Editorial. The white people of the United States are much pleased with Garvey. They are pleased with any Negro who says that the fight for equality is impossible in America and who advises us to cut and run for Africa. Oil is always in evidence in Oklahoma. The land is usually leased for a bonus and an nominal yearly rental. The land owner gets one eighth of the oil and the leaser seven eighths. The driller and the pipe line owner skim much of the cream of the profits.

Oklahoma is three fourths surrounded by Texas and Arkansas with only hesitating Kansas to the north. In Okmulgee a colored man of little education bought a worthless farm. He mortgaged his stock to make the first payment and then sold some of the mortgaged stock, which is a penal offence. He went to bed facing the penitentiary and arose worth $250,000 because of the oil well tapped during the night. The "natives" are braver and more resistful than the state man having had better general training. Langston University is severely criticised by the best Negroes and looked upon as a center of immorality and inefficiency. Oscar Tolan at Begs is probably a millionaire. The first payment on his oil wells was $100,000. There are in Oklahoma 23 exclusively colored towns with 23 colored post masters.

List of colored towns:

Boley 2,000; Clearview 600; Vernon 800; Booker Tee 300; Rentisville 400; Taft 600; Grayson or Wildcat 400; Redbird 300; Tullahassee 600; Brooksville 700; Lima 600; Smithville 200; langston 500; Tatum
In all these cases the land around for a radius of four or ten miles is owned by colored farmers. The city government is colored and the stores are run by colored men. There are the following colored men of property in Tulsa: Stradford $100,000; J. Tyler Smith $50,000; B. C. Franklin $150,000; he owns 27 tenement houses; E. J. Sadler $25,000; R. T. Bridgewater $50,000; Gentry $25,000; Gully $50,000; Mr. and Mrs. S. Williams $150,000, they own the three moving picture theatres in Tulsa, etc. He has a Marmon car. W. F. Haygood of Okmulgee $100,000, he ownes ten farms and has oil wells. In Oklahoma the state registrar appoints the county and precinct registrars. In colored precincts it is the business of the registrar to try and register as few Negroes as possible. He consequently hides and skulks about. In Okmulgee the Negroes completely surrounded his house with pickets and thus compelled registration. Mr. Wallce registered before the Grandfather Clause was declared unconstitutional on the grounds that his father was white. L. D. Ingram, 903 North Ninth Street, Muskogee is 18 years old and worth a million dollars. Oil was struck on his land in 1920. He has one white and one colored guardian. Margaret Ingram , his sister, is nearly as wealthy. J. W. Thompson of Clearview has oil wells and is worth probably a half million.

Negro votes put Mrs. Robinson into Congress.

White and colored towns often alternate. I passed one or two towns where I did not see a single colored person.

The whites have lost the usual southern individual dominance of Negroes but white men are striving desperately to keep group control. Thus Oklahoma is a state of three ways by the cotton equality and

southern serfdom. Or to put it another way Negro groups in Oklahoma instead of being held in direct subordination to the white group ~~has~~ have slipped out from under and tend to rise as a rival competing group, largely organized for economic self-sufficiency.

In the south Negroes retreat to the better ruled cities and there armed with the vote, education and economic organization they can advance to a subordinated community. A recent canvaser tells me of virtual slavery in the Mississippi delta. He tells of visiting one plantation of 30,000 acres. The overseer rode with pistol in his holster, rifle on his saddle and whip in his hand. Three families whom we saw with five to seven children had odd children, evidently of white parentage. Colored fathers of such families were especially intimidated from leaving.

34-7-68

It is not the elite of the race who have gone out and pioneered in Oklahoma but the masses. The regional conference of Oklahoma with every branch represented was held in Boley. Correspond with John M. Lampton, photographer, Boley. Boley is an extraordinary town. It is high, clean and airy. At the depot is a colored station agent and a colored telegraph man. Near the station is an electric light plant owned and run by a colored company. The city clerk has his office there. They are preparing to install an ice plant in the same building. From here the broad main street rises and passes through the town. On the right dominating the town is the great red brick Masonic temple four or five stories in heighth. On the left is a little telephone exchange with colored telephone girls and colored line men. All the city officers, Mayor, Justices and Constable are colored. Far up on the hills to the right gleaming white and pretty in the sunshine is the new state tuberculosis sanitarium, finished but not yet in operation. It has forty eight beds. The town is ruled by a Mayor and five Council-

men. Negroes own the land for eight miles north, five miles south, and four or five miles east and west. There are three cotton gins. There are small city water works of the tower type although most of the people use wells. The side walks are cement but the streets are unpaved. The stores are brick. There is a large garage and a well built brick school. The post office has three carrier routes. A surrounding Negro farm population of 10,000 feeds the town and supports its numerous grocery stores, meat markets, cafe and moving picture house. There is a bank with its deposits guaranteed under the state law. There are comparatively few trees. Oil has been found as near as Clearview and there is probably oil near Boley.

34-7-69

The women of Oklahoma are not much in evidence in any public capacity. This is partly the old Indian tradition and partly the result of the irregularities of the frontier. Oklahoma City. There was an intelligent audience of five hundred in the basement of a beautiful church which is building. Oklahoma City has had a desperate fight for residential facilities. For a while they were held back by the segregation law, but they have now swept up and surrounded one of the white schools which they expect will be turned over to them soon. Their present school is in the red light district near the railroad. They are being forced out of the down town business section up town. Already they have stores, drug sotres and a moving picture theatre . I was met by Lyons, the manufacturer in a new $9,000 Pierce Arrow car. He is worth perhaps $100,000. Tom Trayler is worth $50,000. Dr. A. B. Whitby and Dr. Slaughter have from $25,000 to $50,000 each. I spoke at the Tabernacle Baptist Church. There are 80,000 whites and 10,000 Negroes in Oklahoma City. Note that letters are going out from New York asking colored people of Oklahoma to help build New York colored armory.

S. J. Favor who owns 1400 acres in Logan County was county school commissioner for two terms, 1908 to 1912. The school at Guthree was named for him. D. G. Horton, Box 278, Guthrie is the High School principal and will get a picture of Favor. Guthrie has 5,000 Negroes. The houses are plain and not so new and pretty as in Oklahoma and Muskogee. It is the older town and the Negroes had great power there. It was for that reason that the capital was changed from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. The Governor took it away in his automobile. The new capital at Oklahoma City stands stark in a bare unornamented place waiting to be finished. Guthrie has a short street of colored stores and the Knights of Tabor own a corner lot right in the midst of town. The High School has eight teachers, well lighted and well run. There are white and colored blocks a sanitarium and the Excelsior Library, a small library established by Mrs. Horton and supported by the city. There was an audience of 400 in the City Hall. Leland University of New Orleans had an endowment of $150,000 and sold its site for $240,000 making a total endowment of nearly $400,000. They bought 400 acres near Alexandria . President John E. Ford issued his prospectus telling of the sort of work the school aimed to do. The white people threatened if the school is established there and the Baptist Home Mission Board gave it up. What is the status now?

347-70

Blackened, rotting shocks of wheat in the fields of Oklahoma and the world starving. Cotton waisting in the rain and the world naked.

Voices. There was a beautiful contralto voice at Okmulgee, a tenor at Boley and a soprano at Tyler.

What is the N.A.A.C.P. doing in the Monroe Doctrine celebration.

The Eruption

Why Tulsa

Tulsa, th

Tulsa, T

Pop. 1

on K + T;

M. Val;

n of Tulsa
Erupted
he Terrible

Tulsa Co.
8,182 (1910)
; aT+5 Fe;
Frisco Sys.

Wichita.. Striking buildings in colored Wichita are the Calvary Baptist Church and the Douglass L'Ouverture Schools. Note especially the athletic record of the latter school. The principals are T. L Barnette of the Douglass and T. C. West of the L'Ouverture. Write them of THE BROWNIES' BOOK. Send THE BROWNIES' BOOK to Mrs. L. Hamilton, 206 Miami Street, Leavenworth. H. B. Knowling, 921 Potawotomie Street, Leavenworth has been for nine years contractor at the federal prison. Get him for Men of the Month. At Leavenworth I stayed with a retired army sergeant. We visited the wonderfully organized federal prison and saw Jack Johnson and all the prisoners at dinner. The chapel was decorated by a convict artist. Many of the Houston boys were there. There was a crowded audience of 500. An astonishing introduction. B. K. Bruce is a teacher of a local colored school and there is much discrimination in theatres. Remember the little lady of Guthrie, Mrs. Horton. This would seem to be the steps to organizations. The period of the personal feud followed by that of the selfish individuals, then a quest for leaders, then rival leaders, then the idea, the method sacrifice. Topeka. Here we met the embalmed prejudice of a liberal state. People of good middle class, cultured white stereotyped friends. The Civil Rights Bill as for instance, as a license joker. Only businesses licensed are forbidden to discriminate and in the case of a city hall the license was remitted. There is absolute failure on the part of the colored people to combine with any radical movement like the Non-Partisan League or to understand them. The warden of the jail boasted that there were fewer Negroes in jail and "not a single I. W. W." There was a fine audience, in the high school auditorium, some 800 people of whom 25 perhaps were white. There was a good soprano voice and a trained piano player who was late.

The reign of the bungalow in the west. In Lawrence I was in the home of Pease who is a colored demonstrator in the University of Kansas. The

University looks shabby and a glorious sight. Dr. Harvey the owner of 500 acres of land near took us out to see the Haskell Institute for Indians. Lawrence is a placid town of lawns, streets and gardens. There was a good audience of 400. A good tenor voice. Many Alpha Phi Alpha men.

Spring is in Kansas with grass and timid leaves. The halo of breath and moving crowds the peace of expectation. It is interesting to view my audiences as a whole. First the dark blurr and then the rich low delicacies of color. The dull clothes. But at least the absence of the startling harmony of dark clothes and white faces. The apparent monotony of dark coloring is relieved when one catches the delicacies of the fresh tints which the clothes never contrast nor reflect. In Kansas City, Kansas note the rise of "Porterism" and write concerning it to Judge I. F. Bradley, 456 Montana Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas. The Porter crowd was in office 1911, '13, '15. In In 1913 a commision government came in. The single republican who had been elected by colored voters sided with the democrats. The Negroes voted and cast 1700 votes for a Negro candidate, Nat Singleberry. The Porter crowd was defeated and a favorable mayor and commissioner elected. In these elections there was a furious anti-Negro campaign. Placards asking "Do you want buck Negro policemen?" This is a white man's country etc. Porter had put all Negroes off the police force in 1910. Now there are six or eight colored policemen. Negroes are joining Negroes. Quite a contrast between twenty and thirty years ago. The local meat cutters union has a Negro president. Quindaro is an interesting place. Hills owned by Negroes and a park protected by them. There is a colored high school and very excellent churches. At the First A. M. E. Church there was an audience of 1500 and 200 turned away.

34-7-72

You may see the animated mud-puddle which men call the Missouri. Get from Atchison pictures of the colored school, the Baptist Church and of Kenford's Establishment, The George W. Kenford's Quarry.is a partnership between sons of George W. Kenford. They deal in crushed stone and crush 500 cubic yards a day. In 1917 they sold by their books 25,671 tons of crushed stone for $24,643, in 1918, 26,656 tons for $23,068, in 1919, 30, 565 tons for $65, 431. During 1920 they moved to a larger quarry. They pay roll not including salaries was $41,528. This includes a portion of the new quarry and the starting of the new plant. The cost of the new plant was $32,911, plus the old plant equipment. They distribute rock in the roads of 100 chiefly for railroads. Fourteen or fifteen hundred of their laborers they have imported from the south sending the money in advance for the men who without fail came. Their foreman T. G. Hanna was working at a cement plant at Dickson, Tenn. He was the expert blaster and received $2.00 a day of which $.25 was "withheld". He now gets $150 a month together with five acres of ground. They offered him $6.00 a day to return to Tennessee. While he was working there,there was a white superintendent who got the real wages while he got simply a laborers pay. Naturally he declined to return but through him many x skilled laborers have been turned away from the plant. This business was founded by Charles W. Kenford, He was born in Kentucky in 1849 and died in 1914. He had rock on his land and made a bid to a government contractor at St. Joseph and he made $500 on this. Local bankers then got him to go in with them and form the Missouri River Stone Company. He worked with them until 1908 but they got all the profits and he quit and established his own plant in 1911, During 1908-11 he acted as superintendent of another plant. He began the business in 1911 on saved and borrowed capital, from Atchison First National Bank three or four thousand dollars in all.

34-7-73

He died in 1914. The plant for which he was formerly superintendent failed in 1918 and this firm took the receivership. His two sons were educated in the public schools. One is married with three boys, and there is a third brother who will eventually be brought into this partnership. He is 23 years and is married with a boy and a girl. The older married brother is 29 . The second one unmarried is 26. On April 3 write for photographs of the three brothers and of the plant. They work from 25 to 49 laborers. All colored except three. We rode along the bluffs above the Missouri and through the grounds of a great Catholic institution. There was an audience of four or five hundred. The white principal of the mixed high school was there, and Dr. George Baundry of 1121 South 4th Street. He is a friend of Mr. Philip Peabody. Afterward there was an audience with many teachers from St. Joseph including Miss Colley of Lincoln.

34-C-24

Write to W. L. Sayres of Hill City, Kansas for information concerning Nicodimus, Kansas a Negro town. This town sprang from the 1879 migration. It has a co-operative store. At St. Paul there was an audience of 1300 in the People's Church. At Duluth I was introduced by Miss Ethel May Ray, 209 East 5th Street, Duluth. Note the case of the independent servant. Intellegent and faithful and given everything except a chance to rise out of the servant class. At Duluth there was an audience of 300 evenly distributed between white and colored. Next morning the white Community Secretary gave me a breakfast at the Commercial Club. Editorial. "No vigorous universities to help hold mind together". Well's Outline Volume 2 page 249. We have none save in students alumni and in the old traditions. Society as a continuous intermingle of influential persons and ideas.

Remember Dr. Isaac Rypins, St. Paul, a liberal Jew. Also Weski, a rich St. Paul patron of the N.A.A.C.P. who has us in his will.

There is need of Negro Civic Centers housed in N.A.A.C.P. buildings which should contain a board of information, literature, theatre, and athletic games.

At the North Western Medical School, two colored men have gained keyes, that is admission to the Alpha Omega Alpha. Dr. Walter Grante gained his in 1919 and graduated in 1920. He took competive examinations for interne in the Cook County Hospital. Forty-five out of three hundred passed. He was one of them. Dr. I. M. Henderson got his key in 1920 and finishes in 1921. Fifty candidates took examinations for senior bacteriologists in the City of Chicago. Three passed of which Edward W. Beasley, a colored man was one.

Dr. Julius Rush Lewis got his key in the medical school and was before that Phi Beta Kappa of the University of Illinois and a Sigma Chi in chemistry. Get for Men of the Month Miss Ida Taylor teacher in the Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. Note the new equipment of the Chicago Defender.

34-7-75

(1) Durham

Car fare

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| N.Y. & Greenville | 26.09 | |
| G & Durham | 1.78 | |
| D & Charlotte | 11.18 | |
| C & Savannah | 4.31 | 43.36 |

Durham

Better farm Crop & better passengers

Horse & power

Vote w. cities & not in small

towns & County

2 banks in D.

1 stamp in Raleigh

2 in W. Salem

New 6 story store & brown mo.

Mfg. Tire use.

Young Merrick

new eight school

Pauly Negro street

Reb. Scale in defense of

Negro education

Bond stones & tells Shelby

Used Penn Mutual, Equitable &

N.Y. Life have send money &

Clubs to be formed of White farmers only

In Clarksdale Miss Branch with $22 million resources – 2 Negro directors & 1 W. Clerk & two tellers

Darden

For Pan Mem: Moore Shelby Shotwell.

Registry in Durham: Numerous refusal – error warrant – withdrawal only when all refusals have been submitted

Dudley's flare-back

In W-Salem: chiefly in why working together

Charleston + (3) Jones

Colored Teachers in the schools

2 banks

Negroes in industries $14-21

a week — dishclean, white

women in Jute Mills

Egrounders 30 millions in N.
Charleston

Miller C 73

Dr McHall - his home

We dance — Mrs Ewell Dart

Dutton + the Dr Coates

1400 registered voters — few women

New school houses — four

grading

The Case of the church - dance

Campbell, Crank + Ben Kittle -

Journey (5)

In a Cemetery, remember:

of the 7000 at least 6000 church

members in good standing

Masons etc & odd fellows

Americus men & Philanderers &c

Not a single item of Interference in

A. did come first this time on a

Murderer

& would replace & shake hands

with him

Shanty towns — no churches

allowed in city

No white women or Priests

Play-grounds

—

women laundry Potatoes near Charleston

@ 40¢ a day — men at 90¢ & $1.

—

Dunbar School - Columbia Ga

" Theatre - Savannah

The coachman & head boss &
the servant — gang & the
Cave officer 3 unarmed — 2
armed — the Grand Jury
Street Cars — colored Negro & ordinary
Sacrifices & Native. — "I'm in my
rights" — "You've got no rights"
Standard oil — phosphates —
asbestos
The Jew on the Bowery.
Wanderer the artist
Art gallery — no Negroes
Cemetery " " whites
The Phyllis Wheatley society
Brain weight — Street Cars
Killing Negroes — boycott — bond
issue
Poignant beauty & Crass ugliness
Blatant extremes The People & Negroes
The mob

Savannah

Schools — double sessions —
8 – 12  12:30 – 500 — same
teachers; no high school — Beach
& next closed.

Park — no Negroes.

Banks

22 Insurances
5 undertakers
Lawyers

Slaying Negroes in South Ga
— the man that killed 2, one as
he was leaving car

The attempt to arrest the Negro that
barricaded himself & fought

30-16-246

Edwards
Methodist schools
Teachers
Scott & Watkins
Wright

{ Women afraid to go on the roof
Excellent wide Boards

Women work & hard food

The Sanitary Inspector
(depravedness colored girls)

Good Nurses & good drugs

---

Exhortation of the poor — Low Churches

taxes 8 & 10% (42% of assessment)

old laws & licenses of marriage

Hinder them growth action
& headwork — give them none
& laugh & jeer at their failures
& mock their excuses

30-16-26

School house — Jacksonville
Bare & ugly — Ugliness
The: Unnecessary, Notes &c.

Comming autumn the hills
Turn The yellow waters of
Jan & The black waters of The
a flush of crimson & gold in
the grey woods
The grey gum trees that climb
& kills

Jacksonville is located. Some
Time since 1901 it has grown
from 115 to 90 thousand. Creeks
from Go & the have come in
Paying & charlatan Negro economically
& commune morally & politically
Wage wages dead & recently of
White workers. The Negro
Negro skilled trade & Religion
Shouting leaders = nervous
anthems of 400 - 500. Woman
Grocery stores & c theatre, temple
stores & dry goods. Theatre, school

Primitive Baptists have a National Convention (16 yrs old) Headquarters Huntsville Ogilvy President (Schools, publication house etc)

Colored people (Seaboard) Leave Jacksonville @ 5.15 pm arrive River Junction 1.50 AM Leave RJ 1.05 pm arrive Tall 8.55 pm Leave Tall 8.45 AM RJ 5.15

Leave 2.30 AM etc

The Audience @ Tallahassee from 50 souls - 500 seems. Listen carefully Dr Stevens (Had $12 000 & family at Stake)

Durham — Retreat conference & town 200

Charleston - AME Church - 600
Branch med 500

Johannette

So Ladies Undressed gets 8-13-
25 Chemise clothes — one negro
as 7 Chemise & get $1.50 ?

Brewster

Norman

30-16-32

Passed thro McClenny — here a few months ago Negroes desperate insurrection the mayor killed Negroes arrested & hanged. Two of the hangmen afterward arrested & killed.

Passed thro Quincy. Negroes have no school houses & have no schools in county. Can't sleep a few days ago tell them 5 miles you stop ready, the 6 miles you will get no schools.

Preaching Elder S.H. Wells of Marianna. Hundred Negroes & white women of attack. Accused of leader. Friend & defender & told them he was armed. No attack

Prevented "God is love. Jesus saves"

Shame & infamy, the vast drama

Lynches of men in J-ville caused
New Insurrection Co. among Negroes.
In Escambia County Negroes voted
Carpetbag & Scalawag Ticket
In Dallas Co No Negroes voted — Driven
away. In Clemens did not vote

Pensacola
Shameful riotness. Beautiful Sunday
15 thousand Negroes & some Americans (whites)
"Palafox" = Main Street — Wide
green Esplanade Center — arcades
square & shady trees — Sam
Charles 402 W. Wright — 2
white Citizens — white persons 80%
[6 " " in U.S. 2 here, 1 in J-ville
1 Pulaski 1 K city Mo. 1 Chamberlain]
Audience of 500 — ½ doz whites
"My Rosary"

---

Difficulty about voting around

14

Montgomery

30-16-D

N. Orleans (B) 14 1/3

The creole old world charm — the merchant of wide flatlands & shiny water. The low city with ancient doorway — its homely delapidation

Negroes voted in La — in N.O. — 1600 Colored women — in Alexandria — All Negroes voted.

In 1896 — 14000 Negroes registered Reform vs. Old Ring. Suffrage amendment defeated & Negroes elected Reform Recent disfranchisement

The Parks: Two Negroes advised & was beautiful city Parks & Parkchairman unsympathetic & hostile other parks

100 000 Negroes & 10 - 50000 uneducated Negro in N.O. 400000 — The extraordinary beautiful ladies

The fine old culture of Charleston & N.O. - The former Colonial - with home [illegible]

Otey ~~Co~~ cones — breakdown, turned aside, in tragedy + gay deceivers to clearly Something of this in Jacks-V. — less in Savannah. little in Pensacola

---

Two lunch in N.O. — Pigeons — interesting couche — Americans

---

The delicious cookery — the coffee!

---

In general in Va — La — more velvety, more careful organization particularly economic — Every light in small towns + country, Dairy not sold to the farmers. While "Cracker" invasion of Florida. ~~Bad~~

---

The splendid audience in N.O. Dr Simms — his energy + devotion. The conference of teachers + Superintendents

30-16-9

Get Dennis story of Colored A.M.A. work + Hughes story of M.E. work. Get sketches of Colored + White schools of N.O. + M. of Months of Harris + Garrett

---

The Carnival held in Massive Mahogany.

---

The clear beautiful azure Cross on the Texas + Pacific — Tawny - pale brown - Head of Mississippi - Ed levees. Boats above ground. Cotton + Mississippi towns. Mrs Ball + Yolande Dr + Mrs Beattie (only one more year in Alexandria

---

The lovely blushing of Spring in the Ga. fields and woods (Feb 27) green + yellow + red

40% of teachers in Col. schools on trial time.

Catholic school good + improved

Teacher wages increased – began @ $100.

—

The lynching at Pleasanton!

A Negro insulted the colored females of an overseer. Overseer threatened him. Met him in field – he severely wounded overseer. He was lynched

Gov. Porter tried Planters Negroes for cruelty charges He tried in every way & found out Upshaw – Who's Cruelty Charges were?

—

Evans + delegation waited 11 hours & saw Gov. Pleasant At last & then that race antipathy was above the Law!

Travellers of Consideration in South

Large cities

Moderate sized cities of Border

" " " " South

Country districts of border

" " " South

Shrill towns + villages of South (Most)

+ outmost habitual homes

---

The Table rock at Palm

Range — get data — the

Calculating Precedent — Lecture

---

The wandering of Leland

not allowed as (Alexandria?)

Consul Ford.

---

Jim Crow from N.O. to Shreveport

as well-dressed as Coach N y ? Phil

---

Alexandria — City of enthusiasm

in wagon wheel (one?) Mr Bradley

does not dare talk politics there

J. S. Clark president of Southern U. at Baton R. State grant $267,000 for buildings & maintenance — (usually $30,000 or less)

Leland now Pres. & ~~Leland~~ all counties — A citizens objected. They adopted

We dined on the diner between N.O. & Shreveport @ 3 p.m. The dining car conductor was absolutely negligé. The coach jammed 3 in some seats Jim Crow used & comfortable folk!

—

Shreveport Dist. Negro barbers Masons & Negroes — two industrial land owners — small farmers church and — big & costly negro owned small pattern homes

—

Parish Green of N.O. & Pan African

30-10-7

The grey capped bearded tree
Was from Charleston S.C. or
from N.C.? — Nancy
in Rullen reference

---

"Black Derby Evening" in
Alexandria 6 nuts, Trees in
Bunker!

—

Night in Da for Smoking
Compartments & Ref. Tickets. Tonight
2 — RR acted a yonic delay &
then more. Tonight by afternoon
excursion & fraternal orders

—

Let Then be a Renaissance of
Negritude like the French exhibition —
Literature, Poetry, Novels, Painting, the drama

—

The Czar Regathers!

30-16-4

New methods of hypnotism: Shrewsford had new hypnotizing lamps given the Court in a Court 2 Crown prisoners "chrysanthemumed" while in custody of Police & Bailiff.

---

I walked thro' the whole Waxley scene at Shrewsford, May 9th. Press of MAGIC. Took off his hat as he cracked thro'. I broke the Jungle Law

---

The Shadow of Fear! — the Sudden Sign — the Line wasted in shocking color time

One unused cannot imagine the sensation — a beautiful land, the tang of ozone, leaves, color, dreamstone jags, Ruby & Emerald in the air & then — suddenly — the smash! There must be men with nothing else & the on Hand — the Ranging Act

Jim Crow cars & electric fans,
double tracks & crowd basins - clean
& new

Helplessness of southern reformers
without initiative of Negroes & yet
they object Negro initiative & transfer it

Tyler
Banks & Virginia
Berkeley as record
The energy & the fresh young
earnestness (V.P.)
Center round - The Senate
& Social Equality - this enlightenment
The Time & the Serenade
The boy who climbed the church &
the white house who followed
The warrant for the ships

---

Body found at Shrewsbury
New Hospital Treatment: S, Falls

Marshall, Hamilton &c. How far can schools substitute go?

The free masonry of educated Negroes is today one of the finest things of human intercourse the world knows

This is another land — a south modernized much conscious exaggeration, bowers frame + bungalowed — Indians — Waldensville Ezbud + Gothic buildings — one tile roof — Horses Cows + Mules — Mountains + Mesas

---

Newton + Okmulgee — 21.27

---

Jim Crow

Equal except sleeper + diner

A.C.L. — Tex + Pac

Separate car but old + not very clean

Seaboard

No Jim Crow car

Old dirty, no smoker

Cotton Belt

Very old, dirty, rattling

Rock Island

About Barnquets

Cruel + unusual punishment

I know I have sinned but surely there are bounds of mercy

take any form but that + my form become

ugly room, ugly table, 3 chairs in place for two

24 not enough knives forks or spoons
Pamful manners — 1/3 know well, 1/3 observe
& 1/3 —
" Salad " — My Lord! what have I
not omitted in the name of Salad. I turn
howling green when I think of it
Ice cream or corn starch & stony coffee
& heat your smoke — a whiff of cake
all the women & the interesting & frivolous
you set by the fat pretended, the decent
the monarchs & the man who asks
" How do you like our town" — then
Speeches — long drawn rambling
aimless objectless — Queens
" I did not expect to be called on
" Our honored guest "
" That reminds me of a story "
" I am no speaker " This is a torture
Finally at 12:30 just as the salad
is beginning its old night veyle — you
you want to say —
you try to avoid sarcasm & admit all
your neck dependently & avoid the subject
of food — it is over. So are you
all night you twinkle — Hail diamond
salad.

W. J. Cobbs, Jr.

The Abyssinian Finance, 1918-20

got 30-40 000 dollars.

2 coops. Blacks & finally frees

insolvent in 14 months

Investment $1 000 —

The "Prince" controlled it

---

The "Jethros" (Credentials signed by 2

(Cobbs & 3 Jethros)

International Rescue & Relief Conference

Father Omega Jethro

---

5 movements share credit of foreshowed

African movement in 1907-8, Same movement

1912-3, Prince 18-20, Garvey 21

J. H. Howard — Founder of Okmulgee

branch

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Editorials: Under Race — if they

connect N.A.A.C.P. and it must stand

by its guns to make them go further —

Pussy-footers & White folks niggers — if they

fail N.A.A.C.P. needed

Editorial

Africa west for Migration

Friends & Foods

Oklahoma

---

20 groceries in Okmulgee

dry goods & furnishings

3 drug stores

5th ave dressers

Women rented & waiters

The oil man - J B. Kay

---

1 bank in Okmu

Negroes of Okmulgee over 50

brick buildings - 2 large banks

stocks

---

Checkless beer # 10 firms

---

Between Texas & Kansas — Nomads

---

Needed a state organizer for OKL.

---

writer-raised: talking up with passengers

like Motors & white folks niggers like Fisher

bad talking & plain mannered like Sister Griggs

30-16-30

Arranging a visit to Bolshevik Russia

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~~The~~ Indians & Negroes together before Abolition — Whites refused Negroes & Indians & Other land away

Morton, biggest store in Okmulgee of Indian Negro element married white wife — refused service in Texas

---

The old Creek national capital in Okmulgee — now YWCA Red Cross!

---

T. J. Elliott — 111-13 S. 2nd 4 stores general store, Muscogee Bldg & other stores in 4 stores in Tulsa, Okmulgee Boggs 35% white trade in Muscogee

Gwens Manager, store. 8 - 15 employs

~~Sarah~~ Rector - $1,000,000

Laundry - 1912

South Second St.

Shoe store

22 colored mine cars in M.

30-16-16

ore Luther Manuel — $1,000,000

near Waskom (in county

oil George Davis - $500,000

near Waskell (county

oil Etta Durand Harrison - $250,000

near Waskell

ore Russell Davis Jr (mine) 250,000

Real est ore Geo T. Nave manager — $250,000

ore + farmer P.A. Lewis - $100,000

oil Ingraham - 250,000

Martha Jones - $250,000

Wichita

Calvary Baptist Church

& Douglas & Lawrence Schools

Story of the white man who killed a nigger — tried & the white & the Juries this time and killed him

F. C. West, Principal
Lawrence School
F. L. Darnell
Douglas school
Wichita

Brunswick, Georgia

Wrote about Lawrence school record

Dave W. & K.C. — $8.22
" K.C. & Lemmel 1.08

Send Prairie Park 7
Cook & Crew
Mrs Leona Hamilton 206
Miami St., Leavenworth

H.B. & Knowling (colored) 921 Delaware St.
Contractor of Federal Prisons
All Leavenworth

9 yrs & more

Leavenworth

The retired Sergeants Family
The Federal Prison + Jack Johnson
Dinner - A Chapel - The Hanover
Boys - Fort Leav. — The audience
of 500 - The astronomy introduction
a city of discrimination in Weeks
+ Bonds with the Numbers as
Letters. With Holmes' taxi, Kroenlein
+ Lawyer Ball; Bonds. The Leader
Leav. & Topeka — $2,03

---

The Little Lady of Guthrie Hotel

---

II Promotion - Legitimate & Illegitimate
Re-casting our Educational System

---

Steps & organization: Personal
Friend - Selfish Individuals - Quest for
Leaders - Rival Leaders - the Idea
- the Method - Sacrifice

Mr Bowers - Lawrence Kan.

quote in Crisis: The New Age
Magazine for Feb '21 printed @
16th & S st NW. Wash., DC.
154

Topeka & Lawrence 85

Topeka

The concluded preparation of a
Colored elite. People of good middle
class culture, with cleared[illegible]
friends. Civil rights much discussed
Jokes. Failure to construe with
refined. Fewer Negroes in Jail
& No 9 N.W.! Audience of 800
(25 White) Senator Capper. good
voice & late from Abyssinia. Mr
Teachers. Hall. Grey. Rev Mr. Young

# The Reign of the Bungalow down West

Law & K.C. — $1.26

Lawrence

The home of Peace. The shabby town on a glorious site Haskell Indians — Dr Harry & his 500 acres — a placid town of Elms & streets & gardens. The

Rocked & listless audience of 400 The tenor voice — S & A — 2 frits. Handshaking. Shining in Kansas — grass & timid leaves The trials & trials of many plans The peace of expectation. Lawrence The Heavenly — The 2nd Presbyt church

---

Anthemus — The dark blue — The rich delicacies of coloring — The sympathy & comprehension — The dark dull clothes

The Starling in harmony with
White forces — The drill monotony in
dark. The clothes meth confined for
refuse the delivery of black limbs

---

30-16-17

Letter to raise Pan A fund
of $3000.

---

KC. Porteous in 1911, 13
in 15 — 1707 votes for Negro cause

Not Englishry — Porteous defeated
next year parasite Mayor elected
(1910-13 — with Negro campaign
better rate trustees. Do you record
a black Negro Indian — white
man's country — now 60 & 8
Porteous
Porter (democrat) 1910 left off
Negroes of Indian force
common vos 3 rebels &
2 dem

48

Record of Negro vote was
3 ✱ dem & 2 Rep.

Negroes in Unions – Negroes
Recorded by Meat Cutters Union

J. T. Bradley,
453 Minnesota ave.
Kansas city, Kan

Portuguese

Atchison & St Paul – $19.46

The Synod of Kansas P. Church

our attitude toward Race & Color
We know one Race Communists

K C & Atchison – $1.44

Colored High School & Churches
The Cabins of Quindaro – Portuguese
Autumn of 1500 – 200 turned away
a soprano & tenor – 3 churches
Rev J. T. Griffin & the sheets. – Park
a Negro district –
the animated mud puddle which men
call the Missouri

The Winds of Kansas!

Abilene

Pastures of Colored Schools, Baptist Church & Kenford's Hill.

The Hotels above the Mexican Quarter of 400 - 500. Wards

* Principal & Dr. George Bowling

1121 S. 4th. The Dance. Miss Corley of Denver & So Jo. So Jo. Teachers.

Modern Kan.

( W. L. Sayers, Hill city Kan gives info.) Negro Inn.

Has a cook. Store

So P & Garland 5.83

Return 5.83

& Chas 9.46

Edward The New Howard

Yankee of Romance – treasure – but the Spirit: War of Wits, Gulfpin

St Paul audience of 1300 in Peoples Church – Dr Terrell's lady – Miller Travis – Miss Ethel May Ray, 209 E 5th St., Duluth –

Duluth Runny servants (dependable Sam) give him everything but a chance

Audience of 400 white & black – best white. Breakfast at Commercial Club w/ the Ray family

Edward Railroad unions deserve defeat.

ed "no virginia commencing & started her round together" Wells Outline II 249. Ine have none – Dance in student & alumnae – old traditions

"Society – a continuous intermingling influential persons & ideas

Rabbi Isaac Ruppins, St Paul minor school fees

Pan Africa for Mr & Mrs
Mildred Bryant Jones.

Northwestern Medical School
— 2 colored men have gained
Keys (ΦΒΚ) Dr Walter Grant
'19 — finished '20 — took examination
exams for interne Cook Co. Hospital
won — 45 out of 300. D. M. Henderson got key this year —
finished '21 " 50 took exams for
senior basketball for City of Chicago
+ 3 passed — Ed W. Beasley was one
Dr Julian Lewis got his
key in Rush Medical 2 or 3 years
ago (also got ΦΒΚ Univ of Ill &
Chi in Chemical

—

Mildred Jones' story April 10

—

Ida Taylor, Wendell Phillips High School
Teacher — get her for Negro

Chicago
Abbott defender

30-16-15

Edmond — Church Clark

#21.22. M & Ockenfels

---

30-16-3

The greatest tank in Colorado

negative trail — 14 ounces blown up &

11 killed all colored except one (30 days

@ $1.00 start from Edmond — 6000 award

$100 refused for Ku Klux.

---

Mr. Jackson — 35 oil wells

60000 income tax, — Pine Bluff.

Tri State Cracker Co —

---

Dr J E Walker

234 S. 3rd — Pan Am

---

The man who checked out $30,000

from a Miss. bank

Grant Lee's story — Went & visit Alcorn

Crowd of whites — movies — Grandy Negroes

allowed at night — leaves money — returns

The Ku Klux Klan made a brave start in Sabarkantha but it died off out very Broad & in fashion but it died out of — use!

---

Remember the days of "Negro" conferences with the Negro absent — can you imagine it today?

Audiences
N. O. — { 100 Conferences
600 Lectures

Tyler — { 350 Lectures
300 Chapel
15 Teachers
12 Parents

Shreveport — 500

Memphis — 1000 Lectures
12 Conferences

Okmulgee Sunday Mch 6, 3 pm

Muskogee — Monday — Mch 7

Tulsa — Tuesday — Mch 8

Bartlesville — Wed — Mch 9

Okla City — Thur — Mch 10

Guthrie — Fri — Mch 11

~~Ard Ada Ok~~ Sat — Sapulpa

Sapulpa Sun — Luther.

Chelsea

---

Leave Memphis 10:40 p m Friday

via Mo. Pac. for Fort Smith

Arrive Sal. @ 3:05 p m

" Fort Smith Sunday @ 4:45 AM

arrive Fayetteville 7.32

" Fayetteville 7:55 arrive (via Frisco)

Okmulgee @ 2:50 p m

---

Leave M, Rock I Fri. - 10,45

Arrive Holdenville, Okl. @ 2 15 p m

Leave H via Frisco @ 5:50

arrive @ Okmulgee @ 7.50

360
100
460
300

700

20-16-6

360
100
300
125
70
100
90
500
1645.
125 transf
1520

20
20
5
20
50
115

[DuBois]

# Rest Week.

March 20 Sunday — St Paul
" 21 Mon. — St Paul
" 22 Tu. — Ride to Chicago
" 23 Wed. — Chicago
" 24 Thu. — Chicago or Cinti
" 25 Fri. — Ride to Phila da.
" 26 Sat — Mg a.
" 27 Sun. Phil & DC.
" 28 Mon. DC & Phil.
" 29 Tu
" 30 Wed. — Mrs Lommy's N.
" 31 Thu. Crisis sellers
April 1 Fri — Pan-Afra - Inia
" 2 Sat. — Mg a.

30-16-13.

1335
170
1505

Problem of The Negro into becomes
White in his work
Problem of Capital & Power
Problem of educated leadership
of the Mass
Problem of Assimilation of Culture
Problem of black & Colored
" of the islands
" of Educating from Race
" " Western factors
" " Isolated power

---

Steamships to America
Washington
The Church
The Private school
Political power
Social service
Capital
Organization

Congo
Portugal

---

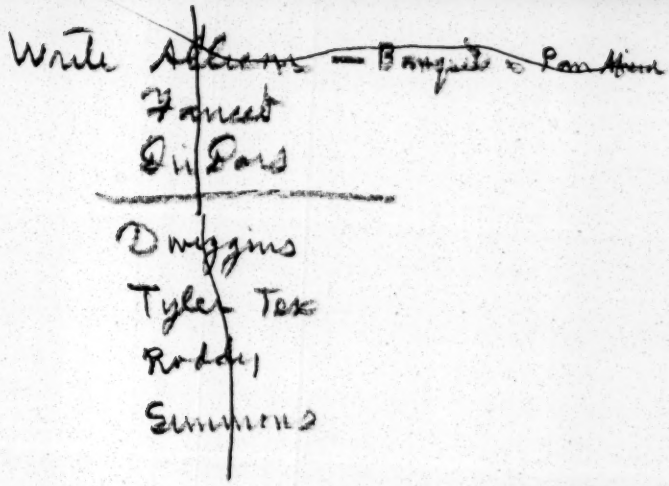
The Colored
World

30-16-12

01 The Name "Negro"

01 Banquets

85-16-30




Odd Fellows — Morris faction
Davis "
Cornet Johnson

Masons — Grand Master in each State — Council Crawford

Pythians — { Ashby Hawkins, Baltimore
Elks — { other factions (Cornish Pace

Cornet Pace. Ask him of other fraternities like Samaritans, Mosaic order etc

AME Church } all bishops & genl
AME Zion } officers

Colored bishops & officers of M.E. (Cornish Penn.)

Officers Baptist Conv { Boyd faction
Morris "
CME Church - bishops etc

P.E. Church (connect Baynal

Presbyterian (connect ?)

Leading Colored Colleges

Amer. Missionary Assoc.

30-16-27

Sedalia (White servants - chauffeurs) Porter
+ red-caps
+ seats - The race - The boy band +
cheers - The parade - The reception
Audience of 250 - Civil war veterans
officers - back work -

---

+ Indianapolis - a breezy day
+ cars moving, little dust gently + flies
one - one track

Cloudy Indianapolis - The dinner + drive
750 persons - The white officers - The band

---

Article on Madame Walker
Hershaw

---

Reconstruction
Education - church - Social - Business

Evansville - hot - The new hotel
+ Contraband - lunch - Audience of 750
+ hundreds turned away - attention
Dabney had some very old golden brown
sherry + he played on the guitar (that
— made him the Kentucky Gangster
Have you ever heard Dabney play the S.Y.?

(the canal goes under) No?
at Mardingat amid? cigarettes — ah!
brother and your home yet things to
come for. The Hotel gardens & Balls
the Community center & girls home

---

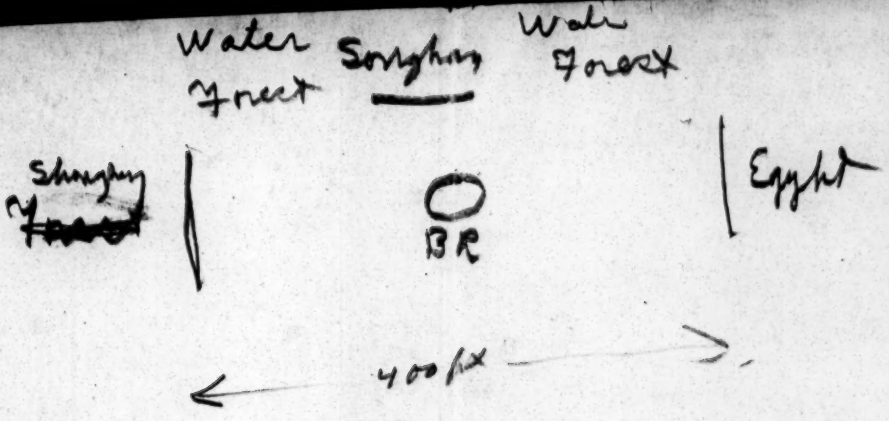
Xenia — dinner under city officials &
school girl waiters — 700 persons in Odeon
Theatre — 100 waiters. Col. Young — Wilberforce
new building — Night — rule & Columbus

Columbus club dinner — Hotel Deshler
750 people crowd your C of C hall — Reveal
O.S.U. freak. (dinner by professional men)
Hartford — interview with Gillum

Payroll Salaries — 1 @ 250 = 750
2 @ 100 600
2 @ 50 300
2 @ 25 150
$1800

Transportation 250
Board 200
$2250
Lights 1000
3250

31-5-1




aviation — Dagnal

Patton (Record of Friend

Humphrey 750)

the colored aviators story of the

drop of water on the wind shield

Detroit — no one to meet me —

the Belmont (Mr. Banks - thank him)

the movies - 1000 persons — the banquet

Dr. Turner + Father Bagnell —

Belle Isle + Grosse Pointe —

Auto freedom —

[1921]

.60 February 14 Monday - Durham - Dr. [illegible] E. Shepherd, National Training School, Durham, N. C.
15 Tuesday - travel & 12 min. stop over Dr M. Hall, Ashley St
60 16 Wednesday - Charleston - Edward Mickey, 113 Calhoun Street
60 17 Thursday - Phebe Wheatley Club - Conference of branch
60 18 Friday - Savannah - William Humphris, 620 West Park Avenue
60 19 Saturday - Dinner
60 20 ~~Sunday - Pensacola~~ - W. J. Bennett, 421 West Jackson Street
75 21 Monday - Tallahassee - L. W. Taylor - Box 45
60 22 Tuesday - Jacksonville - Federal Insurance Co. } Bishop John Hurst, Edward Waters Coll., Jacksonville
23 Wednesday - ~~St. Augustine Pensacola~~
24 Thursday - Pensacola
150 25 Friday - New Orleans - Rev. Howard A. M. Briggs, Straight Coll.
26 Saturday Sight-seeing
27 Sunday — Travel
60 28 Monday — Tyler, Texas — 4 sermons & talks

March 1 Tuesday — ~~(Nashville) Knoxville, Tenn~~
60 2 Wednesday - Shreveport, La - George C Lewis, % Lee Hardware Co
3 Thursday - Memphis - B. M. Roddy, 390 Beale Avenue — Confirm
4 Friday — (Fort Smith) Josenberger 703 N 11th St.
5 Saturday — [Elsewhere 215-8th ave N.]
6 Sunday — Travel ~~Nashville~~
7 Monday — Okmulgee Muskogee Tulsa
300 8 Tuesday
9 Wednesday — Oklahoma - Caesar F. Simmons, Postmaster, Boley, Okla.
10 Thursday — Boley — Conditions
11 Friday — Okla. City — Mrs Laura Hamilton 206 Miami St
12 Saturday — Guthrie — Wichita
60 13 Sunday — Enid — Dr. F. D. G. Harvey, 730 Mass St, Lawrence
60 14 Monday — Leavenworth
60 15 Tuesday - Topeka, Kan. - Teachers' Study Club - Julia B. Roundtree, 1317 Van Bruen Street
60 16 Wednesday — Kansas City
60 17 Thursday - ~~Atchison,~~ Kan. - Dr. D. L. Stewart, 841 South 4th St.
60 18 Friday — Atchison, Chicago
19 Saturday
125 20 Sunday — V.D. Turner, 386 N. St Albans St., St Paul, Minn.
21 Monday — ~~St. Louis Y. M. C. A., Pine Street Branch, E. St. Louis~~ Chicago
22 Tuesday — Columbus, ?
23 Wednesday - ~~Philadelphia - R. R. Wright, 651 Pine Street~~
24 T — The all Mothers
25 F — Pan Africa
26 S — We Cross
27 S
28 M — Phil. R R Wright
100

Mrs Willa Huggins 852 Oakland ave K.C. Kan

34-7-34

21 St Paul
22 Travel
23 Chicago
24 Columbus ? Ohio
25

Sunday - 20 St Paul
Monday - 21
Tuesday - 22 Chicago
Wed - 23 Chicago
Thurs - 24
Fri - 25 East
Sat - 26
Sun - 27
Mon - 28 —

27 28 Tyler
1 2 Dallas
3 Waxahachie
4 Memphis

1921

# The Economic Development of the Negro-American

by

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph.D.,
Editor of the "Crisis"

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In 1903 I wrote for the Review an article on the Negro workingman in America. This article is partly a continuation, partly an enlargement of that article and will consider the recent economic development of the Negro race in America.

In 1913 I wrote a second article but before it could be translated and put into print the Great Catastrophe overwhelmed the world. Finally in 1921, 18 years after my first article I return to a consideration of the economic development of the Negro in America.

The year 1913 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves in the United States of America and was, therefore, an excellent time for reviewing the condition of colored people and the attitude of their white neighbors.

The 1921 again marks a time of spiritual and economic upheaval following the War, and gives us opportunity of viewing in microcosm events which have revolutionized the world.

Physically the American Negro has grown rapidly. The 1,000,000 persons of Negro descent at the beginning of the nineteenth century have increased to 10,463,013 in 1920. The rate of increase has naturally decreased decade by decade being 6.5% for the decade 1910 to 1920. The exact figures are:

34-7-95

While we speak of these 11,000,000 as "Negroes", everyone familiar with the United States knows that the term is loosely used and that there is a very large mixture of white and Negro blood; the census of 1910 reports that 20.9% of the so-called Negro population were of mixed white and Negro blood; even this is admitted an under-statement. There is no reasonable doubt but visible traces of white blood can be found in at least one third of the Negro population.

It is beginning to be possible now, two generations after emancipation, to discern with some scientific accuracy the effects of emancipation and the possibilities of the Negro race in America. The census of 1920 has not yet published full reports but we have some figures for that year and full reports for previous censuses. These figures cannot, however, be understood without a glance at the economic history of the past.

The main question of emancipation was not legal but economic, not the question of sudden edict but of those slow, social processes by which the Negro slave advanced toward the status of the modern workingman.

Some of these steps had already been taken before emancipation in the rise of the house servant and the artisan. House service was the older and feudal idea of personal retainership developed in Virginia

a

and Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Out of this type of slavery in the Northern South, there developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Southern South the type which corresponds to the modern factory system in its worst conceivable form. It represented the production of a stable product on a large scale; between the owner and the labor were interposed the overseer and driver; the slaves were whipped and driven under a task system and absentee landlordship became common. This latter type of slavery sustained the Cotton Kingdom and the world-conquering visions of the slave barons had this system always in view.

On the other hand, the milder Virginia house service and the personal retainership of town life was the slavery which most white children saw at first hand. The system impressed their imaginations and they protrayed it in history and reminiscense. Fully nine

The economic advance of the American Negro has been chiefly caused by the increase in intelligence. Up until a generation ago ignorance was compulsory among the mass of Negroes. In South Carolina, for instance, in 1740 passed a law which said

The figures for illiteracy among Negroes since emancipation are as follows: 1870 - 79 9/10% could not read and write; 1880 - 70%; 1890 - 57 1/10%; 1900 - 44%; 1910 - 30 4/10%. Official figures for 1920 have not been published but would probably put the illiteracy below 25%. The validity of these figures has been greatly shaken by the experience during the war. During the draft it was found that the illiteracy among both white and black was much greater than the census indicated. This makes the question of illiteracy among Negroes undecided except that we know that the proportion is still large. The organized life of Negroes begins with their churches. The Negro church is the one surviving social nexus between America and Africa and is still the greatest social institution. Comparatively little effort was made by the whites to convert the Negro to Christianity until the 18th century. When in that century the Methodists and Baptists and other denominations began to admit the slaves and free Negroes discrimination against them soon appeared especially in the North. There the Negroes early withdrew and formed their own churches. Reports on Negro churches have been made by the United States census in 1890, 1906 and 1916. The following table gives a comparison:

347.97

| Item of Inquiry. | Number or Amount. | | | Incre |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1916 | 1906 | 1890 | Numbe<br>Amoun |
| Organizations | 39,655 | 36,770 | 23,462 | — |
| Members | 4,602,805 | 3,391,844 | 2,676,539 | |
| Church edifices | 37,371 | 35,160 | 23,770 | |
| Value of Church Property | $86,809,970 | $56,636,159 | $26,626,448 | $ |
| Debt on Church Property | $7,938,095 | $5,005,905 | ---------- | |
| Value of Parsonages | $6,231,459 | $3,727,884 | ---------- | |
| Expenditures | $18,529,827 | ---------- | ---------- | ---- |
| Sunday Schools: | | | | |
| Number | 37,426 | 34,681 | ---------- | |
| Officers and teachers | 247,804 | 210,148 | ---------- | |
| Scholars | 2,153,843 | 1,740,099 | ---------- | |

34-7-98.

We find that from 23,462 churches in 1890 the Negroes have 39,655 in 1916. The membership increased 37 9/10% between 1890 and 1906 and 24 7/10% between 1906 and 1916. The church property stood in 1916 at $86,809,970 on which there was an indebtedness of 9 1/10%. The Negro churches divide themselves into two sets, in one class are those which are composed only of Negroes and conducted by the Negroes. This class forms 86 5/10% of the organizations and 88 4/10% of the membership and 81% of the property in 1916. There has been an increase in the proportion since 1890 when the respective figures were 81 7/10%; 86 7/10%; 77 1/10%. Of the membership in 1916 61 8/10%; were female and 38 2/10% male.

The largest membership by denominations are as follows:

| rease: 1906 to 1916. | | Increase: 1890 to 1906 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ber or unt | Percent | Number or Amount | Percent |
| 2,885 | 7.8 | 13,308 | 56.7 |
| 910,961 | 24.7 | 1,015,305 | 37.9 |
| 2,211 | 6.3 | 11,390 | 47.9 |
| $30,173,811 | 53.3 | $30,009,711 | 112.7 |
| $2,932,190 | 58.6 | ---------- | ----- |
| $2,503,575 | 67.2 | ---------- | ----- |
| ---------- | ---- | ---------- | ----- |
| 2,745 | 8.9 | ---------- | ----- |
| 37,656 | 17.9 | ---------- | ----- |
| 413,744 | 23.8 | ---------- | ----- |

Of the improved land here 56% was contained in 39,073 plantations with five or more tenant farms, as follows

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5 to 9 tenant | farms | 26,562 |
| 10 to 19 " | " | 9,160 |
| 20 to 49 " | " | 2,939 |
| 50 and over" | " | 412 |

In all the 39,073 plantations contained 398,905 tenant farms and were valued at $676,802,983.

The figures for 1920 have only been partially published. In the 16 southern states Negroes who operated 28.4% of all the farms in 1910 now operate 28.7% or in figures they have increased from 880,824 to 920,976. This includes both owners and tenants. In 1910 there were 212,266 owners and in 1920 218,761. This does not count the Negro owners in other parts of the United States outside of the 16 former slave states.

Throughout the country there has been a startling increase of farm tendency in the decade between 1910 and 1920. The change among Negroes, however, is less than among whites. Negroes as owners and tenants controlled in 1910, 41,284,376 acres and in 1920, 41,346,943 acres. The value of this land and the buildings reflects of course the inflation of the currency and increased from $873,493,010 in 1910 to $2,239,062,790 in 1920. Detailed figures are attached.

In only a few states is it possible to give further information. Alabama, for instance, which is in the Black Belt, had in 1910,110,443 Negro farms in 1920 these had been reduced to 95,203, showing the migration of the Negro tenants to the North on account of war work and dissatisfaction with southern conditions. That it was tenants rather than owners that went is shown by the fact that there were 17,082 Negro farm owners in 1910 and 17,202 owners in 1920.

The average acerage of the colored farm has decreased slightly from 46.1 in 1910 to 45.7 in 1920. The average value per farm in money has of course, greatly increased from $669 in 1910 to $1,228 in 1920.

34-7 100

1923

# The Negro and the League of Nations

by W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Very homely and human was the look of the Assembly of the League of Nations as I peered down from the third row of the first gallery. Two things were possible: a simplicity saved by earnestness and the presence of great names; or that eager pomp of circumstance with which Europe speaks its hundreds and Asia its thousands of years. Either would have been impressive: imagine the Federation of the World, scarlet and gold against a background of Notre Dame and Taj Mahal with English horse-guards and Austrian Hussars! After all, could any magnificence be too great for the Wonderful Idea? Next to this, and equally impressive, come the brown severe lines of a Calvanist Church — straight wooden benches and narrow aisles, little white cards with the names of the ends of earth, and beside them Bourgeois, La Fontaine, Branting, Nansen, Gilbert Murray and a presiding officer with hair that a Georgia conductor would never have been satisfied with outside the "Jim Crow" car.

34-4-61

I had the vaguest notion of what the League of Nations could do for the Negro. Nothing I imagined, and starting here I worked up.

The Second Pan-African Congress had asked me as Secretary to go to Geneva and present its cause, but I had to determine the form and method of its presentation. I counted on certain allies; the one delegate of acknowledged Negro descent was Bellegarde, Haitian minister to France, and he stood ready to help us in any way consonant with his rather equivocal international position; the Swiss Society for the Protection of Natives, under René Claparède, was eager to be of service, but had been greatly weakened by the war; the English Aborigines' Protection Society had a strong delegation on the ground, but they were

naturally more conservative than the Pan-African Congress.

After consultation with Claparède, Harris of the Aborigines' Protection Society, Rappard of the Mandates Commission, Gilbert Murray, Lief Jones, M. P., and Bellegarde, I began with the International Labor Bureau. After two interviews with its head, Albert Thomas, formerly of the French Government, and with Gustav Spiller, once secretary of the World Races Congress, I laid before Mr. Thomas my general petition to the League of Nations with this memorandum:

34-4-62

"I am laying before you herewith a copy of a communication sent to the League of Nations in behalf of the Second Pan-African Congress.

"The Congress is asking for a special section of the International Bureau of Labor devoted to native labor, especially that of the Negro.

"Studies of this sort might be made by your bureau from time to time; but we want a section continuously devoted to this work for the following reasons:

"1: Because native unorganized and unprotected labor forms a large and increasingly important part of all labor.

"2: The increase of machinery, improvements of methods and cheapening of freights brings this labor into direct competition with white civilized labor.

"3: The labor problem of civilized lands can never be settled by ignoring native labor, or helping to enslave it, or by attmepting to climb to power on its back.

"4: These facts and similar ones ought to be brought before the modern labor world and kept there by regular intensive investigations, following out by scientific methods the real costs of Congo and East African slavery and by developing a body of experts who can teach the

world along these vital lines."

Mr. Thomas showed much interest, pointed out that some attention had already been given to this matter and intimated that further steps might be taken. He promised us a memorandum on the subject.

I then turned to the Mandates Commission. Here a stiff battle was already on and the very first day I visited the Assembly, an Indian arose and pointed out the fact that if German Southwest Africa came under the control of the Union of South Africa as mandatory of the League of Nations, and if in this class of mandates the mandatory had the right to extend its domestic legislation to the mandated area, then under the South African color bar the Indians would actually have fewer rights under the League of Nations than they had under Germany.

34-4-63

The whole question then of the mandates over African territory involved color problems, but arrangements and debates had gone too far when we arrived for us to exert much influence. We did, however, fasten on one point: the great majority of the peoples of the mandated areas are Negroes. It would surely seem that on the governing Commission of the League of Nations, which is in charge of mandates, the Negro race should be represented. The demand then for such representation we made the second point of our petition, after consultation with the Chairman of the Mandates Commission of the Assembly.

The third question that we took under consideration was the relation of the Negro to the Minorities Commission. This brought us to the difficult question of the treatment of Negroes in civilized lands; but it was not at all clear that this fell under the general question of minorities as worked out by the League of Nations. By a series of treaties between its members, the League has arranged for the pro-

tection of the rights of certain religious and racial minorities; but the Negroes in the parts of the world where they suffer discrimination are not always in the minority although it might be said that their educated classes are; and moreover in the most conspicuous case, (that of the United States), where the Negro forms a minority which is discriminated against, the nation itself is not a member of the League. If, in the future, the United States should elect to come into the League the question is, would it be asked to assent to the treaties for the protection of minorities as other entering nations are now being asked? and would the likelihood of its being required to make such promises militate against the possibility of its ever entering the League of Nations?

34-4-64

These difficult problems made us decide that it was probably impossible to bring the Negro problems at present under any application of the minorities treaties; but we did attempt to make a general demand on the League of Nations with regard to civilized Negroes and their treatment and to ask for an international body to study and advise upon this problem.

Having come to these definite conclusions, we presented a petition to the council and Assembly of the League of Nations which was in substance as follows:

"The Second Pan-African Congress which met in London, Brussells and Paris, August 28, 29, and 31 and September 2, 3, 5 and 6, represented 26 different groups of people of Negro descent; namely, British Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone; the Egyptian Sudan, British East Africa, former German East Africa; French Senegal, the French Congo and Madagascar; Belgian Congo; Portuguese St. Thome, Angola and Mozambique;

Liberia; Abyssinia; Haiti; British Jamaica and Grenada; French Martinique and Guadeloupe; British Guiana; the United States of America; Negroes resident in England, France, Belgium and Portugal, and fraternal visitors from India, Morocco, the Philippines and Annam.

"The Congress directed its executive officers to approach the League of Nations with three earnest requests, believing that the greatest international body in the world must sooner or later turn its attention to the racial problem as it today affects persons of Negro descent.

34-4-65

"First:

The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of Native Negro Labor especially in Africa and in the Islands of the Seas. It is the earnest belief of the Congress that the labor problems of the world cannot be understood or properly settled so long as colored and especially Negro labor is enslaved and neglected and that a first step toward the world emancipation of labor would be through investigation of Native Labor.

"Secondly:

The second Pan-African Congress wishes to suggest that the spirit of the modern world moves toward self-government as the ultimate aim of all men and nations and that consequently the mandated areas, being peopled as they are so largely by black folk, have a right to ask that a man of Negro descent, properly fitted in character and training, be appointed a member of the Mandates Commission so soon as a vacancy occurs.

"Thirdly and finally:

The second Pan-African Congress desires most earnestly and

emphatically to ask the good offices and careful attention of the League of Nations to the condition of civilized persons of Negro descent throughout the world. Consciously and unconsciously there is in the world today a widespread and growing feeling that it is permissible to treat civilized men as uncivilized if they are colored and more especially of Negro descent. The result of this attitude and of many consequent laws, customs and conventions is that a bitter feeling of resentment, personal insult and despair is widespread in the world among those very persons whose rise is the hope of the Negro race.

34-4-66

We are fully aware that the League of Nations has little if any direct power to adjust these matters but it has the vast moral power of public world opinion and of a body conceived to promote Peace and Justice among men. For this reason we ask and urge that the League of Nations take a firm stand on the absolute equality of races and that it suggest to the Colonial Powers connected with the League of Nations to form an International Institute for the study of the Negro Problem, and for the Evolution and protection of the Negro Race."

The next duty was that of getting this petition in such shape before the League of Nations that it could be acted on in whole or in part. We were too late to present these matters when the committees were appointed at the opening of the Assembly as our own Congress had not then finished its work. Our only method seemed to be to have the points brought up on the floor of the Assembly and referred to the various committees. We therefore wrote to Mr. Gilbert Murray of England, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium and Mr. Bellegarde of Haiti. Mr. Gilbert Murray represented South Africa, the worst Negro-hating country in the world, in the Assembly. Nevertheless he is a liberal-minded Englishman

and it seemed to us that it would be peculiarly fitting if he could bring this matter forward on the floor. Then too, Senator La Fontaine represented Belgium with its huge colony of the Congo. Finally Mr. Bellegarde as the only Negro representative on the floor was in a sense the spokesman for the Negro race. Mr. Gilbert Murray writes me under date of September 23, saying:

34-4-67

"I am sorry to say that your resolutions were too late to be profitably referred to a Committee for discussion, but I suggested to Mr. Bellegarde that he should put the second [The demand for a representative on the Mandates Commission] to the Assembly during the debate on Mandates. I advised him not to move it as an amendment to the report of the Committee, but merely to state it as a principle. He did so, and his speech was quite a remarkable success, and I think that next year it may be quite suitable to put it down as a resolution."

The resolutions, together with the resolutions of the Pan-African Congress, were also sent to Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary of the League, for filing in the archives. This is a small beginning toward bringing Africa into the center of the international movement of the world; but it is an important beginning, and if pushed in the future it may mean a revolution for the Negro race, particularly if the League of Nations survives to fulfill its present promise.

undated

The Work of the N. A. A. C. P.
and
The Crisis.

The N. A. A. C. P. was incorporated in 1911. During that year and the year preceding its incorporation, the Association devoted itself to organizing Mass Meetings and bringing the Negro problem before organizations of white people. 2. It inaugurated the publication of The Crisis. 3. It secured the release of Thomas Williams of Asbury Park, N. J. accused of murder and held without evidence. 4. It began a long effort to secure the pardon of Pink Franklin, a South Carolina peon accused of resisting arrest; we secured the commutation of his sentence in 1911 and his final release in 1919. 5. We assisted in the escape from peonage of Steve Green of Arkansas. 6. We secured the release of Henry Graham of Lakewood, N. J., arrested accused of murder and held without evidence. 7. We began the fight against residential segregation on Maryland and Missouri.

1912 - The fight against segregation was continued in North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia. 2. Discrimination against colored firemen was opposed and an agreement made between them and the Southern Railroad. 3. The Grandfather clause and the Jim Crow Car situation was attacked by actions in the courts. Strong opposition against the appointment of Judge Hook who had concurred in a "Jim Crow" decision was made and Judge Hook failed of appointment. 4. Effort was made to save Virginia Christian, a colored girl sentenced to death in Virginia. This failed. 5. Civil Rights cases were begun, and one case won again the Palisades Amusement Park, N. J. with $300. damages. 5. William J. Burns, the detective, was hired to secure evidence in the Coatsville lynching case, but not enough evidence for a court case could be secured.

1913 - This year, because of the new Democratic Administration, we had to fight the flood of discriminatory bills, anti-intermarriage bills, Jim Crow Car bills, segregation ordinances in residential segregation,

segregation in the Federal Departments in Washington. Anti-intermarriage bills were introduced in Congress and in the legislatures of 12 states. We succeeded in killing this legislation in eleven of the states. 2. In Illinois, the "Full Crew" bill depriving 143 chair-car porters of their positions, was defeated. 3. An effort to have a National Race Commission was laid before President Wilson, but failed. 4. Three cases were pushed in the Supreme Court of the United States: Guinn and Beal vs. United States, involving the constitutionality of the grandfather clause in the Oklahoma Constitution; McCabe vs. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, to secure an injunction against the enforcement of the "Jim Crow" Car Law. This case had been started by William Harrison and we joined in when it came to the Supreme Court. Afterwards our attorneys decided that the case was not strong enough for us to push. The Alabama and Vicksburg Railroad was a case in which we tried to help the plaintiff but the case was not pushed. In the segregation cases, the Association won its first victory in Maryland, ~~in the case of~~ Maryland vs. Gurry but a new ordinance was immediately passed. 5. The exclusion of Colored people from Real Estate Auctions in the case of the Moss Estate Sale and individual promises made to stop such exclusion.

1914 -, An improved Civil Rights law was drawn up in New York State by our legal officers and passed by the legislature. It has since served as a model for effective civil rights legislation. 2. We secured too, the acquittal of George Howeik of Baltimore who shot into a mob. 3. In Detroit, we fought 14 cases of discrimination in theatres and won four of them. 4. In Philadelphia, we secured continuous police protection for seven months for the home of a colored woman who had moved into a white settlement. 5. We took up the matter of the discharge of colored clerks in the Atlanta Post Office but were unable to get a decisive action. 6. We began to investigate segregation in the government departments at Washington/

Our fight against residence segregation was carried on in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama and New York. 8. In the American Bar Association, we succeeded in having the resolution rescinded which declared that colored people had never been contemplated as members. 9. We secured the release of Private Anderson of Honolulu, sentenced to five years imprisonment unjustly. 10. In opposing legislation in Congress, for over a year we employed special experts to watch the proposed laws in each branch. 10. We tried to secure colored farmers a fair share of the appropriation in the Smith-Lever Bill but we were only partially successful. 11. We were active in helping secure the reappointment of Judge Terrell as Municipal Judge in the District of Columbia.

1915 - In the 63rd Congress, 20 bills were introduced to restrict the rights of Negroes but were finally all defeated. 2. In Baltimore, we gained a second victory against segregation and carried the third ordinance to the Supreme Court of the State. 3. In Louisville, we lost our case in the Supreme Court of the State and took it to the Supreme Court of the United States. 4. Cases involving the Oklahoma Jim Crow Car law were pushed during the year. (5) Our first great victory came this year in the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the case of Guinn and Beal vs. United States. Mr. Moorfield Story filed the brief on the behalf of this Association in October, 1913 and Mr. Jackson Roston presented the brief to the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of the United States in summing up the opinion of the court said that the 15th amendment, denying the right to discriminate on account of race or color among voters, was the law of the United States and could not be set aside by ~~the~~ "grandfather clauses". This was the greatest victory won by Negroes in the Supreme Court since the Civil War. 6. We began a long fight to keep slanderous Films like "The Birth of a Nation" from being shown, and succeeded in many states like Oklahoma and Kansas, and in a large number of cities like Boston, Cleveland, etc.

1916 - This year we began our great campaign against lynching by publicity and seeking to secure new laws.(1) We investigated and reported on lynchings in Georgia and Texas.(2) We started a $10,000 anti-lynvhing fund;(3) and we presented a loving cup to an Ohio sheriff who prevented a lynching. 4. In the segregation fight, we established headquarters and sought to prevent segregation ordinances from being adopted in the spring election in St. Louis. We failed both here and in Dallas, Texas. 5. Thereupon, we took the Louisville segregation case to the Supreme Court but the court disagreed and ordered a reargument. 6. In the 64th Congress, we helped defeat 5 intermarriage bills and three Jim Crow Car bills and the exclusion of Negroe immigrants. If we had not defeated this last bill, some 30,000 West Indians who are now in the United States would have been denied admission!

1917 - We gained our second great legal victory. In November, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision, declaring unanimously that the segregation law passed in Louisville was unconstitutional. The court said "the attempt to prevent the alienation of property in question to persons of color, was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state and is a direct violation of the constitution". 2. This year, the Association began its fight to secure admission of Negroes to the Officers Training Camps and to prevent Negroes from being drafted as laborers. This effort, by the assistance of many other persons and agencies, resulted in the commissioning of 678 Negro officers in the army. 3. We investigated the East St. Louis riots and helped in organizing relief and legal defense. 4. We inaugurated a "Silent Protest Parade" in New York. 5. We helped/stop the extradition of John Johnson from Massachusetts to West Virginia.

1918 - In 1918 we advanced our fight against lynching by investigations, newspaper and magazine articles and public telegrams. 2.

We secured the commutation of the men not yet executed, in the case of the Houston riot; and the promise from the resident to review the records of the men. 3. We secured with withdrawal of an order by the regional director of the railroad in the Northwestern district, against the employment of colored men as switchmen, firemen, hostlers, etc.

1919 - We secured the withdrawal of an order which made it impossible to prepay the railroad fare of colored persons desiring to leave the South for the North. 2. We fought ~~xxx~~ discrimination in the restaurant of the new court house in the District of Columbia, and won. 3. We won a case of theatrediscrimination in Syracuse, N. Y. with a verdict of $100. 4. We carried, in conjunction with others, a fight for legal protection of victims in the riots of Chicago, Washington and Omaha. 5. We fought, a long legal battle, to save the life of Sgt. N. C. Caldwell of Alabama, carrying the matter to the Supreme Court of the United States, but finally failed. 6. We held the first Pan-African Congress of 58 delegates in Paris, France. 7. We sent the Field Secretary to Haiti for six weeks, to make a careful study of the political, economic and social conditions. His published articles aroused the Nation, brought defense and explanations from the Government and made Mr. Harding, candidate for President, promise redress. This promise has not yet been fully fulfilled. 1920 Our greatest work in ~~1919~~ was the defense of 12 men sentenced to death and 67 sentenced to prison terms, in connection with the alleged massacre in Philip County, Arkansas. This took place in October, 1919. We carefully investigated the case and hired lawyers to defend the men. A long legal fight ensued. We succeeded in keeping Robert L. Hill, unjustly attacked "because of the riot" from being extradicted from Kansas. 2. We defended Morris Mays, a colored man accused of murder in Knoxville, Tenn., and secured a retrial of the case.

10 - In the celebrated Duluth rape cases, we secured the acquittal of one and the dismissal of eleven other cases, leaving but one man who was found guilty; and we have appealed his case. 11. we helped defend the Rev. E. K. Franklin of Mississippi who finally escaped from the state. 12. Our branches prevented the extradition of Thomas Ray of Georgia from Detroit. 13. in the Presidential election, we saw that the candidates for office were widely questioned. 14. We sent a Committee to Washington to present matter with regard to reapportionment of representatives in Congress, showing how voters were disfranchised in Florida and elsewhere. 15. We continued our anti-lynching campaign by investigating lynchings in Florida and elsewhere and holding meetings. 16. We cooperated in the drafting of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill which was intruduced into the House in May. 17. We secured the passage in Kentucky of a bill for the punishment of lynchers and the removal of an officer who surrendered his prisoner. 18. We helped defeat the Graham Sedition bill which would have made criticisms of lynchings impossible. 19. We began a fight against the Ku Klux Klan and brought the statement from them that the N. A. A. C. P. was its bitterest opponent. We won many civil rights cases in California, Colorado and Wisconsin.

1921 - In 1921 we continued our defense of the Arkansas peons, securing reversal of six cases in the state, xxx. courts when the resentence of the men, and the appeal of the cases to the United States Supreme Court. The other six cases are being held awaiting decision on these. The Association from 1919 to 1921 spent $11,295 in the defense of these men. 2. We investigated the Tulsa riot and established the Tulsa relief and defense fund. 3. We prevented the extradition of Will Whitfield who escaped from a North Carolina mob; and of Ed Knox who was kept from being extradicted

from West Virginia to Tennessee; also H. S. Smithy, a white man, who had offered to testify in the Arkansas cases and been compelled to fly to Kansas.

4. Also Of two colored boys, W. and C. Styles who were fugitives from Arkansas and accused of owing a man $80. Gov. Allen of Kansas, at our instance, refused to extradite them. Ten years work in lynching culminated this year and may be thus summed up:

1 - Investigated more than a score of lynchings and race riots.

2 - Kept an accurate record of lynchings.

3 - Published "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States," a book of 105 pages, and the only statistical study of lynchhings ever compiled.

4 - Sent 4,452,899 copies of The Crisis to every state in the Union and to every country on the globe.

5 - Sent out hundreds of new releases. Of 139 press stories sent out during 1921 from the National Office, 30 were devoted to the subject of lynching.

6 - Held more than 2,000 public meetings, attended by more than 3,000,000 ppople, at which speakers acquainted the audiences with the facts about lynchings.

7 - Sent Literature on lynching, with actual photographs of lynchings and burnings at the stake, all over the civilized world, disproving the statement that rape is the cause of lynching.

8 - Fought successfully six notable extradition cases when attempts were made to carry colored men accused of crimes from Northern States back to sections of the South where the men would probably have been lynched.

9 - Held in New York City, in May, 1919 a great and successful conference against lynching. The call for this conference was signed by 120 of the leading citizens of the country, 20 of them from Southern States. The number included 5 governors

32-12-100

4 ex-governors, members of Congress, judges of the higher courts, members of the President's cabinet, and other men and women prominent in the nation's affairs.

10- Issued the "Address to the Nation," signed by citizens of 29 States and the District of Columbia, urging upon Congress a nation-wide investigation of lynching and mob murder.

11 - Raised and expended since 1911 in the fight against lynching $33,928.56., this amount being spent for investigations, printing and publicity of all kinds, meetings and conferences.

12 - Through its Frankfort Branch secured the passage of a law in Kentucky providing for the punishment of any peace officer who allows a prisoner to be taken from him and lynched.

13 - Furnished information which led to the introduction and passage of a similiar bill in West Virginia.

14 - Presented to Committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives of Congress, through its representatives, evidence and testimony showing the necessity of a Federal Law against lynching.

15 - Furnished lawyers to defe d colored men involved in lynching cases; secured the acquittal, for example, of 12 of 13 colored men arrested in connection with the lynchings at Duluth, Minn., in June, 1920, tota;ly disproving the charge that criminal assult on a young girl had been committed by any of the three men lynched; defended since October, 1919, 12 men sentenced to death and 67 to prison terms, thus preventing a legal lynching in Phillips County Ark.

State anti-lynching bills were passed with our help in West Virginia and Minnesota. We furnished the New York World with part of the facts upon which its exposé of the Ku Klux Klan was based. Some of the

38-12-99

W.E.B.DuBois
70 Fifth Ave.
New York City.

1922

# Slaves And Liquor

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

The newspapers recently have noted the case of the Cuban steamship "Miguel Ferrer", laden with five thousand cases of liquor, which under stress of weather put into a Florida harbor. Reference was made to similar cases where American vessels had taken refuge in English harbors with cargoes of slaves and the protest of Daniel Webster was noted. There is, however, a much more intriguing parallelism which Americans should not forget. I was reminded of it when Secretary Hughes first wrote to England about West Indian liquor. I read his note and Geddes' reply.

What - when had I heard all this before? And how like and how changed it was to what? I searched my mind and my horizon until my eye providentially lighted on a dull, red binding and suddenly I knew. I got down that familiar book, my first, and I turned reminiscently the pages of that prim Ph. D. essay with 10,000 foot notes; and then I went instinctively to the ninth chapter. I read with fascination. There was a curious, life-like resemblance between the two conversations, one early in the 19th century and one at about the same time in the 18th. Hughes and Geddes to-day, Castlereagh-Canning and Rush-Adams and others yesterday. Nor was this all: history could scarce have played a more impish trick for in these conversations she made the nations completely change sides.

To illustrate: Last June, Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, raised his hat politely to A. C. Geddes and said courteously some words like this:

In regard to smuggling liquor from British territory into the United States, we are having serious difficulties because American vessels - here's a list - use the British flag and two sets of clearance papers.

Therefore, I suggest, most politely, careful attention to the use of the British flag, inspection of clearances and "an international arrangement between the United States and Great Britian under which the authorities of each nation would be authorized to exercise beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters a measure of control over vessels belonging to the other."

Mr. Geddes, four months later in October, returned Mr. Hughes' bow and his "highest considerations". He declared that Great Britian was more than eager to help the United States enforce the 18th amendment and Mr. Volstead's interpretation thereof; that hereafter and even heretofore, flags and clearances would have his eager eye as suggested; but that the British Government has, unfortunately "more difficulty in accepting the proposal that a treaty should be made authorizing the authorities of each Government to exercise a right of search of vessels of the other beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters up to a distance of twelve miles from the shore. His Majesty's Government have consistently opposed any extension of the limit of territorial waters such as that now suggested.

"While, therefore, they are desirous of assisting the United States Government to the best of their ability in the suppression of the traffic and in the prevention of the abuse of British flag by those engaged in it. They do not feel that they can properly acquiesce, in order to meet a temporary emergency, in the abandonment of a principle to which they attach great importance."

I have the honor to be, Sir, and so forth. And so forth.

If now Hughes and Geddes had a gift of humor, which they have not; and if instead of being so stodgily present and individual, they could have been more cosmic and social-minded, they would have known and remembered another and delightfully similiar conversation in which they had completely changed sides. The subject will not be the buying and selling of liquor, but the buying and selling of men - black men from Africa. Most of us have

forgotten what a big vested interest this was in the fifties. During the eighteen months of 1859-60, 85 slavers were fitted out right here in New York harbor, and they carried from thirty to sixty thousand Negroes from Africa to America. The number of persons engaged in the slave trade and the amount of capital is declared by the Continental Monthly of January, 1862, to "exceed our powers of calculation. The City of New York has been, until of late (1862) the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce; although the cities of Portland and Boston are only second to her in that distinction. Slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis; they contributed liberally to the treasuries of political organizations, and their bank accounts were largely depleted to carry elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut"! Sounds quite recent and parallels the Associated Press dispatch from New Orleans yesterday, about the liquor fleet.

Now Great Britain, for one reason or another, had abolished the slave trade and after the Napoleonic wars, had made real effort to stop it. There are, of course, persons who declare that England's motives were not of the highest and had a distinct economic tinge: just as there are others among us who have firm convictions about the Volstead Law. But be that as it may, the following conversation took place between the United States and England beginning June 20th, 1818. On that day, our present Mr. Geddes (disguised in wig and shorts as Viscount Castlereagh, the brilliant Irishman, soon to die by his own hand), said to Richard Rush, (alias Charles Evans Hughes) who had already been United States Attorney General, and acting Secretary of State: that a mutual "right of search" ought to be granted by Great Britain and the United States to their war vessels in order to suppress the slave trade. He evidently, at the time, saw in this no "abandonment of a great principle" to which he attached any importance. On the other hand, Mr. Rush (Hughes) did see difficulties and expressed the view that such a right of search appeared to be of a character "not

adaptable to American Institutions".

Thereupon negotiations were transferred to Washington and Mr. Stratford Canning, impersonating our Mr. Geddes, and who had been just previously trying to pursuade the Turks of his day not to show undue favor to the French (behold the modern ring!) brought the matter to the attention of John Quincy Adams, the Hughes of 1820. Adams replied with a forthrightness which must have made modern Mr. Hughes' ears tingle, if he had ears at that time: "A compact, giving the power of the Naval Officers of one Nation to search the Merchant Vessels of another for Offenders and offences against the Laws of the latter, backed by a further power to seize and carry into a Foreign port,.....was an investment of power, over the persons, property and reputation of the Citizens of this Country, not only unwarranted by any delegation of Sovereign Power to the National Government, but so adverse to the elementary principles and indispensable securities of individual right,.....that not even the most unqualified approbation of the ends.....could justify the transgression!" There you are, Mr. Hughes.

Meantime, Adams went and Monroe came and a treaty to allow England to arrest American ships in the slave trade on the high seas was actually proposed to the Senate. Having proposed it, we could not refrain from a fine gesture and our State Department turned superbly to South America and striking an attitude, suggested that Colombia do as we were doing. Surely, the "Republic of Colombia will not permit herself to be behind any government in the civilized world in the adoption of energetic measures for the suppression of this disgraceful traffic" in liquor - I mean, slaves.

The Republic hastened to say, "Certainly not" and adopted the treaty; but Johnson of Louisiana in the Senate attacked the treaty, hammer and tongs, and it was amended so effectively that England refused to sign it.*

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* Columbia retorted by proposing that the slave trade and Haiti be subjects of discussion at a proposed Panama Congress! This was 100 years ago less three years.

Thereupon England proposed to take a leaf out of the future history of the United States and to seize slave smugglers whether or not, just as the United States under Messrs. Harding, Dougherty and Hughes has been bringing in a few English smuggling vessels caught on the high seas. Says Mr. Dougherty: "The remaining eight foreign vessels seized were hovering off our shores beyond the three-mile limit.....Foreign Governments protest seizures of their vessels thus violating our revenue laws and smuggling liquors to our shores, because international law does not recognize our hovering acts as valid outside the three-mile limit." This made a prodigious hub-bub in Congress about 1830, and when the British Minister tried again to suggest a right of search treaty in 1833, he was compelled to inform Lord Palmerston that "The executive at Washington appears to shrink" from bringing up this question of the abolition of the slave trade in any form.

Meantime, the trade which had dwindled a little toward 1820, began to grow, and finding that its safest disguise was the American flag, it proceeded to take the American flag, and by 1845 most of the buying and selling of black men went on under the Stars and Stripes; just as liquor smuggling is now nestling securely under the Union Jack; and this, despite the fact that participation in the slave trade was piracy punishable by death, under United States Law. This brought England and America to the place where they almost stuck out their tongues to each other:*

England - 1840 )
) You don't stop a crime which is Piracy by Smuggling
United States - 1922)

your own law.

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* Statements in regular type are either actual quotations or shorter paraphrases of actual statements. They are taken from British and Foreign State Papers, and House and Senate Documents. Words in italics, are either actual or imaginary paraphrases; but in all cases plausible though sometimes slightly prophetic.

United States - 1840) search
) "You our ships without right."
England - 1922 ) seize

Palmerston - 1841) the United States
) "I cannot think that seriously
Hughes - 1922 ) England
slave traders"
intends to make its flag a refuge for
liquor smugglers."

Stevenson - United States Minister to England - 1841)
) "There is no
Ambassador of the British Labor Ministry - 1924 )

shadow of pretense for excusing, much less justifying the exercise of any such right; that it is wholly immaterial whether the vessels be equipped
slave
for or actually engaged in traffic or not."
liquor

Lord Aberdeen (England Foreign Secretary) - 1841)
)"Now it can scarcely
Secretary of State, Volstead, - 1924 )

be maintained by Mr. Stevenson that Great Britain should be bound
your excellency the United States

to permit her own subjects, with British vessels and British capital,
American American

to carry on before the eyes of British officers, this detestable traffic
American

in human beings which the law has declared to be piracy, merely because
liquor felony,

they have the audacity to commit an additional offence by fraudently usurp-
American
ing the flag."
British

Now we are prepared, in the light of the past, to go right into prophecy pure and simple. The United States will ask an international right to search ships on the High Seas in order to see if they have contraband liquor. The English Ambassador to Constantinople will denounce this Quintuple Treaty (between the United States, Turkey, Russia, Haiti and

Nicaragua) to Kemal Pasha and without consulting London will shriek: "Certainly the British Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel Great Britain, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations....; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country.....of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise.....they would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay - with regret, but with firmness - for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world."

We base the forecaste on the actual words(except the italics)of Lewis Cass, American Minister to France, addressed to Guizot, February 13th, 1842.

Impasse. Impasse in 1842; impasse in 1922. Yet there was an easy way out if both governments really wanted to suppress slave-trading and rum-running. The treaty of Washington late in 1842, substituted "joint cruising" for the "right of search"; that is, English and American warships were together to patrol the paths of the slave traders, as they might today the lair of the bootleggers' fleet. This was all right in theory. It was costly, just as double public school systems for blacks and whites, Catholics and Protestants, et cetera, are wasteful. But the children get educated, if there are really two systems. Usually there are not. Add so, in 1842, joint cruising would have stopped the traffic, only America did not jointly cruise. Hence followed two tales of woe:

| 1842 | 1922 |
| --- | --- |
| Cases like the following were frequent. The "Illinois" of Glouster, Massachusetts, while lying at Whydah, Africa, was | There is information before the department indicating that the authorities at the Bahama Islands have in many cases issued two sets of clear- |

boarded by a British officer, but having American papers was unmolested. Three days later, she hoisted Spanish colors and sailed away with a cargo of slaves. Next morning, she fell in with another British vessel and hoisted American colors; the British ship had then no fight to molest her; but the captain of the slaver feared that she would, and therefore ran his vessel aground, slaves and all. The Senior English Officer reported that "had Lieutenant Cumberland brought to and boarded the 'Illinois', notwithstanding the American colors which she hoisted,... the American Master of the 'Illinois', ....would have complained to his Government of the detention of his vessel."

.....

Senate Executive Documents 28th Congress

ance papers to ships which have taken on board cargoes of liquor. It is said that persons engaged in this traffic have openly made the statement that they have no trouble in obtaining from the Bahama customs officials one set of clearance papers for a cargo of liquor declared to be destined for Halifax, Tampico or St. Pierre, and other clearance papers issued "in ballast" for an American port. This procedure is adopted by the liquor smugglers so that the ship may come within unloading distance of American shores, and if caught with a cargo of liquor on board the master can exhibit the clearance to Mexico or Canada; if the ship has succeeded in unloading the cargo on the shore without being captured, it proceeds into an American port with the second clearance papers.

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Mr. Hughes' note, June 6, 1922.

It is quite conceivable that Great Britain by some future Ambassador might contend that it does not mean to give immunity to liquor smugglers who illegally use the British flag and registery; and if even under misapprehension, a British vessel was required courteously to prove her legal position, "no government would be likely to make a case this exceptional in its character a subject of serious reclamation". At any rate, this is

precisely what Cass of Cass' Protest then become Secretary of State, said in 1859:

"If the United States maintained that, by carrying her flag at her masthead, any vessel became thereby entitled to the immunity which belongs to American vessels, they might well be reproached with assuming a position which would go far towards shielding crimes upon the ocean from punishment; but they advance no such pretension, while they concede that, if in the honest examination of a vessel sailing under American colors, but accompanied by strongly-marked suspicious circumstances, a mistake is made, and she is found to be entitled to the flag she bears, but no injury is committed, and the conduct of the boarding party is irreproachable, no Government would be likely to make a case" etc., etc.

Nevertheless Cass would do nothing further and would join in no conference and acceed to no renewed proposal for joint cruising; while President Buchanan "could not contemplate any such arrangement"; and so the slave trade under the American flag went merrily on until a gentleman named Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States; then William Seward arranged for a limited right of search between England and America and the slave trade stopped.

Therefore we predict - but, hold. We fear that the analogy between slaves and liquor has already been pushed beyond its legitimate limits. Both were moral questions with huge economic interests involved. But as we look upon the slave trade and compare it with the liquor trade, we realize that no problem of effective methods of control or regulation was ever really involved. The cloud of argument was but the breath of politicians. The real problem was the personal question put to each citizen's conscience; shall I make or share a living based on man-stealing or drunkenness? And what is the relation between man- stealing and wage-paying and between drunkenness and beer? When the citizen decided, the politician's mouth was closed and his way clear. But until the

decision was made and until it is made, behold the brave array of State Papers, written with quite as much facility and grace of expression on one side as on the other.

W.E.B. Du Bois
70 Fifth ave
N.Y. city

Slaves And Liquor

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois

The ~~Times of December 28~~ noted the case of the Cuban steamship "Miguel Ferrer", laden with five thousand cases of liquor, which under stress of weather put into a Florida harbor. Reference was made to similar cases where American vessels had taken refuge in English harbors with cargos of slaves and the protest of Daniel Webster was noted. There is, however, a much more intriguing parallelism which ~~the Times and its readers~~ Americans should not forget. I was reminded of it when Secretary Hughes first wrote to England about West Indian liquor. I read his note and Geddes' reply.

What - when had I heard all this before? And how like and how changed it was to what? I searched my mind and my horizon until my eye providentially lighted on a dull, red binding and suddenly I knew. I got down that familiar book, my first, and I turned reminiscently the pages of that prim Ph. D. essay with 10,000 foot notes; and then I went instinctively to the ninth chapter. I read with fascination. There was a curious, life-like resemblance between the two conversations, one early in the 19th century and one at about the same time in the 18th. Hughes and

Geddes to-day, Castlereagh-Canning and Rush-Adams and others, yesterday. Nor was this all: history could scarce have played a more impish trick for in these conversations she made the nations completely change sides.

34-4-2

To illustrate: Last June, Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, raised his hat politely to A. C. Geddes and said courteously some words like this:

In regard to smuggling liquor from British territory into the United States, we are having serious difficulties because American vessels - here's a list - use the British flag and two sets of clearance papers. Therefore, I suggest, most politely, careful attention to the use of the British flag, inspection of clearances and "an international arrangement between the United States and Great Britian under which the authorities of each nation would be authorized to exercise beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters a measure of control over vessels belonging to the other."

Mr. Geddes, four months later in October, returned Mr. Hughes' bow and his "highest considerations". He declared that Great Britian was more than eager to help the United States enforce the 18th amendment and Mr. Volstead's interpretation thereof; that hereafter and even heretofore, flags and clearances would have his eager eye as suggested; but that the British Government has, unfortunately "more difficulty in accepting the proposal that a treaty should be made authorizing the authorities of each Government to exercise a right of search of vessels of the other beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters up to a distance of twelve miles from the shore. His Majesty's Government have consistently opposed any extension of the limit of territorial waters such as that now suggested.

"While, therefore, they are desirous of assisting the United States Government to the best of their ability in the suppression of the traffic and in the prevention of the abuse of British flag by those engaged in it, they do

not feel that they can properly acquiesce, in order to meet a temporary emergency, in the abandonment of a principal to which they attach great importance."

I have the honor to be, Sir, and so forth. And so forth.

~~Selah.~~

34-4-3

If now Hughes and Geddes had a gift of humor, which they have not; and if instead of being so stodgily present and individual, they could have been more cosmic and social-minded, they would have known and remembered another and delightfully similiar comversation in which they had completely changed sides. The subject will not be the buying and selling of liquor, but the buying and selling of men - black men from Africa. Most of us have forgotten what a big vested interest this was in the fifties. During the eighteen months of 1859-60, 85 slavers were fitted out right here in New York harbor, and they carried from thirty to sixty thousand Negroes from Africa to America. The number of persons engaged in the slave trade and the amount of capital is declared by the Continental Monthly of January, 1862, to "exceed our powers of calculation." The City of New York has been, until of late (1862) the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce; although the cities of Portland and Boston are only second to her in that distinction. Slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis; they contributed liberally to the treasuries of political organizations, and their bank accounts were largely depleted to carry elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut"! Sounds quite recent and parallels the Associated Press dispatch from New Orleans yesterday, about the liquor fleet.

Now Great Britain, for one reason or another, had abolished the slave trade and after the Napoleonic wars, had made real effort to stop it. There are, of course, persons who declare that England's motives were not of the highest and had a distinct economic tinge; just as there are others among

us who have firm convictions about the Volstead Law. But be that as it may, the following conversation took place between the United States and England beginning June 20th, 1818. On that day, our present Mr. Geddes (disguised in wig and shorts as Viscount Castlereah, the brilliant Irishman, soon to die by his own hand), said to Richard Rush, (alias Charles Evans Hughes) who had already been United States Attorney General, and acting Secretary of State: that a mutual "right of search" ought to be granted by Great Britian and the United States to their war vessels in order to suppress the slave trade. He evidently, at the time, saw in this no "abandonment of a great principle" to which he attached any importance. On the other hand, Mr. Rush (Hughes) did see difficulties and expressed the view that such a right of search appeared to be of a character "not adaptable to American Institutions". Thereupon negotiations were transferred to Washington and Mr. Stratford Canning, impersonating our Mr. Geddes, and who had been just previously trying to pursuade the Turks of his day not to show undue favor to the French (behold the modern ring!) brought the matter to the attention of John Quincy Adams, the Hughes of 1820. Adams replied with a fortrightness which must have made modern Mr. Hughes' ears tingle, if he had ears at that time: "A compact, giving the power of the Naval Officers of one Nation to search the Merchant Vessels of another for Offenders and offences against the Laws of the latter, backed by a further power to seize and carry into a Foreign port,..... was an investment of power, over the persons, property and reputation of the Citizens of this Country, not only unwarranted by any delegation of Sovereign Power to the National Government, but so adverse to the elementary principles and indispensable securities of individual right,..... that not even the most unqualified approbation of the ends ..... could justify the transgression!" There you are, Mr. Hughes.

Meantime, Adams went and Monroe came and a treaty to allow England

to arrest American ships in the slave trade on the high seas was actually proposed to the Senate. Having proposed it, we could not refrain from a fine gesture and our State Department turned superbly to South America and striking an attitude, suggested that Columbia do as we were doing. Surely, the "Republic of Columbia will not permit herself to be behind any government in the civilized world in the adoption of energetic measures for the suppression of this disgraceful traffic" in liquor - I mean, slaves.* The Republic hastened to say, "Certainly not" and adopted the treaty; but Johnson of Louisiana in the Senate attacked the treaty, hammer and tongs, and it was amended so effectively that England refused to sigh it.* Thereupon England proposed to take a leaf out of the future history of the United States and to seize slave smugglers whether or not, just as the United States under Messrs. Harding, Dougherty and Hughes has been bringing in a few English smuggling vessels caught on the high seas. Says Mr. Dougherty: "The remaining eight foreign vessels seized were hovering off our shores beyond the three-mile limit. .... Foreign Governments protest seizures of their vessels thus violating our revenue laws and smuggling liquors to our shores, because international law does not recognize our hovering acts as valid outside the three-mile limit." This made a prodigious hub-bub in Congress about 1830, and when the British Minister tried again to suggest a right of search treaty in 1833, he was compelled to inform Lord Palmerston that "The executive at Washington appears to shrink" from bring up this question of the abolition of the slave trade in any form.

Meantime, the trade which had dwindled a little toward 1820, began to grow, and finding that its safest disguise was the American flag, it proceeded to take the American flag, and by 1845 most of the buying and selling

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* Columbia retorted by proposing that the slave trade and Haiti be subjects of discussion at a proposed Panama Congress! This was 100 years ago less three years.

of black men went on under the Stars and Stripes; just as liquor smuggling is now nestling securely under Union Jack; and this, despite the fact that participation in the slave trade was piracy punishable by death, under United States Law. This brought England and America to the place where they almost stuck out their tongues to each other:*

34-4-6

England - 1840 )
) You don't stop a crime which is Piracy by
United States - 1922) Smuggling

your own law.

United States - 1840) search
)"You our ships without right."
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Palmerston - 1841) the United States
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shadow of pretense for excusing, much less justifying the exercise of any such right; that it is wholly immaterial whether the vessels be equipped for or
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liquor

Lord Aberdeen (England Foreign Secretary) 1841)
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Mr. Stevenson Great Britain
be maintained by that should be bound to permit
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British British
her own subjects, with vessels and capital, to carry on before
American American

British human beings
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* Statements in regular type are either actual quotations or shorter paraphrases of actual statements. They are taken from British and Foreign State Papers, and House and Senate Documents. Words in italics, are either actual or imaginary paraphrases; but in all cases plausible though sometimes slightly prophetic.

law has declared to be piracy, merely because they have the audacity to commit felony, an additional offence by fraudently usurping the American flag." British

34-4-7

Now we are prepared, in the light of the past, to go right into prophecy pure and simple. The United States will ask an international right to search ships on the High Seas in order to see if they have contraband liquor. The English Ambassador to Constantinople will denounce this Quintuple Treaty (between the United States, Turkey, Russia, Haiti and Nicaragua) to Kemal Pasha and without consulting London will shriek: "Certainly the British Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel Great Britain, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations.....; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country .....of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise. .....they would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay - with regret, but with firmness - for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world."

We base the forecaste on the actual words (except the italics ~~with unimportant changes~~) of Lewis Cass, American Minsietr to France, addressed to Quizot, February 13th, 1842.

Impasse. Impasse in 1842; impasse in 1922. Yet there was an easy way out if both governments really wanted to suppress slave-trading and rum-running. The treaty of Washington late in 1842, substituted "joint cruising" for the "right of search"; that is, English and American warships were together to patrol the paths of the slave traders, as they might to-day the lair of the bootleggers' fleet. This was all right in theory. It was costly, just as double public school systems for blacks and whites, Catholics and Protestants, et cetera, are wasteful. But the children get educated, if there are

really two systems. Usually there are not. And so, in 1842, joint cruising would have stopped the traffic, only America did not jointly cruise. Hence followed two tales of woe:

34-4-8

1842

Cases like the following were frequent. The "Illinois" of Glouster, Massachusetts, while lying at Whydah, Africa, was boarded by a British officer, but having American papers was unmolested. Three days later, she hoisted Spanish colors and sailed away with a cargo of slaves. Next morning, she fell in with another British vessel and hoisted American colors; the British ship had then no right to molest her; but the captain of the slaver feared that she would, and therefore ran his vessel aground, slaves and all. The Senior English Officer reported that "had Lieutenant Cumberland brought to and boarded the 'Illinois,' notwithstanding the American colors which she hoisted,...the American Master of the 'Illinois,'....would have complained to his Government of the detention of his vessel."

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Senate Executive Documents
28th Congress

1922

There is information before the department indicating that the authorities at the Bahama Islands have in many cases issued two sets of clearance papers to ships which have taken on board cargoes of liquor. It is said that persons engaged in this traffic have openly made the statement that they have no trouble in obtaining from the Bahama customs officials one set of clearance papers for a cargo of liquor declared to be destined for Halifax, Tampico & St. Pierre, and other clearance papers issued "in ballast" for an American port. This procedure is adopted by the liquor smugglers so that the ship may come within unloading dustance of American shores, and if caught with a cargo of liquor on board the master can exhibit the clearance to Mexico or Canada; if the ship has succeeded in unloading the cargo on the shore without being captured, it proceeds into an American port with the sec-

ond clearance papers.

.....

Mr. Hughes' note, June 6, 1922.

34-4-6

It is quite conceivable that Great Britain by some future Ambassador might contend that it does not mean to give immunity to liquor smugglers who illegally use the British flag and registery; and if even under misapprehension, a British vessel was required courteously to prove her legal position, "no government would be likely to make a case this exceptional in its character a subject of serious reclamation". At any rate, this is precisely what Cass of Cass' Protest ~~now~~ then become Secretary of State, said in 1859:

"If the United States maintained that, by carrying her flag at her masthead, any vessel became thereby entitled to the immunity which belongs to American vessels, they might well be reproached with assuming a position which would far towards shielding crimes upon the ocean from punishment; but they advance no such pretension, while they concede that, if in the honest examination of a vessel sailing under American colors, but accompanied by strongly-marked suspicious circumstances, a mistake is made, and she is found to be entitled to the flag she bears, but no injury is committed, and the conduct of the boarding party is prreproachable, no Government would be likely to make a case" etc., etc.

Nevertheless Cass would do nothing futher and would join in no conference and accede to no renewed proposal for joint cruising; while President Buchanan"could not contemplate any such arrangement"; and so the slave trade under the American flag went merrily on until a gentleman named Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States; then William Seward arranged for a limited right of search between England and America and the slave trade stopped.

Therefore we predict - but, hold. We fear that the analogy between slaves and liquor has alteady been pushed beyond its legitimate limits.

Both were moral questions with huge economic interests involved. But as we look upon the slave trade and compare it with the liquor trade, we realize that no problem of effective methods of control or regulation was ever really involved. The cloud of argument was but the breath of politicians. The real problem was the personal question put to each citizen's conscience; shall I make or share a living based on man-stealing or drunkenness? And what is the relation between man-stealing and wage-paying and between drunkenness and beer? When the citizen decided, the politicians's mouth was closed and his way clear. But until the decision was made and until it is made, behold the brave array of State Papers, written with quite as much facility and grace of expression on one side as on the other.

34-4-10

34-4-11

# Slaves and Liquor

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Nothing is more diverting than America on its high moral horse — Georgia sniffing at Turkish atrocities; Colorado teaching Russia the elements of Economics; and Wilson and Harding making the world safe for ~~democracy~~ hypocrisy.

But most diverting of all is my friend, Mr. Hughes and liquor. I say "my friend", although I've never been presented, because Mr. Hughes seems to me personally so familiar and perfectly understandable. Some of his late doings have reminded me quite indirectly of that student essay on the "Freedmen's Bureau" which the South Carolina Daughters of the Confederacy crowned in 1911. I read the essay. I read it again. I said, "That's fine! That's —" Then I read it a third time and I said slowly, that it somehow sounded very like an essay I had once written myself. And it was. The youth had cribbed gloriously and entire. I laughed till I cried and afterwards tried to get the South Carolina Daughters to see the joke. They indignantly refused.

So when Charles Evans Hughes wrote to England about West Indian liquor corrupting our morals, I had again one of those haunting inner echoes. What — when had I heard all this before? And how like and how changed it was to what? I searched my mind and my horizon until my eye providentially lighted on a dull, red binding and suddenly I knew. I got down that familiar book, my first and darlingest brain-child. (Ah! the morning it came! I never expect — but) I turned reminiscently the pages of that prim Ph. D. essay with 10,000 footnotes; and then I went instinctively to the ninth chapter. I read with facination. I chuckled so loudly that my wife thought I had another page of those garish "funnies", to which, despite her silent disapproval, I weakly succumb weekly.

But it was not "Mutt and Jeff". It was funnier. It was, in fine, the curious, life-like resemblance between two conversations, one early in the 19th century and one at ~~the~~ about the same time in the 18th. Hughes and Geddes to-day, Castlereagh-Canning and Rush-Adams and others, yesterday.

34-4-12



Now was this all: history could scarce have played a more impish trick for in these conversations she made the nations completely change sides.

To illustrate: Last June, Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, raised his hat politely to A. C. Geddes and said courteously some words like this:

In regard to smuggling liquor from British territory into the United States, we are having serious difficulties because American vessels - here's a list - use the British flag and two sets of clearance papers. Therefore, I suggest, most politely, careful attention to the use of the British flag, inspections of clearances and "an international arrangement between the United States and Great Britian under which the authorities of each nation would be authorized to exercise beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters a measure of control over vessels belonging to the other."

Mr. Geddes, four months later in October, returned Mr. Hughes' bow and his "highest considerations". He declared that Great Britian was more than eager to help the United States enforce the 18th amendment and Mr. Volstead's interpretation thereof; that hereafter and even heretofore, flags and clearances would have his eager eye as suggested; but that the British Government has, unfortunately "more difficulty in accepting the proposal that a treaty should be made authorizing the authorities of each Government to exercise a right of search of vessels of the other beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters up to distance of twelve miles from the shore. His Majesty's Government have consistently opposed any extension of the limit of territorial waters such as that now suggested.

"While, therefore,,they are desirous of assisting the United States Government to the best of their ability in the suppression of the traffic and in the prevention of the abuse of British flag by those engaged in it,

They do not feel that they can properly acquiesce, in order to meet a temporary emergency, in the adandonment of a principle to which they attach great importance."

34-4-13

I have the honor to be, Sir, and so forth. And so forth.

Salah.

If now Hughes and Geddes had a gift of humor, which they have not; and if instead of being so stodgily present and individual, they could have been more cosmic and social minded, they would have known and remembered another and delightfully similiar conversation in which they had completely changed sides. The subject will not be the buying and selling of liquor but th buying and selling of men - black men from Africa. Most of us have forgotten what a big vested interest this was in the fifties. During the eighteen months of 1859-60, 85 slavers were fitted out right here in New York harbor, and they carried from thirty to sixty thousand Negroes from Africa to America. The number of persons engaged in the slave trade and the amount of capital is declared by the Continental Monthly of January, 1862, to "exceed our powers of calculation. The City of New York has been, until of late (1862) the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce; although the Cities of Portland and Boston are only second to her in that distinction. Slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis; they contributed liberally to the treasuries of political organizations, and their bank accounts were largely depleted to carry elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut"! Sounds quite recent and parallels the Associated Press dispatch from New Orleans yesterday, about the liquor fleet ~~having been~~ there.

Now Great Britian, for one reason or another, had abolished the slave trade and after the Napoleonic wars, had made real effort to stop it. There are, of course, persons who declare that England's motives were not of the highest and had a distinct economic tinge; just as there are others

3-4-44

among us who have firm convictions about the Voldtead Law. But be that as it may, the following conversation took place between the United States and England beginning June 20th, 1818. On that day, our present Mr. Geddes (disguised in [redacted] wig and shorts as Viscount Castlereah, the brilliant Irishman, soon to die by his own hand), said to Richard Rush, (alias Charles Evans Hughes) who had already been United States Attorney General, ~~(Justice of the Supreme Court)~~ and acting Secretary of State: that a mutual "right of search" ought to be granted by Great Britian and the United States to their war vessels in order to suppress the slave trade. He evidently, at the time, saw in this no "abandonment of a great principle" to which he attached any importance. On the other hand, Mr. Rush (Hughes) did see difficulties and expressed the view that such a right of search appeared to be of a character "not adaptable to American Institutions". Thereupon negotiations were transferred to Washington and Mr. Stratford Canning, ~~again~~ impersonating our Mr. Geddes, and who had been just previously trying to pursuade the Turks of his day not to show undue favor to the French (behold the modern ring!) brought the matter to the attention of John Quincy Adams, the Hughes of 1820, Adams replied with a forthrightness which must have made modern Mr. Hughes' ears tingle, if he had ears at that time: "A Compact, giving the power of the Naval Officers of one Nation to search the Merchant Vessels of another for Offenders and offences against the Laws of the latter, backed by a further power to seize and carry into a Foreign port,.....was an investment of power, over the persons, property and reputation of the Citizens of this Country, not only unwarranted by any delegation of Sovereign Power to the National Government, but so adverse to the elementary principles and indispensable securities of individual right,.....that not even the most unqualified approbation of the ends .....could justify the transgression!" There you are, Mr. Hughes.

Meantime, Adams went and Monroe came and a treaty to allow England

34-4-15

to arrest American ships in the slave trade on the high seas was actually proposed to the Senate. Having proposed it, we could not refrain from a fine gesture and our State Department turned superbly to South America, and statesmanship an attitude, suggested that Columbia do as we were doing. Surely, the "Republic of Columbia will not permit herself to be behind any government in the civilized world in the adoption of energetic measures for the suppression of this disgraceful traffic" in liquor - I mean, slaves? The Republic hastened to say, "Certainly not" and adopted the treaty; but Johnson of Louisiana in the Senate attacked the treaty, hammer and tongs, and it was amended so effectively that England refused to sign it.* Thereupon England proposed to take a leaf out of the future history of the United States and to seize slave smugglers whether or not, just as the United States under Messrs. Harding, Dougherty and Hughes has been bringing in a few English smuggling vessels caught on the high seas. This made a prodigious hub-bub about 1830 in Congress, and when the British Minister tried again to suggest a right of search treaty in 1833, he was compelled to inform Lord Palmerston that "The executive at Washington appears to shrink" from bringing up this question of the abolition of the slave trade in any form.

Meantime, the trade which had dwindled a little toward 1820, began to grow, and finding that its safest disguise was the American flag, it proceeded to take the American flag, and by 1845 most of the buying and selling of black men went on under the stars and stripes; just as liquor smuggling is now nestling securely under Union Jack; and this, despite the fact that participation in the slave trade was piracy punishable by death, under United States Law. This brought England and America to the place where they almost stuck out their tongues to each other:

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* Columbia retorted by proposing that the slave trade and Haiti be subjects of discussion at a proposed Panama Congress! This was 100 years ago less three years.

Says Mr. Daugherty: "

The remaining eight foreign vessels seized were hovering off our shores beyond the three-mile limit, [redacted] bringing their cargoes to other [redacted] to be brought ashore [redacted] our statutes know as the hovering acts.

"Foreign Governments protest seizures of their vessels thus violating our revenue laws and smuggling liquor on our shores, because international law does not recognize our hovering acts as valid outside the three-mile limit, although they may be applicable to our [redacted]."

34-4-35

England - 1840 )
) "You don't stop a crime which is Piracy by Smuggling
United States - 1922 )

your own law."

24-4-18

United States - ~~1922~~ 1840 ) search
) "You our ships without right."
England - ~~1840~~ 1922 ) seize

Palmerston - 1841) United States
) "I cannot think that that seriously in-
Hughes - 1922 ) England
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Now we are prepared, in the light of the past, to go right into prophecy pure and simple. The United States will ask an international right to search ships on the High Seas ~~and~~ in order to see if they have contraband liquor. The English Ambassador to Constantinople will denounce this Quintuple Treaty (between the United States, Turkey, Russia, Haiti and Nicaragua) to Kemal Pasha and without consulting London will say: "Certainly the British Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel Great Britain, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations .....; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country .....of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise.....they would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay - with regret, but with firmness - for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world.

34-4-17

We base the forecaste on the actual words (with unimportant ~~exceptions~~ changes) of Lewis Cass, American Minister to France, addressed to Guizot February 13th, 1842.

Impasse. Impasse in 1842; impasse in 1922. Yet there was an easy way out if both governments really wanted to suppress slave-trading and rum-running. The treaty of Washington, late in 1842, substituted "joint cruising" for the "right of search"; that is, English and American warships were together to patrol the paths of the slave traders, as they might say the lair of the bootlegging fleet. This was all right in theory. It was costly, just as double public school systems for Blacks and whites, Catholics and Protestants, et cetera, are wasteful. But the children get educated, if there are really two systems. Usually there are not. And so, in 1842, joint cruising would have stopped the traffic, only America did not jointly cruise. Hence followed ~~trio~~ two tales of woe:

1842

Cases like the following were frequent. The "Illinois," of Glouster, Massachusetts, while lying at Whydah, Africa, was boarded by a British officer, but having American papers was unmolested. Three days later, she hoisted Spanish colors and sailed away with a cargo of slaves. Next morning, she fell in with another British vessel and hoisted American colors; the British ship had then no right to molest her; but the captain of the slaver feared that she would, and therefore ran his vessel aground, slaves and all. The senior English officer reported that "had Lieutenant Cumberland brought to and boarded the 'Illinois,' nothwithstanding the American colors which she hoisted,.... the American Master of the 'Illinois,'... would have complained to his Government of the detention of his vessel."

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Senate Executive Documents
28th Congress

34-4-18

1922

There is information before the department indicating that the authorities at the Bahama Islands have in many cases issued two sets of clearance papers to ships which have taken on board cargoes of liquor. It is said that persons engaged in this traffic have openly made the statement that they have no trouble in obtaining from the Bahama customs officials one set of clearance papers for a cargo of liquor declared to be destined for Halifax, Tampico or St. Pierre, and other clearance papers issued "in ballast" for an American port. This procedure is adopted by the liquor smugglers so that the ship may come within unloading distance of American shores, and if caught with a cargo of liquor on board the master can exhibit the clearance to Mexico or Canada; if the ship has succeeded in unloading the cargo on the shore without being captured, it proceeds into an American port with the second clearance papers.

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Mr. Hughes' notes, June 6, 1922.

9+ This is quite conceivable that Great Britain by some future Ambassador might contend that it do not mean to give immunity to liquor smugglers who illegally use the British flag and registry; and if even under misapprehension, a British vessel was required courteously to prove her legal position, "no government would be likely to make a case this exceptional in its character a subject of serious reclamation' ". At any rate, this is precisely what Cass of Cass' Protest now become Secretary of State, said in 1859:

34-4-19

"If the United States maintained that, by carrying her flag at her masthead, any vessel became thereby entitled to the immunity which belongs to American vessels, they might well be reproached with assuming a position which would go far towards shielding crimes upon the ocean from punishment; but they advance no such pretension, while they condede that, if in the honest examination of a vessel sailing under American colors, but accompanied by strongly-marked suspicious circumstances, a mistake is made, and she is found to be entitled to the flag she bears, but no injury is committed, and the conduct of the boarding party is irreproachable, no Government would be likely to make a case" etc., etc.

Nevertheless Cass would do nothing further and would join in no conference and acceed to no renewed proposal for joint cruising; while President Buchanan "could not contemplate any such arrangement"; and so the slave trade under the American flag went merrily on until a gentleman named Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States; then William Seward arranged for a limited right of search between England and America and the slave trade stopped.

Therefore we predict - but, hold. How far does the analogy between slaves and liquor go? The real question is, "What do we want to do?" rather than the techincal method of doing it. In the 19th Century England wanted to suppress the slave trade and America did not. England's reasons were moral

We seem that the analogy between slaves & liquor has already been stretched beyond its legitimate limits Both were moral questions each large economic interests involved But as one look back upon the slave trade & contrast it with the liquor trade one realizes that no problems of effective methods of control or regulation was ever really involved. The kernel of argument was not the breath of stopping the traffic The real problem was the the personal question had & each citizens conscience: shall I make or share a living based on man stealing or drunkenness? When the citizen decided the politician's mouth was closed & this job gone. But while the decision was made & until it is made, behold the brave array of State Papers & Written with quite as much facility & grace of expression on one side as on the other

34-4-20

# Slaves and Liquor
by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Nothing is more diverting than America on its high moral horse - Georgia sniffing at Turkish atrocities; Colorado teaching Russia the elements of Economics; and Wilson and Harding making the world safe for hypocrisy.

But most diverting of all is my friend, Mr. Hughes and liquor. I say "my friend", although I've never been presented, because Mr. Hughes seems to me so personally familiar and perfectly understandable. Some of his late doings have reminded me quite indirectly of that student essay on the "Freedmen's Bureau" which the South Carolina Daughters of the Confederacy crowned in 1911. I read the essay. I read it again. I said, "That's fine! That's - " Then I read it a third time and I said slowly, that it somehow sounded very like an essay I had once written myself. And it was. The youth had cribbed gloriously and entire. I laughed till I cried and afterwards tried to get the South Carolina Daughters to see the joke. They indignantly refused.

So when Charles Evans Hughes wrote to England about West Indian liquor corrupting our morals, I had again one of those haunting inner echoes. What - when had I heard all this before? And how like and how changed it was to what? I searched my mind and my horizion until my eye providentially lighted on a dull, read binding and suddenly I knew. I got down that familiar book, my first and darlingest brain-child. (Ah! the morning it came! I never expect - but) I turned reminiscently the pages of that prim Ph. D. essay with 10,000 foot notes; and then I went instinctively to the ninth chapter. I read with facination. I chuckled so loudly that my wife thought I had another page of those garish "funnies", to which, despite her silent disapproval, I weakly succumb weekly.

But it was not "Mutt and Jeff". It was funnier. It was, in fine, the curious, life-like resemblance between two conversations, one early in the 19th century and one at about the same time in the 18th. Hughes and

Geddes to-day, Castlereagh-Canning and Rush-Adams and others, yesterday. Nor was this all: history could scarce have played a more impish trick for in these conversations she made the nations completely change sides.

To illustrate: Last June, Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, raised his hat politely to A. C. Geddes and said courteously some words like this:

In regard to smuggling liquor from British territory into the United States, we are having serious difficulties because American vessels - here's a list - use the British flag and two sets of clearance papers. Therefore, I suggest, most politely, careful attention to the use of the British flag, inspection of clearances and "an international arrangement between the United States and Great Britian under which the authorities of each nation would be authorized to exercise beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters a measuer of control over vessels belonging to the other."

Mr. Geddes, four months later in October, returned Mr. Hughes' bow and his "highest considerations". He declared that Great Britian was more than eager to help the United States enforce the 18th amendment and Mr. Volstead's interpretation thereof; that hereafter and even heretofore, flags and clearances would have his eager eye as suggested; but that the British Government has, unfortinately "more difficulty in accepting the proposal that a treaty should be mad authorizing the authorities of each Government to exercise a right of search of vessels of the other beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters up to distance to twelve miles from the shore. His Majesty's Government have consistently opposed any extension of the limit of territorial waters such as that now suggested.

"While, therefore, they are desirous of assisting the United States Government to the best of their ability in the suppression of the traffic and in the prevention of the abuse of British flag by those engaged in it, they do

not feel that they can properly acquiesce, in order to meet a temporary emergency, in the abandonment of a principal to which they attach great importance.

I have the honor to be, Sir, and so forth. And so forth.

Selah.

If now Hughes and Geddes had a gift of humor, which they have not; and if instead of being so stodgily present and individual, they could have been more cosmic and social minded, they would have known and remembered another and delightfully similiar comversation in which they had completely changed sides. The subject will not be the buying and selling of liquor, but the buying and selling of men - black men from Africa. Most of us have forgotten what a big vested interest this was in the fifties. During the eighteen months of 1859-60, 85 slavers were fitted out right here in New York harbor, and they carried from thirty to sixty thousand Negroes from Africa to America. The number of persons engaged in the slave trade and the amount of capital is declared by the Continental Monthly of January, 1862, to "exceed our powers of calculation." The City of New York has been, until of late (1862) the principal port of the world for this infamous commerce; although the cities of Portland and Boston are only second to her in that distinction. Slave dealers added largely to the wealth of our commercial metropolis; they contributed liberally to the treasuries of political organizations, and their bank accounts were largely depleted to carry elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut"! Sounds quite recent and parallels the Associated Press dispatch from New Orleans yesterday, about the liquor fleet.

Now Great Britain, for one reason or another, had abolished the slave trade and after the Napoleonic wars, had made real effort to stop it. There are, of course, persons who declare that England's motives were not of the highest and had a distinct economic tinge; just as there are others among

us who have firm convictions about the Voldtead Law. But be that as it may, the following conversation took place between the United States and England beginning June 20th, 1818. On that day, our present Mr. Geddes (disguised in whig and shorts as Viscount Castlereah, the brilliant Irishman, soon to die by his own hand), said to Richard Rush, (alias Charles Evans Hughes) who had already been United States Attorney General, and Acting Secretary of State: that a mutual "right of search" ought to be granted by Great Britian and the United States to their war vessels in order to suppress the slave trade. He evidently, at the time, saw in this no "abandonment of a great principle" to which he attached any importance. On the other hand, Mr. Rush (Hughes) did see difficulties and expressed the view that such a right of search appeared to be of a character "not adaptable to American Institutions". Thereupon negotiations were transferred to Washington and Mr. Stratford Canning, impersonating our Mr. Geddes, and who had been just previously trying to pursuade the Turks of his day not to show undue favor to the French (behold the modern ring!) brought the matter to the attention of John Quincy Adams, the Hughes of 1820. Adams replied with a fortrightness which must have made modern Mr. Hughes' ears tingle, if he had ears at that time: "A compact, giving the power of the Naval Officers of one Nation to search the Merchant Vessels of another for Offenders and offences against the Laws of the latter, backed by a further power to seize and carry into a Foreign port,..... was an investment of power, over the persons, property and reputation of the Citizens of this Country, not only unwarranted by any delegation of Sovereign Power to the National Government, but so adverse to the elementary principles and indispensable securities of individual right,..... that not even the most unqualified approbation of the ends ..... could justify the transgression!" There you are, Mr. Hughes.

Meantime, Adams went and Monroe came and a treaty to allow England

to arrest American ships in the slave trade on the high seas was actually proposed to the Senate. Having proposed it, we could not refrain from a fine gesture and our State Department turned superbly to South America and striking an attitude, suggested that Columbia do as we were doing. Surely, the "Republic of Columbia will not permit herself to be behind any government in the civilized world in the adoption of energetic measures for the suppression of this disgraceful traffic" in liquor - I mean, slaves. The Republic hastened to say, "Certainly not" and adopted the treaty; but Johnson of Louisiana in the Senate attacked the treaty, hammer and tongs, and it was amended so/effectively that England refused to sigh it.* Thereupon England proposed to take a leaf out of the future history of the United States and to seize slave smugglers whether or not, just as the United States under Messrs. Harding, Dougherty and Hughes has been bringing in a few English smuggling vessels caught on the high seas. Says Mr. Dougherty: "The remaining eight foreign vessels seized were hovering off our shores beyond the three-mile limit. Foreign Governments protest seizures of their vessels thus violating our revenue laws and smuggling liquors to our shores, because international law does not recognize our hovering acts as valid outside the three-mile limit. This made a prodigious hub-bub in Congress about 1830, and when the British Minister tried again to suggest a right of search treaty in 1833, he was compelled to inform Lord Palmerston that "The executive at Washington appears to shrink" from bring up this question of the abolition of the slave trade in any form.

Meantime, the trade which had dwindled a little toward 1820, began to grow, and finding that its safest disguise was the American flag, it proceeded to take the American flag, and by 1845 most of the buying and selling

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* Columbia retorted by proposing that the slave trade and Haiti be subjects of discussion at a proposed Panama Congress! This was 100 years ago less three years.

of black men went on under the stars and stripes; just as liquor smuggling is now nestling securely under Union Jack; and this, despite the fact that participation in the slave trade was piracy punishable by death, under United States Law. This brought England and America to the place where they almost stuck out their tongues to each other:

England - 1840 )
) You don't stop a crime which is Piracy by
United States - 1922) Smuggling

your own law.

United States - 1840) search
)"You our ships without right."
England - 1922 ) seize

Palmerston - 1841) the United States
)"I cannot think that seriously
Hughes - 1922 ) England
slave traders"
intends to make its flag a refuge for
liquor smugglers."

Stevenson - United States Minister to England- 1841)
)"There is no
Ambassador of the British Labor Ministry - 1924 )

shadow of pretense for excusing, much less justifying the exercise of any such right; that it is wholly immaterial whether the vessels be equipped for or
slave
actually engaged in traffic or not."
liquor

Lord Aberdeen (England Foreign Secretary) 1841)
)"now it can scarcely
Secretary of State, Vostead, - 1924 )

Mr. Stevenson Great Britain
be maintained by that should be bound to permit
your excellency the United States

British British
her own subjects, with vessels and capital, to carry on before
American American

British human beings
the eyes of officers, this detestable traffic in which the
American liquor

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* Statements in regular type are either actual quotations or shorter paraphrases of actual statements. They are taken from British and Foreign State Papers, and House and Senate Documents. Words in italics, are either actual or imaginary paraphrases; but in all cases plausible though sometimes slightly prophetic.

law has declared to be piracy, merely because they have the audacity to commit felony, an additional offence by fraudently usurping the American flag." * British

Now we are prepared, in the light of the past, to go right into prophecy pure and simple. The United States will ask an international right to search ships on the High Seas in order to see if they have contraband liquor. The English Ambassador to Constantinople will denounce this Quintuple Treaty (between the United States, Turkey, Russia, Haiti and Nicaragua) to Kemal Pasha and without consulting London will say: "Certainly the British Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel Great Britain, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations.....; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country .....of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise. .....they would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay - with regret, but with firmness - for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world."

We base the forecasts on the actual words (with unimportant changes) of Lewis Cass, American Minsietr to France, addressed to Guizot, February 13th, 1842.

Impasse. Impasse in 1842; impasse in 1922. Yet there was an easy way out if both governments really wanted to suppress slave-trading and rum-running. The treaty of Washington late in 1842, substituted "joint cruising" for the "right of search"; that is, English and American warships were together to patrol the paths of the slave traders, as they might to-day the lair of the bootleggers' fleet. This was all right in theory. It was costly, just as doubl public school systems for blacks and whites, Catholics and Protestants, et cetera, are wasteful. But the children get educated, if there are

really two systems. Usually there are not. And so, in 1842, joint cruising would have stopped the traffic, only America did not jointly cruise. Hence followed two tales of woe:

**1842**

Cases like the following were frequent. The "Illinois" of Glouster, Massachusetts, while lying at Whydah, Africa, was boarded by a British officer, but having American papers was unmolested. Three days later, she hoisted Spanish colors and sailed away with a cargo of slaves. Next morning, she fell in with another British vessel and hoisted American colors; the British ship had then no right to molest her; but the captain of the slaver feared that she would, and therefore ran his vessel aground, slaves and all. The Senior English Officer reported that "had Lieutenant Cumberland brought to and boarded the 'Illinois,' notwithstanding the American colors which she hoisted,...the American Master of the 'Illinois,'....would have complained to his Government of the detention of his vessel."

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Senate Executive Documents
28th Congress

**1922**

There is information before the department indicating that the authorities at the Bahama Islands have in many cases issued two sets of clearance papers to ships which have taken on board cargoes of liquor. It is said that persons engaged in this traffic have openly made the statement that they have no trouble in obtaining from the Bahama customs officials one set of clearance papers for a cargo of liquor declared to be destined for Halifax, Tampico so St. Pierre, and other clearance papers issued "in ballast" for an American port. This procedure is adopted by the liquor smugglers so that the ship may come within unloading dustance of American shores, and if caught with a cargo of liquor on board the master can exhibit the clearance to Mexico or Canada; if the ship has succeeded in unloading the cargo on the shore without being captured, it proceeds into an American port with the sec-

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"If the United States maintained that, by carrying her flag at her masthead, any vessel became thereby entitled to the immunity which belongs to American vessels, they might well be reproached with assuming a position which would far towards shielding crimes upon the ocean from punishment; but they advance no such pretension, while they concede that, if in the honest examination of a vessel sailing under American colors, but accompanied by strongly-marked suspicious circumstances, a mistake is made, and she is found to be entitled to the flag she bears, but no injury is committed, and the conduct of the boarding party is prreproachable, no Government would be likely to make a case" etc., etc.

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Therefore we predict - but, hold. We fear that the analogy between slaves and liquor has alteady been pushed beyond its legitimate limits.

Both were moral questions with huge economic interests involved. But as we look back upon the slave trade and compare it with the liquor trade, we realize that no problem of effective methods of control or regulation, was ever really involved. The cloud of argument was but the breath of puppy politicians. The real problem was the personal question put to each citizen's conscience; 'shall I make or share a living based on man-stealing or drunkenness?' When the citizen decided, the politician's mouth was closed and his job gone But until the decision was made and until it is made, behold the brave array of State Papers, written with quite as much facility and grace of expression on one side as on the other.

30-9b -4

**Slaves and Liquor**

New Republic
Times
World
Freeman
Atlantic *

~~1921 n 2~~
1922 - Gregory

Some Suggestive Ideas.

We, as Fisk University Alumni at a round table in New York City, pledge anew our loyalty to our Alma Mater and our support to its president and trustees in their noble effort to increase its resources. Great is our admiration for Mr. Paul D. Cravath and Dr. F. A. McKenzie, whose energies and influence have brought to the endowment fund conditional gifts aggregating nearly a million dollars.

37-2-1

In our hearts and minds we treasure the memories and traditions of Fisk University, the vision and true-heartedness of its founders, the love and devotion of its workers, the resposiveness and zeal of its students during the years. United be our hopes, prayers and endeavors that year by year its standards of efficiency may be raised and its light, power and influence increased.

The higher education of the Negro, though long since past the experimental stage, is still viewed coldly if not with hostility by most Americans. Under such conditions it is vital that Fisk should harmonize all its elements and mobilize all its forces in the present hour. If the president, trustees, faculty, students, former students are one in spirit, purpose, sacrifice and will, not only shall there be present triumphs, but the future is assured. It is therefore with dilligent attention of head and heart that we consider those changes which will promote understanding and harmony, facilitate the administration and widen the influence of the university among all classes. With this aim in view the following suggestions are to the President of the University deferentially submitted:

1. As the trend of modern education is the development of initiative in and for cooperative service, Fisk students should have enlarged opportunities for self-expression. That disipline is the easiest to maintain which gives the largest play to student honor and self-control. The organization of a students' council to aid order and discipline among the students will greatly assist the admisistration and lift many of its burdens. Espionage creates fear, which reflects the lower nature,

37-2-2

while honor makes love and loyalty the motive power of human conduct. The presumption on the part of the university to find its students manly, frank and self-respecting helps to mould those ideals. Also permission granted the students to have their own student publications, such as the Fisk Herald of former days, will not only give them training in business management, literary expression, judgment, alertness and discretion, but will add much to the happiness and contentment of student life. The happiness of the students cannot be too highly valued.

2. The potential usefulness of the alumni should be well appraised and to the full extent harnessed. To this end we recommend:

A. A committee of faculty and students to welcome visiting alumni.

B. The appointment of two new trustees from among the alumni.

C. Closer ~~xxxx~~ contact of the alumni with the faculty, officers and student body.

D. Studied effort on the part of the administration to arouse enthusiasm on the part of the alumni of former and later years.

In the hearts of the alumni there is great love for Fisk. This should serve the university more efficiently. The urge may come through visits, correspondence, and a larger news service of alumni activities in the Fisk University News. Although the editorials of the said journal are well-written and interesting, yet the reduction of editorial space by one-half and the increase of news in proportion will make it more interesting.

3. The President of the University, in view of his many and complex duties, should have the cordial support of his faculty at all times. Invitations to the faculty for frank and fearless expressions in meetings or whenever called upon will greatly aid this. Helpfully constructive opinions cannot always be an echo of anothers thought. The atmosphere of Fisk should at all times be so free that

each ~~xxxx~~ element whose opinion is sought should express it with the utmost candor, without the slightest trace of fear that a dissenting opinion will be construed as disloyalty to the administration. Yet no one from personal bigotry should adhere to his own opinion when a better is expressed. But when an opinion or policy is adopted, all should heartily join the ~~xxxxxxx~~ president in its support and application. These "Ways of pleasantness and paths of peace" will add to the eternal honor and glory of Fisk.

37-2-3 - . .

38-13-334

When in the calm afterday of thought and struggle to racial peace we look back to pay tribute to those who helped most, we shall single out for highest praise those who made the world laugh,- Bob Cole, Ernest Hogan, George Walker and, above all, Bert Williams. For this was not mere laughing: it was the smile that hovered above blood and tragedy, the light mask of happiness that hid breaking hearts and bitter souls. This is the top of bravery, the finest thing in service. May the world long honor the undying fame of Bert Williams as a great comedian, a great Negro, a great man.

The Negro Facing 1923.

During 1923, 50 Negroes will be lynched by mobs, of whom 5 will be publicly burned at the stake. President Harding will "appoint a commission to investigate." Meantime, the Negroes will lurch forward in old fashioned ways - buying homes and being cheated out of them, opening little shops to be forced out by chain stores, putting their money in the hands of white capitalists, sending their children through the grammar schools where white teachers will work overtime persuading them that this is all the education they need and more. Also Negroes will come North steadily and wherever they can they will take the jobs of white men at lower wages.

37-2-4

What ought to happen, is this:

1. A Federal Anti-lynching law.

2. The organization of retail buying in local cooperative groups and the integration of these into buying and manufacturing wholesale establishments.

3. Carefully organized and directed migration out of the lawless parts of the South to prepared work and refuge in the North or abroad.

4. Systematic use of the boycott both in buying and in work against the fomenters of racial hate and segregation.

5. Systematized supervision of school children; parents' leagues, scholarships, orphanages, and the selection and higher education of talent.

6. A legal defense fund of $5,000,000. administered by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a Federal Anti-lynching law.

7. Negro industrial unions including colored members of regular

unions and colored men denied admission to them; careful guidance of Negro workers by democratic methods so as to break the color line in work.

8. Absolute political independence with the especial object of defeating both the Democratic and Republician parties and of electing executives, judges, legislators and congressmen free from race prejudice and against economic privilege.

9. The development of American Negro art and literature. The spiritual spread and integration of Pan-Africa.

37-2-5

W. E. B. Du Bois,
70 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

C1923

# From Savannah to the Red Sea
by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

When President Harding delivered his celebrated Birmingham speech, Mayor Stewart of Savannah telegraphed his opinion to the New York Herald saying among other things, that the Negro must be kept as a laborer and a servant and that he was fit for nothing more.

This same Mayor Stewart has recently been defeated for re-election and the reasons for his defeat, as stated in the Savannah News, are that (1) the people did not know what became of the city's money; (2) that public employees were taxed to build up a political slush fund; (3) that the elections were unfair and that above all (4) that ~~the~~ "City Hall is shrouded in secrecy".

In order words, a corrupt gang had seized the city government and while that gang expressed the public opinion of white Savannah in its attitude toward Negro labor, yet this racial orthodoxy was not enough to secure the acquiesence of white Savannah in all the doings of the gang. First, Savannah tried to set its house in order in the orthodox way. They went into the Democratic "White" primary and the reform element supported a reform candidate. The usual thing happened: in a total of 10,000 votes cast the incumbent Stewart was declared elected by a majority of nine. Fraud was written all over the decision and prominent white people determined to appeal from the White Primary, and to put at the regular election an independent candidate. This was a serious step to take. In meant that the 1200 Negroes who had taken the trouble to register would have a right to vote and probably have the balance of power. It meant that the mass of whites, might now or later resent this and prefer dishonest government to Negro voters; or even might appeal to Negro voters themselves as against the employer and landholder.

Savannah's population of 83,000 is divided equally between whites

and Negroes, so that there are 25,000 Negroes 21 years of age and over and almost the same number of whites. Few of the women of either race vote, which means that the decision at the polls is usually settled by the 14,000 adult white men of whom about 10,000 actually vote. Negroes may register and a few of them do, paying a poll tax and going through other tests. Most of them, knowing that the chance of their being able affectively to use their vote is remote, do not take the trouble. The 1200 who had taken the trouble, found themselves with the balance of power.

34-4-22

It is not the first time that an experiment of this sort has been made in the recent history of the South. Various cities have been compelled to appeal to the Negro vote to redeem them. Once, in Atlanta, for instance, some dozen years ago, the candidate for the White Primary who was Mayor of the city, was found drunk in a bawdy-house just before election and was arrested by the police before they recognized their ditinguished prisoner. This proved too much for the city to swallow and in the regular election they threw off their vows to the White Primary and, assisted by colored voters, elected a decent man as mayor.

No sooner did the Savannah reformers announce their intention than difficulties accumulated. According to law the independent candidate, Paul E. Seabrook must be nominated by petition in order to have his name printed on the ballot. More than enough petitions were sent in but they were thrown out on various pretexts by the governing gang, until at last when the election was imminent, the city authorities refused to print Seabrook's name on the ballot. Every one interested in popular elections knows that the man whose name must be written in on a ballot stands usually a very poor show and most people would have said that such a contingency in the case of colored voters would simply make it impossible to count that vote for the reform candidate. In addition to this, determined efforts was made to intimidate the Negro voters. Scull and cross bones signed by the "Ku Klux Klan" were posted on the doors of eight of the prominent churches with the legend "This is a white man's fight, keep away". Slips were put under the doors of colored citizens ordering them

to vote for Stewart and signed "K.K.K."

It was all in vain. The colored voters held their own political meetings, financed their own campaign, went into the election and of their 1200 votes, it was estimated that less than 100 went for Stewart. The final vote was Seabrook 6049, Stewart, the incumbent, 3952. If 1100 votes had been taken from Seabrook and given to Stewart, he would have won by a hundred majority.

34-4-23

This is most encouraging. It shows that under some circumstances the best of the South who want decent government can depend on the co-operation of the intelligent and property holding class of Negroes. But if they do accept such support regularly then, whether they will or no, they must modify the statement of men like Stewart that Negroes can only be servants and laborers for the whites and must not be allowed to rise from a servile position. What will the white workers say to this?

---

There are accumulating evidences, like the Savannah incident, that the more or less artificial, spiritual and political solidarity of the white South is gradually breaking up. This process may still take a long time or it may come suddenly; but it is bound to come. No mass of sixteen million people can possibly be held in agreement forever, particularly when the social and economic reasons for difference of interest, between groups and individuals, are so many and multiplying.

The casual reader may not notice this change for two reasons: first, it has long been unfashionable to criticize the South and consequently much interesting and significant news is consciously and unconsciously suppressed. (The Savannah election was simply not reported, North or South.) Secondly, the South has become habituated to denying potent differences of opinion among ~~themselves~~ its white citizens even when they manifestly exist; ~~or~~ and even of making such open differences reasons for stopping reform waves. Both these attitudes are slowly passing.

The evidences of disintegration are many. First there is very evidently a difference of opinion in the South as to lynching and mob law.

Some papers of influence in the South supported the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill; others looked upon it as an inevitable step and one in fulfilment of their own prophecy; and perhaps the majority of influential papers said, "Unless lynching is stopped, federal control must come." Against this opinion stands a body less articulate in words which believes in extra legal and secret government and whose executive is the mob, as sixty Southern lynchings in 1922 show. Southern States still refuse to enact effective anti-lynching legislation.

34-4-24

In the inter-racial committees organized throughout the South there has been evidenced a wide spread desire to increase the points of civilized contact between the two races. And this has come because of the numbers of educated and efficient Negroes in the South and the accumulation of property in Negroes' hands. It makes no difference what theories as to race contact people may hold, you simply cannot ignore the man of training and of money who is your neighbor, nor can he segregate himself entirely from you. The urge therefore towards some method of understanding and cooperation between the whites and educated Negroes is growing throughout the South. Against this feeling there is a fierce and fiercely expressed opposition which by word, pen and deed stands against any rapprochement between the races except one based on caste, servitude and semi-peonage. These attitudes are different as day and night and they are slowly ranging the white South into two camps.

Finally there is the problem of democratic government. In order to disfranchise the Negro originally and to keep him disfranchised to-day, there has grown up throughout the South certain understandings, the greatest of which is the white political Primary. ~~That~~ This is a primary election, ostensibly of the Democratic party, but in fact open to all white men, who are in honor bound to vote, in the final election, for the candidate who receives a majority of votes in the primary. This has long been the most effective method of disfranchising all Negroes whether educated or not and for allowing all white men however illiterate to have a voice in the government. The vote in the white primary is often 50% larger than that in the regular election and sometimes the regular election is simply an empty ceremony.

All this makes political manipulation and secrecy not only easy but almost compulsory. With the "best elements" in control, government goes with deceptive smoothness. But this smoothness may be ruffled in two opposite ways: (A) the lawless elements may find the firm hand in control irksome, and they may appeal to mob law and force. Moreover, beneath this "lawlessness" may be numbers of motives intertwined: the rage of artisans caught between the upper millstone of deflating capitalists and the lower millstone of cheap black labor; the growing hatred between the great land monopolists and the new white tenantry thrust into conditions made only for black peons.

34-4-25

Or, (B) again, as in Savannah, a "gang" may secure political control in a state or in a city and the better elements may find all of their machinery of political control turned against them. The situation ensuing is most difficult. The orthodox campaign designed to safeguard "white supremacy" must be conducted secretly without newspaper publicity and against a strongly centered party control. It usually fails. Force may then be brought to bear — economic pressure, social bribery and finally, mob violence. All these, however, involve danger of retaliation on the part of a numerically larger group of poor whites who do not know the truth, having no opportunity to hear it all, and who have social and economic grievances against the "better" elements.

This danger is all the greater if (C) an appeal is made to the general electorate from the White Primary's decision. Such an appeal is a direct challenge to "white supremacy". There are always a few Negroes who stubbornly and doggedly register and vote in the general elections and they often hold the balance of power in case the White Primary fails. An appeal to an electorate which includes them faces this: it may encourage other appeals by other elements and precipitate Negro suffrage on a wide scale. It may thus break down utterly the system of understandings and legal safeguards which has built up the solid South; for the better elements among the whites are under ancient suspicion of favoring the blacks for their own uses against the poor whites who have and use the ballo

Now let us turn westward and note a different kind of experiment. In Birmingham, Alabama last spring there was in the city and in the vicinity, an appalling outbreak of murder and lawlessness. It is said that more than twenty persons were murdered within a few months. The city tried to cope with the situation by seeking to bring pressure upon the city government for greater efficiency, and in jacking up the government in many ways. They succeeded at last in sentencing four murderers to death. One public official, Dr. J. D. Dowling, city and county health officer, was especially active in insuring pure milk and pressing ordinances regulating the sale of products. This caused widespread dissatisfaction. Birmingham is the center of a great Negro population of laborers and miners, as well as of a mass of white artisans, small merchants and clerks. The laborers are exploited ruthlessly by the storekeepers and large fortunes are built up on their trade. The blacks have practically no voice in the government of the city or the county and they are at the mercy of the police. The result of activities which interfered with this exploitation, was the formation of groups of marauders presumably belonging to the Ku Klux Klan. They represented a secret effort to restrain efficiency or honesty in the government, and one of their boldest exploits was to take Dowling twelve miles out into the country, flog him unmercifully and let him walk home barefooted and bleeding. The best citizens came together and protested vigorously. The Community Club on May 27th, declared that "The continuance of any such state of affairs as has existed in Birmingham for the past twelve months, would break down all regard for law and so desecrate our civilization that good men would be forced to revert to the primitive instincts of self-preservation". And they went on to "condem all organizations that hold themselves superior to the law of the land and perform their self-appointed task of retribution in the blackness of the night and with faces covered and names withheld". Birmingham was long torn into factions of these occurrences and no definite plan of action

seems yet to have been worked out. Apparently in this case there was no thought of political action outside the white Primary and no movement looking toward wholesale political reform.

Let us ~~now~~ journey ~~still further~~ west to that great region of the Black Belt of the South formed by the cotton and sugar soil of the Mississippi and Red River valley. It is a section bounded on the south by the Red River district of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; on the north by the recent Helena, Arkansas, negro riots, ~~now before the United States Supreme Court;~~ and on the east by Hell, sometimes called the "Mississippi Delta". In the center of this district, in northeastern Louisiana, is Morehouse Parish; and in the midst of Morehouse Parish is Mer Rouge, ~~of evil notoriety.~~ In Mer Rouge we ~~have the~~ activity of the Ku Klux Klan ~~again but it differs from~~ the activities in Birmingham. In Birmingham, the ~~lawless united~~ and set ~~themselves against the law.~~ ~~In Mer Rouge,~~ the law-abiding citizens of a little village tried to drive out the prostitute, the gambler and the bootlegger. But they did not ~~seek~~ to do this ~~in the open way followed by~~ Savannah, and the reasons were that the situation in Morehouse Parish was ~~much more~~ complicated.

34-4-27

One does not easily envisage the peculiar problems of a little town in the Black Belt. It is ruled, of course, by the whites; but among the whites there is a peculiar and astonishing equality despite tremendous inequality. The inequality comes from the economic position of great land owners, merchants, a few professional men as contrasted with clerks, artisans and tenant-farmers. Yet because of their political equality, the poor whites demand social equality with the rich. They all go to the same churches and the church is the center of their social life. They send their children to the same schools unless the rich whites have tutors or send their children away to boarding schools. There is exaggerated equa

on the streets. I remember the vision of a broken-down white man acting as news boy in a small Texas town. He was "Mr."— the "equal" of all the whites and a grade above all the Negroes.

This makes moral separation difficult. The loose white woman can live in the same street and next door to the best white people. Gambling and bootlegging invade the best precincts. The white man who wants reform or who wants to withdraw himself has a peculiarly difficult problem. If he dares to "put on airs", the poor white has behind him, not only a majority of actual votes, but behind that the threat of all Africa. Then too, the white community is trained in murder, fear and secrecy. The murder of a black man scarcely calls for judicial inquiry. The murder of a white man is looked upon as a duel. Murder is not regarded as a crime usually in Mer Rouge. Over all is the fear of a possible Negro uprising and government is a matter of secrecy.

34-4-22

Morehouse Parish is a plantation district and has about 20,000 inhabitants; its largest town, Bastrop, has less than 1,000 people. The population however, is changing in composition. The white population has increased for five to six thousand in the last ten years, while the Negro population has decreased from fourteen to thirteen thousand. It is out of this part of the Mississippi delta region, that the migration of Negro laborers toward the cities and toward the North has taken place, so that from being a country three-fourths black, it has now only something over two-thirds of its inhabitants of Negro descent.

To replace the Negroes, the poor whites from the neighborhood have been pressing in. They stream in from one county directly toward the east and between Morehouse Parish and the Mississippi valley which has a majority of whites and they have come also from further North and West. These new comers have brought problems to this plantation region — problems of unrest, of drink, of gambling, of wayward women and of economic

status.

Morehouse can look back upon the time when its white inhabitants were great land owners and rich men, protecting their women in elaborate homes and educating their children in private schools. Gradually, however, the newer and poorer whites have come in with ~~xkx~~ lower moral life and with widespread poverty. One can see the results of this in the distribution of the land. There were 2,760 tenant-farmers in 1900 and 3,512 in 1920 and this increase had come mainly from white tenants, of whom there were, in 1920, 741. Besides acting as tenants the poor whites have congreggted in towns as small merchants and middle men, clerks and skilled laborers. The great land owners are still in the acsendency - 250 of them owning farms of 100 to over 1000 acres, on which they raise cotton and corn with some sugar cane to the value of two and one half millions of dollars a year. All other crops amounted to only about $300,000. On the other hand, in all the county there were only 300 cash tenants, most of the tenants being croppers working on shares and cultivating small forty acre farms. Notwithstanding this ominous increase in tenancy and migration of black labor, the value of the farms or rather of the land in farms is rapidly increasing. It has doubled every ten years since 1900 being then two and one half millions; it was over five millions in 1910 and ten and one half millions in 1920. The largest element too in this increase in value has been the increase in the value of land. The land was one half the total value in 1900 and three-fifths in 1920.

The white people forming 32% of the population furnished 21% of the tenants; while, on the other hand, of the owners there are 231 Negroes and 369 whites. One can easily scent here tremendous and bitter rivalry: rivalry among the whites between the big land owners and the small land owners and tenants. Rivalry between the colored owners and the white tenants and small owners. And crushed under all of it, the mass of black

34-4-29

tenants. These black tenants are ignorant. Forty percent of them acknowledge that they cannot read or write and the real truth is probably much more than this. Moreover there is here no modern wage system on the farms. Most of it is a matter of barter or of a debt peonage. In 1910 the county reported only $80,000 paid in wages which means less than $100 a year for each worker and as the white workers are paid more than the colored workers, the wage of the black laborer, if he gets any at all, must indeed be small.

34-4-30

Here then we have the setting. How is the little town of Mer Rouge to stop the growing lawlessness? Shall it appeal to the ballot? Certainly not. Of the males 21 years of age and over, 6,524 are Negroes and only 3,000 are whites. But of course there is no question in Mer Rouge of the black man's voting. He may be a land owner, he may be able to read and write ( and a thousand ar more of them are) he cannot vote. Moreover the better chass of whites would not dream of the Savannah experiment. They are too near the slavery ideal. Moreover the white women do not vote so that the voting population consists of about 1500 white men; and undoubtedly the land owner can be easily outvoted by the lawless among the new tenants and artisans. Having then no thought of appealing to the suffrages of a thousand educated and property holding Negroes, Mer Rouge seeks another remedy and ~~like Birmingham,~~ turns to the Ku Klux Klan, ~~but for different reasons.~~ In Mer Rouge and Morehouse Parish they claim that the Ku Klux Klan is an organization of the best elements of the community to put down the worst. They believe that they can do by secrecy and force that which they cannot do openly at the polls.

They come naturally to this conclusion. The Black Belt economy is built on force and murder. The landlords and great merhhants live with their hand on the trigger to repress servile revolt or the hint of it. They are used to taking the law into their own hands.

Again with the coming of the newer and poorer whites, they face baffling social probelms — a white face is no lomger a badge of aristocracy - a white women may be rival to a black concubine. The relations of white men and colored women were formerly open and complacent. Yesterday the sheriff's son is killed in a colored woman's cabin. Then too the sex distribution shows much — more colored women than colored men and lit more white men than white women. Now come loose white women: it is intolerable, there is no place, no treatment for them. Decent colored women can be publicly treated like prostitutes, but white prostitutes must be treated like white ladies or the whole scheme of white supremacy falls.

34-4-31

All this leads apparently to but one solution: bootleggers, gamblers and bad women must be driven out and the new Ku Klux Klan is an instrument at hand. But they miscalculated. The new whites are not black and are, therefore, not trained to submit to mob law, even if the mob is hooded and terror gowned. The victims resist. The result is appalling and the whole world has heard of it. Murder almost wholesale. Torture that would shame the Middle Ages, an atomosphere of terror, hatred and feuds aroused and the whole community disgraced. And, most singular of all, in the midst of this, not a single word from the dumb, black, driven cattle who form 68% of the population.

Here then is the train from Savannah with its successful appeal to modern democracy to the Red Sea of blood in Louisiana. All of this testifies to the kind of dilemma which must increasingly face the white South. The problem of poverty and land monopoly; the problem of labor, held in peonage and underpaid in the South and running away to the industrial opportunities of the North; the problem of educated, property holding Negroes and the problem of the ballot. It is a most difficult and complicated situation that faces the young southern white man to-day, the man of intelligence, of vision, the man who wants to do right, but who, in the midst of these economic and racial problems, finds the light beckoning along narrow and devious ways.

If there is any solution short of an appeal to wider and wider democracy to which Savannah points the way -- if there is, Mer Rouge has not found it, nor Birmingham, nor the wide, wide world.

34-4-32

W. E. B. Du Bois,
70 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

34-4-36

From Savannah to the Red Sea
by
W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

When President Harding delivered his celebrated Birmingham speech, Mayor Stewart of Savannah telegraphed his opinion to the New York Herald saying among other things, that the Negro must be kept as a laborer and a servant and that he was fit for nothing more.

This same Mayor Stewart has recently been defeated for re-election and the reasons for his defeat, as stated in the Savannah News, are that (1) the people did not know what became of the city's money; (2) that public employees were taxed to build up a political slush fund; (3) that the elections were unfair and that above all (4) that "City Hall is shrouded in secrecy".

In other words, a corrupt gang had seized the city government and while that gang expressed the public opinion of white Savannah in its attitude toward Negro labor, yet this racial orthodoxy was not enough to secure the acquiescence of white Savannah in all the doings of the gang. First, Savannah citizens tried to set ~~its~~ their house in order in the orthodox way. They went into the Democratic "White" primary and the reform element supported a reform candidate. The usual thing happened: in a total of 10,000 votes cast the incumbent Stewart was declared elected by a majority of nine. Fraud was written all over the decision and prominent white people determined to appeal from the White Primary, and to put up at the regular election an independent candidate. This was a serious step to take. It meant that the 1200 Negroes who had taken the trouble to register would have a right to vote and probably have the balance of power. It meant that the mass of whites might now or later resent this and prefer dishonest government to Negro voters; or even might appeal to Negro voters themselves as against the employer and landholder.

Savannah's population of 83,000 is divided equally between whites and Negroes, so that there are 25,000 Negroes 21 years of age and over and almost the same number of whites. Few of the women of either race vote, which means that the decision at the polls is usually settled by the 14,000 adult white men of whom about 10,000 actually vote. Negroes may register and a few of them do, paying a poll tax and going through other tests. Most of them, knowing that the chance of their being able effectively to use their vote is remote, do not take the trouble. The 1200 who had taken the trouble, found themselves with the balance of power.

34-4-37

It is not the first time that an experiment of this sort has been made in the recent history of the South. Various cities have been compelled to appeal to the Negro vote to redeem them. Once, in Atlanta, for instance, some dozen years ago, the candidate ~~for~~ of the White Primary who was Mayor of the city, was found drunk in a bawdy-house just before election and was arrested by the police before they recognized their distinguished prisoner. This proved too much for the city to swallow and in the regular election they threw off their vows to the White Primary and, assisted by colored voters, elected a decent man as mayor.

No sooner did the Savannah reformers announce their intention than difficulties accumulated. According to law, the independent candidate, Paul H. Seabrook, must be nominated by petition in order to have his name printed on the ballot. More than enough petitions were sent in but they were thrown out on various pretexts by the governing gang, until at last when the election was imminent, the city authorities refused to print Seabrook's name on the ballot. Everyone interested in popular elections knows that the man whose name must be written in on a ballot stands usually a very poor show; and most people would have said that such a contingency in the case of colored voters would simply make it impossible to count that vote for the reform candidate. In addition to this, determined efforts were made to intimidate the Negro voters. Skull and cross bones signed by the "Ku Klux Klan" were posted on

the doors of eight of the prominent negro churches with the legend "This is a white man's fight, keep away". Slips were put under the doors of colored citizens ordering them to vote for Stewart and signed "K.K.K."

34-4-32

It was all in vain. The colored voters held their own political meetings, financed their own campaign, went into the election and of their 1200 votes, it was estimated that less than 100 went for Stewart. The final vote was Seabrook 6049, Stewart, the incumbent, 3952. If 1100 votes had been taken from Seabrook and given to Stewart, he would have won by a hundred majority.

This is most encouraging. It shows that under some circumstances the best of the South who want decent government can depend on the coöperation of the intelligent and property holding class of Negroes. But if they do accept such support regularly then, whether they will or no, they must modify the statement of men like Stewart that Negroes can only be servants and laborers for the whites and must not be allowed to rise from a servile position. What will the white workers say to this?

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There are accumulating evidences like the Savannah incident that the more or less artificial, spiritual and political solidarity of the white South is gradually breaking up. This process may still take a long time or it may come suddenly; but it is bound to come. No mass of sixteen million people can possibly be held in agreement forever, particularly when the social and economic reasons for difference of interest, between groups and individuals, are so many and multiplying.

The casual reader may not notice this change for two reasons: first, it has long been unfashionable to critize the South and consequently much interesting and significant news is consciously and unconsciously suppressed. The Savannah election was simply not reported, North or South. Secondly, the South has become habituated to denying patent differences of opinion among its white citizens even when they manifestly exist; and even of making such open differences reasons for stopping reform waves. Both these attitudes are slowly passing.

34-4-39

The evidences of disintegration are many. First, there is very evidently a difference of opinion in the South as to lynching and mob law. Some papers of influence in the South supported the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill; others looked upon it as an inevitable step and one in fulfilment of their own prophecy; and perhaps the majority of influential papers said, "Unless lynching is stopped, federal control must come." Against this opinion stands a body, less articulate in words, which believes in extra legal and secret government and whose executive is the mob, as sixty southern lynchings in 1922 show. Southern states still refuse to enact effective anti-lynching legislation.

In the inter-racial committees organized throughout the South, there has been evidenced a widespread desire to increase the points of civilized contact between the two races. And this has come because of the numbers of educated and efficient Negroes in the South and the accumulation of property in Negroes' hands. It makes no difference what theories as to race contact people may hold, you simply cannot ignore the man of training and of money who is your neighbor, nor can he segregate himself entirely from you. The urge therefore towards some method of understanding and coöperation between the whites and educated Negroes is growing throughout the South. Against this feeling there is a fierce and fiercely expressed opposition which by word, pen and deed stands against any rapprochement between the races except one based on caste, servitude and semi-peonage. These attitudes are different as day and night and they are slowly ranging the white South into two camps.

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literate to have a voice in the government. The vote in the white primary i often 50% larger than that in the regular election and sometimes the regular election is simply an empty ceremony.

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Or, (B) again as in Savannah, a "gang" may secure political control in a state or in a city and the better elements may find all of their machinery of political control turned against them. The situation ensuing is most difficult The orthodox campaign designed to safeguard "white supremacy" must be conducted secretly without newspaper publicity and against a strongly centered party control. It usually fails. Force may then be brought to bear -- economic pressure social bribery and finally, mob violence. All these, however, involve danger of retaliation on the part of a numerically larger group of poor whites who do not know the truth, having no opportunity to hear it all, and who have social and economic grievances against the "better" elements.

This danger is all the greater if (C) an appeal is made to the general electorate from the White Primary's decision. Such an appeal is a direct challenge to "white supremacy". There are always a few Negroes who stubbornly and doggedly register and vote in the general elections and they often hold the balance of power in case the White Primary fails. An appeal to an electorate which includes them faces this: it may encourage other appeals by other elements and precipitate Negro suffrage on a wide scale. It may thus break down utterly the system of understandings and legal safeguards which has built up the solid South; for the better elements among the whites are under ancient suspicion of favoring the blacks for their own uses against the poor whites who have and use the ballot.

30-96-3 [1923]

From Savannah to the
Red Sea

The North American Review
McClure's *

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Undated

This article is offered Foreign Affairs provided the Editor does not think it a repetition of the New Republic article

# The African Plymouth Rock

by W.E.B. DuBois

In 1620 the good ship Mayflower, landing on a bleak Plymouth rock in Massachusetts deposited a handful of distressed Englishmen who eventually built America, aided by help from the rest of Europe and Africa.

In 1820, the good ship Elizabeth, landing on Perserverance Island, a rock in West Africa deposited a handful of distressed American Negroes who eventually built Liberia, aided by help from America and Europe.

Which parallelism brings thought and reflection. How much of significance can be laid to this African Plymouth rock? Was it an incident resulting in a failure long drawn out, or was it the beginning of America in Africa? - a new and black American democracy invading European colonial imperialism and destined to revolutionize 20th century politics? And 300 years after 1820 will the results of Perseverance Island be as great as the 300 years of Plymouth Rock? Nonsense, all wiseacres will say; but that was precisely what they said in 1620; and 1720 was less promising for Massachusetts than 1920 for Liberia.

American influence in the world today is rated high--perhaps higher than the full truth would allow. But at any rate we are singularly fateful today for the world's future even after pruning our pretensions and modulating our strut. In the past we also played our part. Our shadow was on the conflagration of the French Revolution; our presumption revolutionized the British constitution; we harbored German; liberalism and we tried to make Africans citizens of a modern state and to the continued astonishment of the world we seem likely to succeed in more cases than modern science ever dreamed.

And now since the Great War, there comes a faint feeling that perhaps ("perhaps" only, mind you) that Perseverance Island matter was the beginning of something. ~~But~~ and what that something may be let us diligently inquire.

23-2-230

There are some deadly parallels between Plymouth Rock and Perseverance Island which all Daughters of the American Revolution will hotly resent. Both contained groups of folk not too well regarded by their powerful contemporaries, and both were aggressively and one might say almost impudently religious. Their personal acquaintance with God--let them tell it--was most edifying. Both met the uncomfortable and fairly well armed fact of dark natives in actual possession of the Promised Land, and most inconveniently disposed to stay. Both in America and Liberia the problem of the treatment of these natives was a severe initial problem, which soon to the astonishment of the Godly flared to open warfare and the hardest sort of struggle to stay. King Phillip's and King Peter's wars are twin memories of 1675 and 1823.

38-12-331

Then there was climate. Just as men and women and children shivered and died in the frost and sleet of grey Massachusetts, so children and women and men burned and died in the malarial swamps of green Liberia. There ensued problems of food and barter and trade, of union of separate settlements into one common country; difficulties of foreign taxation and revenue laws, of territorial delimitation and finally, in both cases a Declaration of Independence and a struggle to survive.

All this parallelism has, of course, its necessarily forced likenesses and might be fronted by just as striking contrasts; for the Pilgrims in Massachusetts were early supported by high and powerful and well trained recruits; they had among them state builders by training, they were isolated from the power of their most dangerous enemies and the climate of New England was but another edition of the climate of old England. While in Liberia poor, unlettered slaves, with but a pitiful sprinkling of men of education and experience, returned to a climate which modern science needed a century to conquer; and instead of having to fight one mother country, two weeks distant, Liberia struggled against a world at her doors.

What has been the result and what will be the results of this American experiment in Africa? The books are singularly unanimous. This rich country adjoining English colonial experiments can only survive by being annexed to England. Negroes cannot rule. Of this we are being assured by an astonishing number of thick English books written by English colonial officials, "who know!" Vaughan, a former Consul to Liberia (whom Liberia asked to leave) has written in polite pessimism; Sir H. H. Johnston of the bankrupt English "Liberian Development Company" has two volumes 6 inches thick and fathoms deep which show the crime of keeping Liberian wealth out of European pockets; and a very recent book by the late Governor of Nigeria, where the English are reaping fortunes out of the natives, is full of tears for the poor down trodden natives of Liberia whom the author (we have it on his own word) "loves!"

38-12-332

Getting down to specific details we learn that the indictments against Liberia are as follows:

1. Their officials wear top hats on ceremonial occasions.
2. Grass grows in their streets.
3. They are lazy and hate work, preferring government service to agriculture.
4. They have a large number of grafters and are "immoral".
5. They do not pay their debts.
6. They oppress the natives.
7. They imprison for debt; and have bad prisons.
8. They use no beasts of burden.
9. Their sanitation is bad, without hospitals and adequate medical care; and they have no daily newspaper.
10. They import food instead of raising it.
11. They have not explored thoroughly or developed their land.
12. They are largely "heathen" and Mohammedan with unsaved "souls".

These are terrific indictments to be sure and yet somehow they are not impressive. They reek too strongly of propaganda, and they are all derived from one more or less concealed premise: "Negroes cannot rule!"

And so I went to Liberia to learn. Oh, I am a sadly prejudiced judge, let me frankly admit at the outset. I see no earthly reason why Negroes should not rule. I've seen them ruling. Moreover I am painfully aware of the shortcomings of rulers who are white. But to offset this I hate self-deception and I almost think I'd rather reveal a plain Negro failure to do a human thing than consciously to mis-use a fact sure to return and haunt me.

So I came to Liberia. I saw the twin curves of lofty Cape Mount rise dim on the horizon like woman's breasts viewed at cross angles. I passed the low yellow and green shores of the Mohammedan Vais and looked on Cape Montserrado, St. Paul's River and Perseverance Island. Back of that, on its great green hill, rose Monrovia, capital of Liberia, beneath its guardian Mangoes and Palms trimmed below with the thatched homes of Krutown.

38-12-333

It would be easy right here to burst into surprised enthusiasm or to wait and be duly disillusioned at the halting docks of crowded Water street. I do neither. I lean back and try to remember certain facts. First the contrast between 1620, 1820, and 1920. In 1620 the world was small and disconnected. It was quite possible to leave it. The Puritans went out of the world--beyond its ken and almost beyond its reach. Liberia could never escape the touch of the world as completely, although at its outer edge. The world of the day of Liberia was larger, more intensive, more dominant. The results are significant: the great world ~~currents~~ billows of the 19th century have tossed Liberia's bark like a cork on mighty currents, while the 17th and 18th century currents struck America but never came ~~near~~ to shattering blows. Moreover

the blows differed in character. The strife for political domination in the 17th century changed through the 18th century to the more purely economic imperialism of the 19th. It was with this Liberia had to reckon to her curious cost.

Think once! There was the slave trade beginning here at Cape Bojador in religious bickerings ~~of kinds~~ between captured Mohammedans and fighting heathen; and ~~was~~ reduced to a science by the English and developed to a world commerce in the last quarter of the 18th century. It centered in future Liberia and resulted from and resulted in profound African changes. The empire building of the Black Empires, slowly, slowly during five hundred years pushed the warlike and resisting "Heathen" - peoples like the modern Veys, Golahs, Bassas, Krus, Grebos, Pessys, Deys and thirty three others back to the edge of the great African plateau following them with the Mohammedan Mandingo traders. Out of these wars grew a widened domestic slave trade and on this a new American economic demand built the great slave traffic of West Africa - jumbling and crushing the natives with a babel of tongues and customs, demoralizing and decimating them. Into this situation fell the Liberian colonists.

38-12-334

Children of the slave trade themselves, they migrated on the edge of the ~~great~~ Napoleonic wars at the beginning of that great Industrial Revolution of Europe that followed those wars and was their logical result — just as, following the World war, — but that is a separate article.

Then came the transformation of home industry into the factory system, the rise of the cotton kingdom, the empire of steam and the new capitalism. Across this crashed the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian war followed by the partition of Africa and the new colonial imperialism of Europe.

Those who have studied Liberia usually have taken no account of the economic background on which her tragedy was played. This is characteristic of our attitude toward racial problems. As soon as a problem of economics or of education or of health is assumed to be racial, immediately all facts that bear on work and wages, on human intelligence and on sickness and death are either ignored or given a

~~slave trade of 1861 into the wild swirl of world war in 1914.~~

All this we can see echoed in Liberia's political history. She was conceived as a dumping ground for America's Negro problems, a sort of vent to pressing slavery interests. Said Henry Clay with splendid contradiction, "Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free persons of color are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned." Selah! And then:

"The Society proposes to send out not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land; but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, 6,000, in another, 56,000 missionaries of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion and the arts!"

38-12-325

So not only came to Liberia shadowy loads of dark pioneers who could not endure caste and semi-slavery, crying "The Love of Liberty brought us here" - but also boat loads of miserable captives whom the American slave smugglers of 1820-60 lost now and then to sluggish American war ships. Poor stolen things— what material for state building! The pioneers landed on a fighting coast of slave-trading tribes seduced by rum and beads to raid their inland neighbors. Thus the first quarter century was concerned in a sheer fight to put safe foot on the sloping heights of Cape Mesurado. This interfered with the traders in slaves and their treaties with chiefs and spawned a fine set of international complications and claims.

To this came climate. West Africa is not death to life but it is death to fools. It is a climate different, with advantages and disadvantages. Modern war on malaria, sanitary housing, proper food and suitable hygiene, adjustment of working habits will make West Africa a beautiful and salubrious climate. People permanently living there will in sunlit hours, always be divided into the Lazy and the energetic Dead. But what had the handful of freedmen to do with scientific sanitation? Their sheer problem of defense and starvation absorbed their energies

up until 1850.

The result was anomalous. They were not then a government. They were a philanthropy of American philanthropists who had kicked them out of their world because they could not enslave them. When this group tried to defend itself for survival in its new home, England said: this is not a government and has no right to tax or treat. America hastened to reply: They're none of ours; the Colonization Society washed its rather dirty hands of the whole business and lo! by a Declaration of Independence a new state was formed. Its reception was not enthusiastic. America herself refused to recognize it until after the Civil War. England gave it recognition, but she was warned. Lord Bathurst was sure that a free Negro republic would be a menace to British rule in West Africa.

28-12-336

From 1848 until 1924 every effort has been made to deprive Liberia of her territory. The first difficulties arose on account of the slave trade. Between 1849 and 1856 by treaty with England and with the help of English anti-slavery philanthropists, Liberia had settled the boundary between herself and the British colony of Sierra Leone by buying land as far as the Sherbro Islands at a cost of about $100,000. Hardly had the transaction been finished however, than a change began to come over the British attitude. Not only did a trade in natural products of the west coast of Africa begin, especially in palm oil, but the illicit slave trade to America attracted English capital.

An English slave trader named Harris, established himself on this recently acquired Liberian property and defied Liberia's authority. Liberia seized two of his vessels which were clearly within Liberian territory. Nevertheless, the vessels were forcibly re-captured by a British gun boat.

Pressed by the commercial interests in the British colony, the government of Great Britain began to dispute the boundary line. Local chiefs continued to harrass traders and traders continued to engage in the slave trade and to violate Liberian laws. Harris organized inter-

tribal wars which Liberia tried to put down. Thereupon claims for damage to English property arose. The matter was referred to an American admiral as arbitrator but still England refused to accept the settlement. Finally English gun boats appeared again before Liberia and demanded immediate payment of the so-called claims. Liberia's answer was perfect in logic:

"If the contested territory was British, why did the British Government claim from Liberia an indemnity for acts of violence amongst the natives which had taken place thereon? If, however, Liberia acknowledged her responsibility, as she had done, and agreed to pay an indemnity, why should she be in addition deprived of territories for the law and order of which she was held responsible and which were hers by acts of purchase admitted by the British Government?"

To all this there could, of course, be but one answer and in 1885, one hundred miles of Liberian coast was cut off; the Mano River was made the boundary line; and of the $100,000 which Liberia paid for the territory, a little less than $24,000 was returned.

No sooner had this happened than the French at the Southern end of Liberia made claims. There was no doubt but that Liberian territory extended to the San Pedro River, sixty miles east of its present boundary. The French, however, not only claimed this territory but claimed the whole Liberian coast on the basis of certain shadowy "treaties" with native chiefs, dating back to the 18th century. France refused to arbitrate and in 1892 compelled Liberia to give up territory as far as the Cavalla River, and in these treaties both Great Britain and France drew the boundary line not in the middle of the rivers but on the bank nearest Liberia.

The French in 1908 made similar claims on the opposite side and both countries refused to settle matters until the other one had been satisfied. In 1907 a treaty was submitted by the French by which Liberia was deprived of some of her richest and most prosperous inland districts. She appealed to America but America turned a deaf ear and she had to sign "on the dotted line." The English seized the district of Kanre-Lahun by armed force and in the case of both countries there still remain questions of final delimitation of boundary. All this action was, of course, simply the result as felt in Africa, of the partition of Africa as determined on by Europe.

In 1901 Great Britain began again, this time disputing the boundary line in the interior between Sierra Leone and Liberia, while

~~Fine sport and Europe warmed to the game.~~ In the Conference at Berlin in 1885 the United States was represented by Henry M. Stanley. Liberia was represented by the United States. Through Liberia, the United States had good grounds for claiming a large slice of the African melon about to be cut. Financed by Schieffelin of New York, Anderson of Liberia had made two journeys inland which made a clear title to lands running 500 miles or more into the interior. But Stanley was not thinking of this if he ever knew it. He represented Leopold of Belgium far better than the United States or Liberia, and as a result the claims of Liberia were ~~practically~~ unrecognized by the Conference.

38-12-33

France took the whole of the Liberian hinterland in the Sudan while Great Britain pushed down from the west as far as her shadowy claims could possibly let her and is in a position today to claim still more. And the whole of this drama was based in reality upon the claim that Liberia could not rule or effectively occupy the territory which she in reality owned and that on the other hand, the manifest destiny of Africa was to be ruled by white Europe and that this ruling was a matter of profit and power. To this, practically all the white world assented. But Liberia protested bitterly.

"We appeal to all the civilized nations of the world.--Consider, we pray you, the situation. Having been carried away into slavery, and, by the blessing of God, returned from exile to our fatherland, are we now to be robbed of our rightful inheritance? Is there not to be a foot of land in Africa, that the African, whether civilized or savage, can call his own? It has been asserted that the race is not capable of self-government, and theheyes of many are watching the progress of Liberia with a view to determining that question. We only ask, in all fairness, to be allowed just what any other people would require--free scope for operation. Do not wrest our territory from us and hamper us in our operations and then stigmatize the race with incapacity, because we do not work miracles. Give us a fair chance, and then if we utterly fail, we shall yield the point. We pray you, the civilized and Christian nations of the world, to use your influence in our behalf. We have no power to prevent this aggression on the part of the French Government: but we know that we have right on our side, and are willing to have our claims to the territory in question examined. We do not consent to France's taking that portion of our territory lying between the Cavalla and San Pedro Rivers; nor do we recognize its claims to points on our Grain Coast which as shown above, our government has been in possession of for so long. We protest, too against that government's marking off narrow limits of interior land for us. We claim the right to extend as far interiorward as our necessities require. We are not foreigners: we are Africans, and this is Africa. Such being the case, we have certain natural rights--God-given rights--to this territory which no foreigners can have. We should have room enough, not only for our present population, but also to afford a home for our brethren in exile who may wish to return to their fatherl nd and help us to build up a negro nationality. We implore you, the civilized and Christian nations of the world, to use your influence to have these, our reasonable requirements secured to us."

38-12-339

Who listened to this? Nobody.



And what is today in 1923 the net result? It can be told in three words, and three tremendous words: Liberia still lives. With forty-three thousand miles of the richest territory in West Africa, wounded, despised, cheerfully and hilariously sneered at by every coast trading captain, every colonial office and every historian of white imperialism, Liberia lives as an independent state; with a record of peaceful development, of unselfish patriotism, with the interest on her unfair debts being paid, her natives in peace and sharing gradually in government, her budget balanced and her income increasing year by year. In human government today there is, not counting the cost, a parallel accomplishment.

38-12-340

But, cries the world, Liberia is undeveloped. She is for the most part virgin, unexplored or half explored, forest; she has no railroads, she does not feed herself, she is an economic parasite living on borrowed funds--a "Croesus feeding on crusts."

Largely true. And why? To most charges her answer is short: Laziness is climate; beasts of burden? the Tsetse fly; grassy streets? are quiet and beautiful; Sanitation? can be improved but we have little tuberculosis and no typhoid; we do not raise food - but we raise a hundred other things.

Talent in any nation great or small is limited. Liberia has produced for her civilization an unusual number of exceptional men. But their whole talent has been needed to defend the political integrity of their land. If that same talent had gone into economic development, Liberia would have been rich but the riches would have belonged to England and France, whose docile upper-slaves, the Liberian leaders would have become. There never has been a time when a Liberian traitor or grafter in high place could not easily have become a millionaire by selling his country to foreign capital. A few have been tempted. None have succeeded.

Contrast too, Liberia and an English "developed" colony: Liberia considers the welfare of her own citizens first: the English colony considers the welfare of England first; Liberia is interested in property in Africa, the English in profit in England. Liberia fears to squander her resources, England hastens to exploit to the last degree and pours in capital as long as returns beckon. The result is that while Liberian riches though undeveloped still belong to her children, the resources of English colonies are mortgaged for a thousand years to support Englishmen in luxury.

38-12-341

With her full strength gone to political integrity, Liberia had but half strength and indifferent leadership in industry. And yet her economic history - her attempt to earn a living - is illuminating for all men. First, in the years from 1822 to 1849, from settlement to independence, she relied on food supplies from America and barter with the natives - a precarious and difficult job. Gradually however she began to raise some of her own food, to buy more from the natives and ~~tried~~ to export materials. Trade conditions were changing. New machine-made goods appeared, cheaper to buy than make and better suited for barter. The character of colony trade changed. In return for palm oil and coffee she procured European goods for native trade, for food and clothes and began to see economic independence. Her great spectacular chance came with the American Civil War. The secession of Louisiana deprived the North of sugar. In Liberia were workers who knew how to grow sugar cane, and soil and sun that favored it. Liberia flew to work. The broad low banks of the St. Paul began to gleam with sugar plantations and landings were scarred with the yellow clay of sturdily manned long boats with singing black boys who carried the sweet brown sugar down to the bar. Vessels were scarce but what of that? The forests bowed and sailing ships were built and soon were plying the seas. For ten

years the trade grew; Liberia began to accumulate wealth and confidence. Her college was perched on the crowning height of the Cape and became a center of real education. Monrovia Moreover the capital was laid out in broad streets and Liberia sang her new national hymn.

"All hail Liberia." Hail!
In union strong, success is sure.
We cannot fail.
With God above,
Our rights to prove,
We will the world assail.

With heartsand hand our country's cause defending
We meet the foe, with valor unpretending.
Long live Liberia, happy land,
A home of glorious liberty by God's command.

38-12-342

Then came change--the sort of economic change continually occurring but one can see it here entire while in our own land it is obscured. First Louisiana returned and went to sugar-making. Then some men sat down across the sea and took up the matter of making bigger profits on sugar. They exploited new fields and arranged new methods of refining. Some other men in Europe arranged to fight this monopoly with the sugar beet. Intricate tariffs and bounties and new competition ensued and ruin spread over the sugar fields of Liberia. Shrewd business men with capital would have found a way out. Even they would not have averted ruin ~~to~~ many farmers but they would have balanced it with the amazing success ~~to~~ of sugar refiners, traders or what not. The ruined would have sunk to tenantry or day labor, or worse and lower. A new rich group would have "captained" industry and ridden Rotten Row and the average of increased wealth would have made a proud people.

That is the way we do in highly civilized lands and then wonder at poverty, unemployment and crime. In Liberia the same thing was possible only the ruin and sinking, would have been on the part of black Liberians and the new wealth would have gone to the exploiting white capitalists in Europe. Liberia was a simpler land. The results of monopoly, manipulation and improvement overseas were not observed here; the farmers could not meet the competition abroad without new methods, better transportation, machinery, faster and steam vessels. In other words they needed capital and they tried to borrow it. Now borrowing capital is to the simple minded in modern days, an easy matter. My friend who edits West Africa for London investors writes innocently:- "You go to the bank and explaining your resources get the necessary funds at the current rates." You may if you are free, white and twenty-one and then again you may not. And if you are a foreigner and of the "lesser breeds" you may be robbed shamelessly. Liberia was robbed. She tried in 1870 to borrow in London $500,000 at 7% for 15 years. One fourth of this was to pay current debts, a part was to stabilize her paper currency and $300,000 was an emergency fund for new enterprises especially roads to the interior. When the loan sharks got through with these guileless black financiers, Liberia received about $100,000 and this largely in over-priced goods while bonds to nearly the whole value of $500,000 were issued in England and quickly sold to maiden ladies, retired missionaries, small shopmen and others who form the investing public.

The scoundrels got off with a neat fortune while for thirty years, indignant investors urged the English government to make Liberia pay her just debts. The first and great commandment of Commercialism is "Pay" and the second is like unto it "Be Paid" and in the end Liberia paid. She had to. It was a very old imperialistic flim-flam game that had caught her. She came nearer revolution than ever before or since and the president who negotiated the loan was drowned on the treacher-

38-12-343

ous harbor bar while running away from his country's wrath. The respectable brokers in London were not drowned or shot and some of their families by this time are doubtless gracing His Majesty's peerage.

Meantime Liberia's critics had a fine jamboree. "See those plantations up the St. Paul? All going to rot. Lazy niggers. Sons too proud to work. Running down to Monrivia to get government jobs." Etc. Nevertheless Liberia began slowly to recover. There were other things beside sugar. There was, for instance coffee. Liberian coffee is very fine and grows easily and abundantly. Coffee plantations began to spread palm oil and kernels grew in importance and wild rubber and camwood. Thus from 1870 to 1890 matters looked better. Indeed Liberia might have been almost at ease had it not been for that wretched English loan. For the development of most of her resources, Liberia still needed capital and the sugar disaster left her quite without home resources. Moreover economic life was changing. It was no longer possible to trade in home built sailing vessels and compete with the new steam monsters. The coffee market showed disquieting changes. The new Brazilian fields began opening about 1880. New and big coffee merchants in America set prices, supervised blending and judicious adulteration. New machinery for hulling came into use and the handcrushed and broken Liberian kernels could not compete with the neat Brazil and Java brands. Liberian coffee fell from 25¢ to 8¢ a pound. It was not an economic disaster like sugar, but it was an unsettling and faith-destroying thing. Trade continued to increase slowly from total customs of $175,000 in the eighties to $200,000 in the nineties. Piassava, a fibre for brooms suggested by a Liberian gave a great impetus to trade about 1890 but it soon fluctuated in price and in freight change. Palm kernels and oil continued to be a standard export but they were carelessly prepared in the interior and brought to market with difficulty because of lack of roads.

38-12-344

Manifestly Liberia was facing a growing economic puzzle. Vacillation in product and in processes without the steadying effect of fluid capital or without a voice in the condict of world industry is a terrifying and upsetting thing; Liberia owned no fluid capital. Between 1890 and 1909 the economic crisis developed. Liberia needed capital. She could get it only from foreigners and the price demanded threatened her independence. It must be realized that Liberian borrowing has been distinguished in this way: instead of borrowing for immediate profit-returning projects she has tried to borrow for general welfare, not for mines, rubber, plantations or a line of railroad, but for a road system, a frontier police, harbor development and etc. - things of vast interest but not guaranteed to pay 6% this generation, statesmanship but poor "business." Nevertheless in 1906 under the benevolent guidance of Sir Harry H. Johnston, the English explorer, Liberia tried again. She contracted to ~~to borrow through~~ under write the bond of an English company of which Johnston was a director. This company borrowed ~~another~~ $500,000 of which $150,000 was to pay Liberian floating debts, $150,000 for roads and other enterprises to be built and carried out by this English "Liberian Development Company;" and the balance was to go to the Liberian government The Development Company spent $163,882 on fifteen miles of dirt road, received $35,000 more for other enterprises and ended in complete bankruptcy and failure. The result was that Liberia paid $500,000 for less than $300,000 and was left still without transportation or adequate capital.

38-12-345

England considered that this was the end. In 1908 her consul at Monrovia, Braithwaite Wallis, told the Liberian Government that Great Britain "does not consider Liberia stable or effective." The real motive here was clear. Liberia in 1908 despite her losses was improving. Her customs revenue was $230,580 in 1890, and $376,684 in 1907-8. Her exports amounted to $899,569 in 1908 consisting of palm kernels and oil ($490,276)

Piassava ($184,937) and coffee ($134,238); but (and here was the rub) German tonnage entering Liberia had been slowly but steadily encroaching on English trade and in 1907 bore 54% and in 1908, 55% of the total tonnage entering Liberian ports. German merchants were dominating Liberian internal teade and if England wished to be certain of rich Liberia it was time to act. Already she had once induced the United States to join her in a warning directed toward Germany and protesting against further German aggression. Now she set the stage rapidly. First the announcement; then a British Receiver of Customs to get the finances in her hands. Then a British officer, Captain Mackay-Mackay, to command a new Frontier force. He proceeded to put his men in English uniform, incorporated British subjects from Sierra Leone into the force and fortified barracks outside Monrovia. Then he staged a riot by soldiers demanding back pay. After that it would be a matter of minutes to "pacify" and annex.

Indeed, Agadir, fancie person

38-12-346

But the scheme did not work. It was not to no purpose that Liberians had for fifty years put their talent in state-craft. They spoke sweetly to the soldiers and there was no riot. They spoke firmly to captain Mackay-Mackay and after much bluster and hesitation he resigned and then—trump card—Liberia appealed not to America but to the American Negro.

There was controversy in the little state - strong English and American parties. But America prevailed. They called it appealing to America. But in reality they approached America through colored Americans and colored Americans responded. Their delegation secured the sympathetic hearing of Booker Washington then at the height of his influence. For the first time in fifty years America heard of Liberia without the disturbing medium of European propaganda. And the reason was that their delegation just before a Presidential Campaign in which the black man had a big handful of votes. President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Taft were most gracious. A commission of inquiry to consist of Mr. Wash-

Indeed, that same "Panther" which started the Great War, by visiting Agadir, at one time entered the port of Monrovia and because of a fancied slight compelled the whole Liberian cabinet to come down in person and apologize to the arrogant commander.

ington and two prominent white men was planned. But Mr. Washington finally decided to send his secretary together with an economic expert and a trained teacher.

The result was a comprehensive and encouraging report, a new loan to consolidate and refund all the old loans and an international receivership to balance Liberia's budget. This latter was an American sop to white solidarity. America could easily have loaned the $1,700,000 to Liberia - but she let England and France share and saddled three salaries on the little state. Beyond and despite this there was the distinct feeling that America was about to assume protectorate over Liberia and that England must step aside. The immediate improvement showed how far Liberia's plight was a matter of apprehension and nerves. Liberia's revenues arose from $392,990 in 1909 to $490,401 in 1912.

38-12-247

Then came the war. It is quite fashionable to suppose that Liberia's part in the war was a bit of comic opera. Was it? Liberia had three hundred miles of coast line facing the Atlantic with three or more harbors. The Germans had the bulk of her foreign trade and considerable property investments and Germany undoubtedly had plans for Liberia. Possibly she and England and France had talked the matter over after Agadir. Liberia might easily have become a military and naval base calculated at least to prolong the war. So the allies ordered Liberia to risk her existence and endure four years of semi-starvation in order to keep Germany from using her harbors and resources. Liberia had to obey. She was, however, promised compensation in the shape of a war loan of five millions from the United States coupled with a vague but fairly clear guarantee of her territorial integrity and independence. But there was a string attached. A white Southern American, of no ability or vision, was under the guise of "Adviser" to become the real ruler of Liberia. Liberia declined. She declined softly and coaxingly; she pointed out the provisions of her constitution and begged concessions. Woodrow Wilson was obdurate and Liberia sent her president to Washington after Harding's election. He was not invited to dine at

the White House but he was treated courteously and given a hard but considerably modified loan contract. He returned home and waited. Liberia was breathless. In the back wash of after war world misery she could do nothing - start nothing, plan nothing, only wait. And then the loan failed in the Senate. It was a bitter political campaign which faced the disappointed leader of a disappointed land.

Call the Liberians grafters, thieves and fools till you are red in the face and then just let this little fact sink into your system; Liberia could have had five million dollars from Woodrow Wilson in 1918 for the small return of surrendering her independence to America and she refused. Liberia could have had millions in cash from England, France and Germany for surrendering her independence at any time and she refused. All of which shows that there is something in Liberia that money cannot buy which is true neither in England, France or America.

38-12-348

What is the matter with Liberia? She has been in grave difficulties. She is in grave difficulties. The reasons are perfectly clear and it is ridiculous and childish to refer them to race and color, except insofar as this very superstition has alienated possible friends and armed her enemies.

Liberia's case is that of the small country of rich resources dependent on foreign trade for existence and cheerfully cheated coming and going by organized big businesses with hope that she will be compelled to surrender her resources of materials and labor cheaply and turn huge profits into big cities like London, Berlin and Paris.

The solution is equally simple: Liberia must by self-denying become self-supporting, sell her surplus for capital and refuse to borrow except on decent terms. This Liberia can do if her integrity and independence are guaranteed.

The fate of Liberia is fateful for all Africa. If Liberia is allowed to add industrial efficiency to the political independence which she has maintained, Africa must and will become in time a collection of black states with larger and larger degrees of self-government, attached to European states by ties of language and education, lines of communication and patriotic motives, as strong as each nation wills. If Liberia succumbs to the choking pressure of European imperialism and capitalistic greed and sinks to the status of a crown colony governed by white men for the primary benefit of white folk, with ignorance and color caste and mock religion as the persistent and deliberate method, then, barring a grant of independence to black men elsewhere, for a century Africa will continue to smoulder in slavery and die in the swamps until the black race is extinct or its remnants absorbed or its freedom regained in red and awful rebellion.

38-12-349

America planted Liberia with mingled fine and sordid motives. America rescued Liberia from English repacity in 1909. America today at the cost of a mere gesture, can insure the political integrity and economic independence of Liberia through the combined efforts of black Americans and Liberians. Could there be a more sincere and promising effort to solve our Negro problems?

By the migration of all black Americans? Nonsense—by the migration of none; but by the migration from our silly heads of the idea that Liberia's difficulties are racial; they are not racial but economic, and of the same kind as the difficulties of working people everywhere.

COMMERCIAL JIM CROW

There is no doubt of the pitfalls and dangers in the use of any such weapon as race pride and race organization. No one need remind me of this. I am all too painfully aware of this. Nevertheless, without it, the Jewish race, for instance, would have been swept from the face of the earth. It is today their rock in a weary land.

But there is one aspect of segregation which is under our control which we grievously neglect, and that is the deliberate use of segregation and race effort for commercial purposes. There is, for instance, the Negro leader who for money and other considerations suggest that people do not push themselves, and that agitation against discrimination be mild. There is the much more subtle form several times manifest at Fisk University, when Rotarians and movie houses invite Fisk singers to sing at places where there is manifest and continuous race segregation, and where the consideration is not simply pay, but bitter race relations. In cases like this, there is nothing to gain and everything to lose by submitting to segregation. The argumen that this may lead to better understanding is specious because it can easily be arranged in other ays, so that white folk can hear Negro music. The line, then, in cases like this, is easily drawn. No voluntary submission to segregation and discrimination unless it is absolutely clear that the protection and salvation of the race depends upon separate organization and separate effort.

20-25-65

Fisk University 1924 - [illegible]

Several times during the last years disquieting news has come from Fiak University. Nevertheless alumni and friends have kept uneasy silence because Fisk was in the throes of gathering a desperately needed endowment and it seemed unfair and unwise to raise a disturbing voice at so critical a time. At present, however, it seems that the success of the effort to raise a [redacted] million dollars endowment for Fisk University is assured and perhaps this is for that very reason the day of days to utter a protest, a plea and a warning.

22-1-42

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The Negro college occupies an anomalous position. It is by tradition disliked by the surrounding white community which possesses the political and economic power. It is supported mainly by white northern philanthropy, which is more and more organized and systematised, and more and more, through social and economic bonds, drawn under the influence and even the domination of the white South. On the other hand the natural constituency of the Negro college - the alumni, parents and students, former students and colored friends, are too poor and will for generations remain too poor to support unaided so large and costly institutions as colleges and universities; nor have they the political power to compel state support.

One of the first tasks then of the president of the Negro college has come to be the placate of white Southern public opinion. On the other hand the donors naturally put great stress upon self help and they easily became contemptuous of the alumni of an institution like Fisk because they do so little to support the institution. In turn the alumni finding themselves neglected and forgotten in turn promptly forget their alma mater. The students and their parents pay increasingly large sums toward their education but even this was but a small part of the total cost of that education, and the faculty and president came to look upon their black

students with something of the disdain which the world has long used toward charity ~~schools~~ students. If the students complained, what right had they to complain? Were they not getting something for nothing and if they did not like what was being given to them let them go elsewhere and provide for themselves. Finally the thought and development of colored students in such institutions must be guarded; they must not become radical; they must not depart far from the "Tuskegee" idea; they must be made to avoid the teachings of The Crisis.

3-1-43

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Fisk University is such a Negro college. It was founded in Reconstruction days and its first president was Erastus Cravath. Cravath was an unusual man - big physically, broad mentally, with vision and human understanding. He was succeeded at his death in 1900 by two well meaning but superannuated ministers under whom the institution drifted aimlessly. In 1915, Fayette A. McKenzie was called to the presidency from the Chair of Sociology in Ohio State University. Mr. McKenzie was a teacher rather than an administrator; but unfortunately his whole energy had to go to raising funds to keep the institution from suffering actual physical collapse over his head. He found buildings in decay, sewerage and sanitation needed, apparatus wanting, salaries low, debts piling and almost no endowment. He put his whole energy into raising funds and succeeded in extricating the institution from debt, repairing the buildings and installing sanitary devices, equipping some of the laboratories, raising some of the salaries and above all, in practically finishing the raising of a $1,000,000. endowment. This is an accomplishment for which President McKenzie deserves unstinted praise and credit; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the cost of this effort has been tremendous - so great in fact that some of us fear seriously for the future of Fisk University.

A part of the cost was perhaps inevitable. It involved the serious impairment of the President's own health and the neglect of his duties as

administrator and teacher. This has been true in many other unfortunate American institutions and will continue to be true so long as we make the presidents of our institutions money gatherers instead of teachers of youth. Perhaps this is sufficient explanation of the fact that President McKenzie became irritable and suspicious in temper; that his method of dealing with students was by continual scolding and threatening; that he became suspicious not only of students but of faculty, alumni and of friends; and that his rule at Fisk became a series of rules and prohibitions laid upon prohibitions and rules - all of them seasoned with periodical threats to resign unless he received absolute obedience.

32-1-44

Behind this came another series of actions which again while not justifiable were explicable: In order to get attention from the General Education Board and rich northerners, he felt that he had to make friends with the white South. For twenty years the white South has been dictating to the philianthropic North the method and channels of its gifts to Negro education and social uplift. Every southern institution has felt this. But Dr. McKenzie went, as it seems to us, beyond the necessities of the situation. He kow-towed to the white South; he made the University organ which he established (the Fisk News)one of the most abject and whining of the organs which seek to placate the forces dominant to-day in the South. He and his shadow, Isaac Fisher, sickened and alienated the alumni, the parents of students and the colored friends of the institution by giving all their thought and attention to the white South, by even arranging "Jim Crow" entertainment for white visitors and neglecting and apparently forgetting that there was a colored world to which Fisk University primarily belonged.

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Beyond the necessary and explicable costs of President McKenzie's efforts followed others which were utterly indefensible. They had to do primarily with the throttling of initiative and freedom on the part of the students:

The Fisk Herald, the oldest student publication among Negro institutions and one of the oldest in the United States, was summarily discontinued, taken from student control and made over into the Fisk News edited by the President and a teacher. Athletics were curbed and controled and are to-day threatened with absolute extinction. While Fraternities have been growing and are admitted in every other colored institution, they have not only been sternly excluded from Fisk but even the ordinary clubs and literary societies have been harassed with rules and faculty interference. The women students are treated with continual suspicion and the enrollment of men has for the last few years, been steadily decreasing. When, for instance, the representatives of the European Youth Movement came to Fisk University, the President would not allow them to meet with the students except he was present. The tone of the catalogue and letters is forbidding to newcomers rather than inviting; and repeatedly the President is in the habit of telling the students: "If you don't like it here, get out." It is in vain that students appeal to the faculty, parents and alumni. No such outside interference is allowed much less welcomed.

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Is it fair to blame the President for this attitude? Not wholly. Standing behind him and partly in the background is the son of the first President, Paul D. Cravath. Paul Cravath is a rich corporation lawyer living in New York, and he is in many ways typical of the present northern philanthropist in his relation to the Negro. He is by tradition and personally friendly to colored people; he has gone out of his way to help them in individual cases; but he does not know them; he does not really understand their problems and he does not try to understand them. For every educated colored man that he has ever known, he knows intimately and sympathetically a hundred southern whites. On the whole he agrees with the southern white attitude toward black, except, of course, in its extremes of lynching and mob

violence.

Mr. Cravath's attitude has been repeatedly illustrated by his speeches. Recently he spoke in Cleveland to help in the raising of the Fisk endowment. He is reported to have said, in quotation marks, in the Cleveland Times of June 2nd, 1923, "The only solution to the Negro problem is complete segregation, and the building up of a separate Negro society. To do this it is necessary we educate Negro leaders to build and maintain that society." It has been explained by some that Mr. Cravath in this speech was not advocating a solution but simply stating a fact but whatever he was stating, he stated it unfortunately.

37-1-46

It has been Paul Cravath who, through his wide acquaintance with the rich and powerful, has made it possible for President McKenzie to raise the money which he has raised, and for Fisk University to survive. Indeed it would seem that the future of the University financially depended much on Mr. Cravath's continued interest and cooperation. For this reason it has been intimated by many that no word of criticism should be uttered against the administration of Fisk University lest the sympathy of Mr. Cravath be alienated. We doubt this, but even if it were true, we would rather see Fisk University dead than proceeding for another decade in its present path.

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Fisk University is needed to train human beings and not simply as a prop to "Jim Crow" legislation or to the social segregation of races. This should be stated and without equivocation by every friend of the Negro lest other and more sinister interpretations be put upon present facts.

I wish the father of Paul Cravath had heard that Cleveland speech. I wish he could have bent the dark burning eyes, I so well remember, loaded with their great bushy eyebrows upon the man who represents him on earth to-day. He would have said some things in his deep, slow voice

that Paul Cravath needs to hear. This son owes something to that father; he owes it to him not to ruin academic freedom at Fisk University; to develope there men and not obedient puppies; he owes it to Fisk University to develope music and art and the things of the spirit rather than simply to placate the Bourbons; he owes it to Fisk not to flout the alumni and the black constituency simply because they cannot give to Fisk University as much as he and his rich friends can and ought to give.

32-1-47

Fisk University can yet be saved, but to do this calls for courage and action. It calls for the self-assertion of the alumni. They should demand representation upon the Trustee Board and not mere hand-picked representation. They should demand freedom and reasonable autonomy for students. They should demand the restoration of the Fisk Herald in student hands and the elimination of Isaac Fisher. They should demand that Fisk University become a free seat of learning and neither a convent nor a jail, not a seat of Bourbon propaganda.

On the other hand the lure of the tropics has Europe in its thrall like hashish: it fills its imagination, warms its cold and stagnant blood, makes its old men see visions and its young men dream dreams. With all its top lofty air of disdain at inefficient Latins and lazy "niggers," it knows that they have found in dirt and poverty what busy Northern Europe never found, peace and joy and kinship with bird and beast and sky.

So the modern world hesitates like a jackass between comfortless joy and joyless comfort and sees no end save slavery of color or the overthrow of all that Europe has builded.

And yet there are forces - ~~vast forces~~ - working toward a synthesis of East and West, of North and South. First there is new Germany. In the armistice Germany leaned on Wilson's word and he failed her. Then she turned toward England and sought a great Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian-German alliance against France and Latin Europe. England moved, hesitated and this was lost. Today Germany seeks alliance and industrial alliance. She is a great manufacturing and trading country. Her ships are links in an inter-imperial and inter-racial trade. While English ships feed English colonies and French ships French, Germany serves all. She is the best and best-liked trader among black and brown and her immediate future lies in this conquest of good will among all races. If the industrial alliance into which France has forced her in the Ruhr endures, the future exploitation of Africa will be German-French rather than English. On the other hand the New Russia whether the Bolsheviki succeed or fail at present, has held a new ideal of work and wage before the world so long that the Labor parties of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, England, and America must take it into account and seek to realize as much of this program as is possible. And Russia has proclaimed with no wavering word the inter-racial as well ax international solidarity of the workers. The League

capable of speaking for himself. To realize the significance of this one has but to remember that less than twenty-five years ago a conference of friends of the Negro could meet at Lake Mohonk to discuss his problems without a single Negro present. And even later than that great magazines could publish symposiums on the "Negro" problem without thinking of inviting a single Negro to participate. Again, a revolution is happening under out eyes with regard to lynching. For forty years not less than a Negro a week and sometimes as many as five a week have been lynched in order to enforce race inferiority by terrorism. Suddenly this number in 1923 was cut in half and it looks as though the record of 1924 was going to be not more than one negro lynched each month and all this was due primarily to the trememdous onslaught of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against lynching and their broadcasting of the facts. Finally and just as important is the new national policy as to immigration, born of war. This policy is seemingly a tremendous triumph of the "Nordics" and not only cuts down the foreign immigration to the United States from 1,000,000 a year to 160,000 but also seeks to exclude the Latins and Jews and openly to insult Asiatics. Now despite this, American Negroes are silently elated at this policy. As long as the northern lords of industry could import cheap, white labor from Europe they could encourage the color line in industry and leave the Negroes as peons and serfs at the mercy of the white South. But today with the cutting down of foreign immigration the Negro becomes the best source of cheap labor for the industries of the white land. The bidding for his services gives him a tremendous sword to wield against the Bourbon South and by means of wholesale migration he is wielding it. But note again the extraordinary bed fellows involved in this paradox; Negeo laborers, white capitalists and "Nordic" fanatics against Latin Europe, Southern task

31-9-11

masters, labor unions, Jews and Japanese!

Led by American Negroes the Negroes of the world are reaching out hands toward each other to know, to sympathize, to inquire. There are few countries without their few Negroes, few great cities without its group and thus with this Pan Africa - spread as it is in all lands and languages - with this great human force the world must one day reckon. It is idle to think of them longer as upper beasts and children; only fools American Universities are still teaching the eternal inferiority of the black race. Other men know that the Black Man is Homo Sapiens, as brawny and with as big a brain as white man or yellow, and capable of the same development. Inferior individuals and individuals inferior in certain gifts and aptitudes appear in all races and nations, and groups may here more swiftly and there more slowly eliminate types unfit for certain emergencies and certain situations; but there are no "inferior" races of men. We face then in the modern black American the black West Indian, the black Frenchman, the black Portuguese, the black Spaniard and the black African a man gaining in knowledge and power and in the definite aim to end color slavery and give black folk a knowledge of modern culture.

31-9-10

There are those who see in the movement only danger -- only the silly agitation of would-be fomenters of trouble. They discount it, laugh at it and secretly and openly obstruct it. When the Pan-African Congress planned to meet in Brussells all the industrial exploiters of the Belgian Congo united to misrepresent its objects, distort its actions and punish its local supporters. When the same congress met in France the strong pressure was evident to keep it from any interference with the investment of French capital in Africa. When the Congress met in England it was dubbed "French" in sympathy and anarchistic in tendency. And yet slowly but surely the movement grows

and the day faintly dawns when the new force for international understanding and racial readjustment will and must be felt.

To some persons,— to more human beings than ever before at one time in the world's history, there came during the Great War, during those terrible years of 1917 and 1918, a vision of the Glory of Sacrifice, a dream of a world greater, sweeter, more beautiful and more honest than ever before; a world without war, without poverty and without hate.

It came to me. I am glad it came. Even though it was a mirage it was eternally true. Today some faint shadow of it comes to me again.

My ship seeks Africa. Ten days we crept across the Atlantic; five days we sailed to the Canaries. And then turning we sought the curve of that mighty and fateful shoulder of gigantic Africa. Slowly, slowly we creep down the coast in a little German cargo boat. Yonder behind the horizon is Cape Bojador whence in 1441 came the brown moors and black moors who through the slave trade built America and modern commerce and let loose the furies on the world. Another day afar we glide past Dakar, city and center of French Senagal. Thereupon we fall down, down to the burning equator past the Guinea and Gambia, to where the Lion mountain glares, toward the vast gulf whose sides are lined with Silver and Gold and Ivory. And now we stand before Liberia. Liberia that is a little thing set upon a Hill;— thirty or forty thousand square miles and two million folk; but it represents to me the world. Here political power has tried to resist the power of modern capital. It has not yet succeeded but its partial failure is not because the republic is black but because the world has failed in this same battle: because organized industry owns and rules England, France, Germany, America and Heaven. And can Liberia escape the power that rules the world? I do not know; but I do know unless the world escapes, the world

31-9-9

as well as Liberia will die; and if Liberia lives it will be because the World is re-born as in that vision splendid of 1918.

And thus again in 1924 as in 1899 I seem to see the problem of the 20th century as the Problem of the Color Line.

31-9-8

I regret that F. D. R. was ill with
mumps that Saturday night, so that
meant all the Hall Commissioners, each
that + that my check
Mississippi spell bender May
cannot that action is
does that almost always with

my but racial fairness - here not that
all Democrats from + personal grounds
they may [illegible] me goal The
[illegible] in my mind that
[illegible] never have stopped to
but may be used [illegible]
[illegible] ahead [illegible]

Marcus
47 rue Brancion
XV

Schaudinn
Berlin

Von Vechten
Penn Alexander 5-6

Stevenson
Adlai Stevenson
Princeton
Illinois
Hickory Hill
Kellen
Counties

1925

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its Fifteenth Annual Conference looks back with a certain pride upon its record. There was a time when American Negroes said "We cannot organize; we cannot unite; we cannot present a firm front to our enemies." This today is no longer true.

Here is an organization which is spending $112,000 a year for the uplift of the American Negro and over three quarters of the money which it spends is furnished by American Negroes. Of this money $63,500 is contributed by members for the objects of the Association and it is expending one half for the salaries of 15 persons who give all their time to the work and one half for publicity, legal expenses, anti-lynching, rent, postage, printing, travel, etc. The balance of $48,5000 is paid by subscribers to The Crisis and advertisements in its pages, and was spent to publish The Crisis Magazine. 40% of it went to the salaries of 11 persons who give all their time to the publication of the magazine, not including the 700 agents who made 6¢ on every copy of The Crisis sold. The other 60% went for paper, printing, engraving, rent, postage, supplies, etc. These are the mechanics of the situation.

37-9-97

What has been the result of this money and effort? In a single year 500 cases of legal defense came to us. We have defended those involving race discrimination as far as possible. We have saved men from lynching; we have delivered victims from jail and even from the hangman's noose; we have protected hard-earned property, defended the rights of and upheld the sanctity of Negro womanhood. We have fought privilege and killed unjust laws. We have defended the right to vote and opposed the ghetto in home and school.

Particularly has this organization initiated and led the campaign that reduced lynching from 5 or 6 victims a month to less than 1 a month and thus brought an end to this barbarous horror in sight.

The record of the Association in this respect and in the Houston Riots, the Elaine, Arkansas Peons and the segregation cases alone, more than justify its existence.

But we have only begun. Out of 12 or more millions of Negroes less than 10% contribute to our support. Out of 100 million white Americans less than 1/10th of 1% are interested in our work or actually sympathetic with our aims. We must work and work long and vigorously to recruit members and supporters for this method of establishing Democracy in America. And for this purpose we must emphasize not only what we have done but state clearly what we aim to accomplish.

37-9-98

We have before us today five major aims: 1. the complete abolition of lynching and mob law; 2. political freedom; 3. Industrial democracy; 4. better education; 5. the absolute ending of segregation of all sorts based on race and color.

Let no one think that lynching is stopped in America as long as one victim every month is publicly murdered and even burned by mobs.

There is no political salvation for the Negro as long as he is owned body and soul by the Republican Party or by any other party. A free, intelligent ballot is our one political salvation and no place, honor or salary is worth its loss.

We stretch again hands of fellowship and sympathy to all the working people of this land and the world. We would unite with them as equals and as fellows, striving through organization to make modern industry democratic rather than autocratic, to end monopoly and privilege and credit and capital and to make social welfare rather than individual wealth the end of all industry.

We are deeply alarmed at the lack of common schools for our children and we see wide-spread effort to deny us high school training and to keep our talented youth out of colleges and professional schools.

We believe in Humanity; we believe in the social equality of all men; we will fight to the bitter end every effort to separate, segregate and publicly humiliate human beings of any kind, because of race or color. We oppose anti inter-marriage laws because they degrade women, foster prostitution and exalt bastardy. We oppose separate schools for races or classes except where civilization is too backward to foster any education without that. We oppose unfair immigration restrictions aimed at Jews, Latins and Asiatics, and we oppose every act, custom and law which makes social insult the price of peace and opportunity.

Let every American, white and black, who believes in this kind of American democracy rally to our banners and support our cause.

37-9-66

Liberia

# Firestone in Liberia

As soon as Solomon Porter Hood reached Liberia as United States Minister he became acquainted with the failure of the Liberia Development Company, an English organization, to develop the rubber concession of 1300 acres which they had received from the government. The government was willing to lease these lands to anyone who would undertake the raising of rubber. Dr. Hood wrote to two colored banks in Philadelphia and a colored insurance society in North Carolina, putting the possibilities before them. None of these organizations even answered his letters. He made reports to the Department of State bringing to their attention that the United States was using 70% of the rubber of the world while England controlled 93% of the production and that Liberia was a place where rubber could be grown. He also wrote to Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone.

Mr. Ford replied referring him to Mr. Firestone. Mr. Firestone did not reply but he sent to the Department of State and secured all of Dr. Hood's reports and then within about three months he sent a rubber expert representing him to Liberia. This expert looked at the forests that had been planted and stayed a month examining other lands in Liberia, and reported that there were good possibilities of raising rubber. Thereupon another expert was sent out by the Firestone Company to draw up contracts for planting. He found the Liberian Government in a receptive attitude. They wanted the rubber industry established. They hoped that some of their own people might take part. They were willing to lease as much land as the Firestone Company wanted on easy terms and they were to be repaid by a tax upon the exported rubber.

When these contracts reached America they were changed for this reason: Mr. Firestone realized that harbor and transportation facilities in Liberia must be provided and for this reason he inserted in the con-

tracts a proviso for a loan to Liberia out of which these improvements would be made. To this Liberia objected. She said that she was willing to borrow money from an independent group of bankers in which the Firestone Company could have a part, but that it was not wise to borrow money directly from the concessionaire. Liberia was afraid that any concession of this sort to a powerful foreign corporation might in some way eventually infringe her autonomy.

Negotiations stretched over several weeks. During this time Minister Hood visited the United States and conferred with Mr. Firestone and received assurances that Mr. Firestone wanted to do the best thing for Liberia and while his company was there to make money, that that wasn't their sole object. When Minister Hood returned in April 1924 the Liberian Government was still discussing the question of this loan.

37-9-2

Finally in July,1925 Secretary of State Barclay was sent over to confer with Mr. Firestone and with the Department of State as the guest of Mr. Firestone. Due to this visit the details of a loan of $2,500,000 with the privilege of making it $5,000,000 was settled, the loan to be negotiated through the National City Bank. Also, the question of arbitration of an possible disputes between the Liberian Government and the Firestone Company was taken up. In the contracts any such dispute was to be referred to the United States as arbitrator. To this Liberia objected and as finally arranged, such matters were to be arbitrated by the League of Nations. This was the final form in which the agreement was brought back to Liberia and in this form it has been accepted. In the first contract also, the Financial Receiver was given an amount of power to which the Liberian Government objected. This was also changed.

Meantime Minister Hood was compelled to return to the United States on account of an attack of African fever but is recovered and will

resume his post in Liberia next July. When Minister Hood returns, Mr. Paige Clark who was sent as Charge-de-Affairs and Consul-General will return. Also, it is interesting to note that Dr. Hood's salary has been increased from $5000 to $10,000.

37-9-3

c 1925

## Harvard and Democracy

Yesterday, I was delving among old papers to see what the mice had eaten and left, when I came across a bit of note paper which I had long treasured. It was from Ninety-Five Irving Street, Cambridge. I well remember that study: long, low and cheerful in its disorder; spacious so that the Master could walk to and fro in his nervous thinking and talking. The note invited "Dear Mr. Du Bois" to a "philosphical supper" and it was written in his own hand and signed, "Yours truly, William James." There were other yellow paper bits of the sort: from President Eliot; "to meet Col. T. W. Higginson;" from Royce, from Charles Elliot Norton, and from the daughters of Prof. Child, and from a score of others. What a vista these little things opened up to me in those days, thirty years ago!

I was a crude, brown youth, deeply opinionated, painfully aware of my color and race; indeed I had raised this incident of my personal appearance to be a fetich and I was fanatical in its worship, in its defense and in the dreaming of dreams about it. I have often since marvelled as to why these teachers stooped so generously to give me exceptional fellowship and contact, and helped me so abundantly to find myself. I had just come from a three years' life in the South and had learned to accept the absolute division of this universe into black and white. I not only fiercely held to no desire to cross the color lines but rather gloried in my isolation. And then these teachers of Harvard college lifted me to a larger world, so that groping, standing, walking, I began to trace new values in life and to see the thing which I called my "Problem," less narrowly and more splendidly, as a part of life. I had started into this "white college" with a definite and determined idea of seeking no friendships, of simply using the place as a laboratory of iron and steel

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where I could ~~know more~~ learn of the things which awed, and lured and interested me.

But the simple comradship of my teachers led me out of myself; and after a year or so, timidly but less effectively, I let myself know a few of my white fellow students. I boarded a year at Memorial and then, that being too costly, I joined Foxcroft. Dormitory experience was far beyond my means.

37-3-82

For four years this education went on — a training in democracy rising from beneath as contrasted with the training that some of my fellow students were getting from above. As I look back upon it now, I doubt not that they too got a good deal simply from my presence. There was the Southerner who sat beside me in Shaler's class and the North Carolinian (who afterwards rose to a president's cabinet) ~~and~~ to whom I was regularly introduced at these little social functions about six times a year. He squirmed but he squirmed like a gentleman. And so, we passed out into the world with many close friendships and precious memories. So far as I know, none of us by marrying each others' sisters, have crossed the color line; but we have crossed lines infinitely more meaningful.

In the nineties, Harvard was facing two problems and both of them gave her much hard thought. First, there was the problem of the democratic basis of the Harvard student family. It had long been true that the Boston Brahmins formed the real Harvard. They alone entered the "Hasty Pudding", they rowed on the crew, they marshalled class-day throngs. There was something outside the caste but not much worth noticing. But the Harvard of the nineties had begun a movement to see if this great institution of culture could not cease to be provincial and appeal to a wider constituency throughout the land; and in furtherance of all this, they sought to have some ~~thing~~ folk besides State Street Bostonians put upon the governing boards. They were widely successful; in a quarter of a

century, Harvard became a national institution instead of a Back Bay annex. Feelers and fellowships went West and South and one of them brought me to this alma mater. It was not only that I received Price Greenleaf's monies but I was actually made to feel that Harvard wanted me. This new excursion into democracy had behind it at that time no thought of any repudiation of elect Puritanism but rather expressed the fine confidence of Mayflower descendants in the ability of Puritan culture to give itself to all, and yet maintain something of individuality and much of preeminence.

The second problem that bothered Harvard in those days was the problem of college "spirit", of a collective and ~~destructive~~ distinctive Harvard soul. The elective system has enriched the individual but it had played havoc with the college.. Students felt themselves in those days, not as "Harvard Men" but as specialists in chemistry or geology or history. The last refuge of the Harvard spirit was in the exclusive clubs and fraternities and there was very grave danger that these, representing as they did but a minority of the actual students and of the real interests of the institution, would come to be mistaken for, or rather to mistake themselves for the whole of the institution as far as it was worth while; and that what we then called the "long-haired grinds" would be spiritually disfranchised despite their infinite meaning. ~~Hitherto~~ Theoretically Harvard had rather prided herself that she was not, like Yale, a federation of fraternities; but it was easily seen that she would come to be; that if exclusive fraternities continued to monopolize her best corporate life, opposition fraternities would leap into being. And this, the Harvard of that day did not want.

We all know the lure of the fraternity system. I sat at a little fraternity dinner in Williams, the other day: fine young fellows, thoughtfully selected, carefully groomed, meticulously trained; of course no boy of mine could ever had joined ~~here~~ there - thank God! for no boy of mine should

if he could, if I could help it. It was hot-house business and not sturdy manhood or democracy; it was dodging life and not knowing it; it was training men for America by making them strangers to the life of most Americans.

3-3-54

So at Harvard the community college life was beginning to go. Grew The ~~The~~ class spirit was being forgotten with the class colors. Once at Newport a man slapped me heartily upon the back and then apologized when he saw my pained surprise::"I am a classmate of yours," he explained grinning. I had never seen him before. ~~So~~ Various efforts were made to increase college feeling, class feeling, general standards of honor and demeanor. I remember the distinguished member of the Board of Overseers, in the Sever Auditorium who tried to put over on us something like compulsory chapel by majority vote. Somehow, somewhere, he pleaded, Harvard must meet Harvard and sit together and know itself. This problem was not settled in my day, but there were plain signs that it must be settled. The Class of '90, which very seldom met as a class, found itself in the midst of sharp revolt in the election of its graduation time officials. The Brahmins and Fraternities were having things too much their own way. The revolt wavered and finally took shape after the election of the marshalls, when the crowd whirling, elected Morgan, a full blooded Negro, as class orator. For a while, the nation rang of this evidence of new Harvard democracy and for years after, colleges and Prep Schools hunted around for a black boy whom they could make class orator. It became quite a fad.

The problem of letting human beings know and understand each other both in college and out, is, without doubt, a baffling one. And yet for the spread of culture, for the propagation of ideals, for the growth of human sympathy, for the success of democratic government, nothing ever can or will take its place. It is the way in which civilization has spread in the past -- the contact of men hitherto unknown to each other.

At the same time hundreds of young people coming together in college must make many acquaintances which, on one side at least, ~~are~~ seem "undesirable". And the fear of this, leads to college snobbery as it does to snobbery cruelty and war out in the world. Yet, in sheer self-defense and for the preservation of our institutions, there must be in college the semi-compulsory, personal touch; and the net result is bound to be the lifting of the level of the college man, not up to the highest but far above the lowest; and if the average be not lifted, there is no hope for the highest. It was with this in mind that Harvard established its Freshmen dormitories, a decade and more after my day.

Into these dormitories as through a preparatory mold, the mass of the freshmen, and indeed in theory, all freshmen were to pass. They were to know each other and they were to know Harvard; and they were to enter the higher years of their college training with a spirit and a standard that would make the Harvard man. It was a fine idea and ideal; and into the Harvard freshmen dormitories, colored and white, Irish, Puritan, Jew American and Asiatic went.

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For three reasons this Harvard idea of democracy was bound to undergo revision in the 20th century: In my day, a Negro at Harvard was a rarity. Seldom were there more than one or two in a class and usually none. When I went this year to speak to the Liberal Club, the colored students invited me to breakfast, and I saw, to my astonishment, forty of them. That was one reason. Then, there was this Liberal Club. Its nucleus was a band of bright, eager, radical Jews. They represented the resurgent hordes of Russia and the East and they were bound West, searching for New Freedom.

Meantime, and thirdly in these same years, the conservatism of Harvard had grown. ~~stiffened~~. Eliot, with all his stiffness, was after all a man of tremendous breadth of vision. His heart might coldly err but his intellect never. ~~Though~~ Once, years since, he said, frankly, that if ever the number of Negroes at

Harvard greatly increased, segregation or non-admission might come; but when The shadow of it came, he stood up like a man and pronounced it false Harvard doctrine. Lawrence Lowell is of different make — narrower, less sympathetic, less broadly human. He belongs to that growing band of New England Americans who fear democracy. They went out of their way to encourage Booker Washington and his ideas of meekness and surrender for Nggroes. They have developed almost a hatred for Irish Catholics and they fear the new onrush of Jews. Thus singularily enough, on a loftier plane and with both less and more of masking, esoteric New England has landed on the exact platform of the Ku Klux Klan. Or, looking backward, the blind leaders of the Klan have frankly what Harvard secretly fears ~~dimly~~ — color, ability and free competition ~~alien organization~~.

The real reason behind this is not far to seek. Back in the subconsciousness of Harvard New England to-day, there exists much less of that ~~xxxxxxx~~feeling of assured place, or of permanent commanding leadership ~~which~~ once prevailed. The gift of Puritan blood to the nation has been, still is, truly marvellous. But the flood is not inexhaustible, it has no superhuman origin, and, contrary to the religious tenets of Brookline, it is subject like all human forces to human degenwration, — degeneration being a thing, which contrary to popular belief, does not confine its ravages to the colored races or to the east sides of either London or New York. I have seen New England at its best and I have also known it at its worst. One town I once knew. It was "nordic" to the core for two and three long centuries; only in the 19th century had there come an alien element, the new Irish with a few half latinized South Germans. And yet, as I look back upon that town, I can see the hand of Hell hovering over it. The two Kelwins, wealthy factory owners, born to the purple: One of them a confirmed drunkard, and the other, father of a moron. Throughtout the village there was a predominance of the commonplace, the uneducated, the undiciplined; at the bottom the one town prostitute was English for a thousand years; and the two

37-3-96a

Without the leading of a great ideal, whether crudely religious
or broadly ethical, - without the dominance of a mighty ideal crass
ignorance and over sophistication fall repeatedly into the same ditch.

dirty hermits, and the several families of dead white half-wits represented terrible degeneration. It was not that there were no fine people there. There were here and there, some among the English and some among the ridiculed Irish. The ~~startling~~ outstanding fact was that the upper caste had no monopoly of worthy individuals and the lower strata had plenty of recruits from the top. This lower strata ~~was~~ formed a ragged, ignorant, drunken proletariat, grist for the dirty woolen mills, and the poor-house

And yet what happened? The town changed and developed; families threaded through families; the thirfty rose, the thriftless failed and failed and rose; some of the ignorant disappeared, some of the educated survived. You could not call it an English or an English-Dutch town to-day. You might call it English-Irish-Italian and find even other elements. And the thing that went on in that Massachusetts town is going on in New England, and in America.

I shall never forget my surprise at that school in Springfield where there was scarcely an English speaking student or a representative of the Nordic races. So in eastern Massachusetts, political power and ~~an large~~ increasing proportion of economic power is passing to the Irish and to the Italians; and there can be no doubt about it, Back Bay is frightened. I saw that fear once curiously expressed. At a Harvard class dinner, toward the end, the most distinguished member was finally asked to speak. He was a widely known American, with a European reputation, but he was not born to the New England purple. In college he was a poor"grind", unclubable. In blood he was white but Canadian, perhaps with a dash of Slavic. His speech was scarcely audible and few listened. They had to be more interested in the maudlin antics of a descendant of Mayflower pilgrims and Massachusetts governors who was gloriously drunk. And though they felt the discourtesy and disgrace, scarce a man dared express it. They were under the Tabu, and they laughed aloud uneasily.

—X—

Here then is the situation, the changing Harvard idea. Harvard to-day is no longer the Harvard of Shaler, the Southerner or Royce the Westerner or of James ~~the beloved~~ who belonged to the world. They have passed and with them, that fine, clear vision of democracy that lit the dying of the 19th century, there where the sordid world's Broadway runs into the old avenue of Massachusetts. And there has returned the Harvard that ~~tried to lynch Garrison~~ and that for years was heaven and home to the Doughface. Save one then, here and there, like Hart and Taussig and Channing, they have passed, those greater, clearer souls. God was good to ~~have~~ let me sit awhile at their feet and see the fair vision of a commonwealth of culture open to all creeds and races and colors.

The dominant Harvard of to-day believes that modern democracy is threatening the supremacy of the races and classes who in their opinion ought to inherit the earth. They would, if they dared, expel not only the Negro and the Jew from Harvard but the Irish and the Latin as well. The ~~la~~ter two classes they dare not touch, and the Jew can be handled only in so far as the class cleavage between the rich and long nationalized American Jews of German descent can be arraigned openly or tacitly against the new young radicals from Russia and the Balkans. But the Negro can be attacked because he is few in numbers comparatively, and economically but a generation removed from slavery. He is our one national element that can always be attacked with impunity and the attack is sure to bring wide spread applause. In the last drives for students in the South where both President Eliot and Lowell and other Harvard notables have frequently gone, the white South has been encouraged to demand its usual price. And so in the Harvard freshmen dormitories, southern white students must not be forced to live with Negroes.

It is a most unfortunate time for surrender to this particular sort of Southern demand. The South is not and never was Solid. It never

I think I am correct in saying that since President Lowell's advent Harvard stands alone among major colleges (I do not count Princeton) in never having invited to address any of its representative organizations (pace the Liberals) a single man of Negro blood save one and he the advocate of submission and segregation.

will be as long as it is human. The South has as a group repeatedly sinned against the Light and it is sinning to-day. But it has paid the bitter cost and it holds a just grievance against the North. For centuries, the better conscience of the South has tried to get aid and comfort in the North and has failed. When the South attacked the slave trade, the North fostered and fattened on it; when the South started ~~an~~ anti-slavery agitation the North replied by disfranchising and mobbing black men; when the South tried to colonise free Negroes, the North laughed at them. If, the South sought to show that the most prosperous and cultured part of the nation opposed slavery, immediately representatives of the wealth and civilization of the North -- of Harvard itself -- tried to lynch Garrison. When the South said slavery ~~is~~ was the cause of the Civil War, the North denied it and declared that union was its only object. If the better South ~~said~~ delivered that the democratic conscience of the nation demand~~s~~ed that at least the educated Negro be allowed to vote, the northern nation with discouraging unanimity ~~says~~ replied, We will not hinder you if you ~~will~~ disfranchise even colored college graduates. And to-day, when the best South tries to say that it is not a question of equality among the races but rather of equal opportunity for ~~the gifted~~ undistinguished, Harvard replies by slamming ~~the~~ her doors ~~of her Freshmen Dormitories~~ in the face of the Negro.

Not for a moment am I saying that these better vows of the South are or have been for ~~a~~ any moment long dominant or listened to; but who knows what they might not have become if, at critical times, they had been able to feel the aid and encouragement of the best of the nation instead of its hypocritical denial.

The present flurry may not mark the complete triumph of this new Harvard spirit. The dormitory muddle has evoked a splendid protest; but the spirit back of this ~~attack~~ reaction is strong and will live even after temporary ~~surrender~~ rebuff. We of the twentieth century have lost faith in democracy, and we never had faith in humanity. But humanity to-day, more broadly

self conscious than ever before, in its outer reaches is slowly achieving faith in itself. As this faith grows we are continually failing to give it aid and comfort just as we have always failed. When Europe in the Seven Years' War fought against Empire, we fought with it and established Prussia and England as owners of men. When Toussaint fought for freedom and the Mississippi valley, we stood with France and England for slavery. When France was in the throes Revolution, we broke our pledge to aid her; when England fought Napoleon, we fought England; when Europe tried to stop the slave trade, we protested it and when she abolished slavery, we made it the cornerstone of the Cotton Kingdom; when Europe extended the franchise to the laborers, we disfranchised the million black men by collusive fraud. We held aloof from the World War when a warning word from us might have stopped it; we laid down just terms of peace and ~~failed to insist upon them;~~ threw them overboard; and when we saw the peace treaty failing and new wars brewing we scuttled home and "observed" the wounded world from afar: thus in every great moral crisis we have hesitated and skulked. Even in the greatest — the center and dramatic climax of our history, the abolition of slavery, we were so ashamed of our real ideal that we denied it vociferously and vigorously before the world and our own souls.

Nor was the reason of all this difficult to see: behold the Hell of war, lifting its wounded bleeding head in Russia, lifting in India

"forests of hands to Beauty as in prayer"

twisting in African pain — everywhere human protest is threatening the Property and Income and Privilege of blond Europe. If the age of the great Louis wisely advised: "Cherchez la femme" for the untangling of puzzles in the 17th century, the age of Benin just as wisely bids us search to-day for the property income back of the acts of men and groups. And the economic interpretation of the Harvard Freshmen dormitories has its clearnesses: in the 18th Century New England and the South had the bitter economic rivalries of traders and farmers; the Cotton Kingdom began to build for them common property interests

When Asia and Africa, the West Indies, Hawaii, and all the star dotted isles of the sea stretched forth their hands to the God of Liberty and shrieked against slavery, oppression, rape and rum, we were satisfied with a vague religious gesture and hastened to join in the spoil of international theft.

until the rivalry for the ownership of the rich new land of the great West sent them to Civil War. Since that war, the extraordinary industrial development of the New South has been financed from Boston as a center, and the cotton mills of Lawrence and Lowell have expanded into Georgia and Carolina as well as into the governing board of Harvard. It was this economic nexus in mill and railroad and feeding plantation that let New England wink at disfranchisement if not at lynching and to-day in the nation it is New England and the South in economic alliance against the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast that spells our real political alignment.

Turning to the group disfranchised in the Black Belt and at Harvard, let us pause before it as ~~a persons~~ before a human being and not as a ~~group~~ "race". Roscoe Conkling Bruce, the father of the boy whom fate placed first before the closing door, is a graduate of Harvard and a Phi Beta Kappa man who gained renown in college on the debating team and in the Harvard Union. Long years hence when men look back ~~in astonishment~~ over centuries to the day when human souls were judged for eternity by the tint of their skins, they will scan the two letters of Bruce and Lowell with ~~astounded~~ baffled interest and say that by every criterion of political period, clear thought, keen logic and studied restraint the words of Roscoe Bruce stand unmeasurably above the words of the President of Harvard college. And they will ask in astonishment: How is it possible for this man to call that man "inferior"? Bruce took his training and his bride down into the heart of the caste-ridden South where the white of the village even forbade "niggers" to play tennis. He taught there at Tuskegee ten years and then came with his growing and beautiful family to Washington where for another decade he was Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools in charge of 600 teachers and 25000 students. One would call that a rather useful and deserving life.

Perhaps even more than the average colored man of culture Bruce has ~~suffered criticism~~ and humiliation both within and without his group and yet never has he for a moment turned aside or lost his poise and grit failed in that unfaltering courtesy that marks the gentlema of all time.

who studied at Oberlin

His very name brings back to us a dramatic scene: his father Blanche K. Bruce was elected senator in February, 1874, from Mississippi. United States
He writes: "When I came up totthe senate I knew no one except Senator Alcorn, who was my colleague. When the names of the new Senators were called out for them to go up and take the oath, all of the others except myself were escorted by their colleagues. Mr. Alcorn made no motion to escort me, but was buried behind a newspaper, and I concluded I would go it alone. I had got about half way up the aisle when a tall gentlemen stepped up to me and said: 'Excuse me, Mr. Bruce, I did not until this moment see that you were without an escort. Permit me. My name is Conkling,' and he linked his arm in mine and we marched up to the desk together."

Senator Bruce married Josephine ~~Nelson~~ Wilson of Cleveland, Ohio -- one of the most beautiful and stately of women, white or colored, that American ever produced. They toured Europe on their honeymoon and the United States Ministers at both London and Paris paid them marked attention; and during their official life in Washington, the charm of Mrs. Bruce was widely acknowledged and commented upon

The elder Bruce was ~~a quadroon; he married an octoroon; his~~ son married an octoroon; and their son, whom President Lowell calls a "Negro", is as white as the President himself and as a dozen other Harvard students (some personally known to me) who are passing through Harvard as "white", and who indeed have perfect right to do so if they so elect. For how white must a man be to call himself white? What sort of criminal casuistry is this that first divides the world into "pure" and unadulterable races and then cannot by look, deed or scientific measurement, find the bounds of its silly catagories. Thereupon it prescribes the blood of a great human race as a criminal taint against the testmony of history and science, and then proceeds to identify with that race a man whose blood is seven eighths of perhaps fifteen sixteenths as pure Anglo-Saxon as that of any student

Purely upon grounds of culture and public service could Harvard
[redacted]t upon a family less deserving of dishonor? Moreover upon grounds
"race" what shall be said?

of Harvard?

This caste returns to Harvard after two centuries; after those early days when Harvard students appeared in the catalog not alphabetically but according to rank. And this caste spirit is revived when? When the world is waiting, furious and beside itself for new ideals. We are obsessed by the madness of Europe and regard with fearful eyes; but the real and greater madness of Europe is to be seen not in but beyond Europe. It is in the awakening of Asia: of the Turk, of the Persian and East Indian and Chinaman to the enormity of their economic slavery to Europe. It is in the awakening of Africa: of yellow Egypt, of black British West Africa, of the East and South African natives to their slavery to the white race; and with this and watching it, comes the American Negro. He forms a new group newly organized with new strength with new income and recent education; he comes fighting on the field of battle both in France and in Chicago for his rights; and he comes determined to ally himself with any possible source of power in order to maintain his foothold on the ladder of modern progress. He has appealed to the Best in the nation and the Best has repeatedly turned its back, while behind, is the Waiting Worst.

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Once upon a time, there roared through the Halls of Congress a bull of a man — with a waving black mane of hair, pendulous cheeks, and a voice that searched language for epithets to hurl at "Black Republicans" and to express his contempt for Africans. Men say that once he boasted, "I will yet call the roll of my slaves at the base of Bunker Hill!" Robert Toombs died long ago and unreconstructed rebel. His spirit lives — the rough and thunderous hands of Esau, but the cultivated voice of Jacob, and in and through it all, the undying soul of slavery still calling the roll of black slaves at the base of Bunker Hill

30-9a-1

Harvard and Democracy

Hearst's International
Bookman
Collier
Atlantic
Harpers *
Century

The historical development of the Negro in the United States is seldom considered by itself, and indeed, rightly, we regard it as an integral part of American history. But there is advantage in looking at the history of this group as a unified whole. Starting with the beginning of the 16th Century, we find that already there were a considerable number of Negroes in the Americas; some slaves, some free men. In 1539, the Southwestern part of the United States was discovered by a Negro explorer, Estavanco, and with practically all of the explorers, Balboa, De Soto, Narvaez and others there were Negro companions as slaves and servants, and sometimes as independent workers. The 17th Century saw the Negro established in the present confines of the United States as a laborer. By the middle of that century his status as a perpectual slave was fixed, and Jamaica was acquired by the English as a basis of the African slave trade. That trade began in earnest so far as America was concerned in the 18th Century, particularly after the English signed the Assiento Treaty with Spain in 1713. This was the price which she demanded as victor in the war of Spanish Secession. As a result of the English slave trade, the 50,000 Negroes in America in 1700 rapidly increased to 220,000 by 1750, and the three of the great slave crops began to be imported; tobacco, sugar and rice. By the 19th Century the slave trade had poured thousands of Negroes into the Americas, and in 1800, there were 900,000 in the present confines of the United States. Moreover, a new crop, cotton, had begun to be important. In 1790, 8,000 bales were raised in the United States, while in 1820, we were raising 650,000. By 1825, a [illegible] had disappeared. It had been started by the revolution in Haiti and the echo of the Napoleonic Wars in the United States. The Cotton Kingdom was estab-

lished as a great economic organization. Leaders of revolt appeared among the slaves and the Abolitionist Movement began, and at the same time a migration of white foreign laborers between 1820-30, amounting to 150,000. While between 1830-40, 600,000 came in, and between 1840-50, 1,700,000. By 1850 there was laid the basis of moral and economic and racial difference between the North and South. The cotton crop amounted to 2,500,000 bales before the War in 1850; the Negroes had increased to 3,500,000 in that year, and to 4,000,000 at the time of the Civil War. On the other hand, the emigration had risen to 2,500,000 between 1850-60, and there was a demand in the North for free land and a tariff to encourage manufacturers and industrialisation. The Civil War began the changing of 4,000,000 slaves into American citizens and voters, and the industrialisation of the North. By 1900, there were 9,500,000 Negroes, but their development had been checked by disfranchisement and caste, so that instead of being able to hold their own in competition with the new migration which rose from 1880-1895 to over 5,000,000 workers, they were handicapped both by law and economic degradation. By 1925, they had begunaa population of some 12,000,000 but with greatly decreased rate of growth because of migration from city to country and economic difficulties. They were compelled to fight for every inch of advance and recognition. Nevertheless, their very fighting helped in the recognition of the democratic ideal, particularly in the South, where the white workers had to be a part of the white dominant caste, and in the same way education was spread among the whites and begun among the Negroes. In art and literature, particularly in music, the Negro, haddicapped as he was, made a significant contribution to American life, and the problem as it stands today is the question as to whether this group which the nation has debauched and exploited and

33-6-7

sought in every way to reduce to a helpless economic caste is going eventually to become an integral part of the nation with all rights of American citizens.

33-6-8

1925 Howard University

# The Crisis in Negro Higher Training

In my youth I had a delightful experience. From cold and formal New England where I was not unhappy but rather frozen in upon myself and where I had attended excellent schools, I was suddenly transplanted to a Negro school, Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee. I was beyond measure delighted. Here suddenly came warm and sympathetic companionship with young people of my own blood and experience. Here were roistering, jolly and ambitious boys and wonderfully pretty girls. The curriculum was not graded as high as a Northern college but we had some fine teachers and we learned much of life and the world.

In after years it seemed to me that I could give young Negroes no finer experience than to urge them who had attended school only in the North and with white fellow students, to take at least a glimpse of that Southern Negro college life that I once knew.

But when, intrigued by certain things that I kept hearing and puzzled by letters which the authorities wrote me, I began to investigate the conditions at my own old school, Fisk University, I was appalled. There was still some good teaching there. It was still possible for earnest men to study and grow, but on the whole the school was a jail. It was a place where students had no right to think, no right to protest, no voice in their own government, no power to do anything that wasn't dictated and guided by the faculty and especially by the president. As I said last Commencement at Fisk University before president, faculty, trustees and students: "In Fisk today discipline is choking freedom, threats are replacing inspiration, iron clad rules, suspicion, tale bearing are almost universal. A favorite expression is, 'If you don't like Fisk University, get out!' It is the spirit of freedom that has built the great universities of the world and Fisk can never be great

until it recognizes that spirit. The pall of fear which envelops the student body of this institution is the most awful thing here."

Since then Fisk University has tried to clean house. The students, spurred by a feeling that at last their situation had been noticed, broke out into open rebellion and their leaders, clubbed by the police, suffering martyrdom in jail and traduced by members of the trustee board on the spot, nevertheless forced a thorough investigation. The president and the larger part of the faculty were finally dismissed and the trustees are proceeding to rebuild the institution on broader and better lines.

32-3-32

As I have looked about since this incident I realize that Fisk University was not an exception; that what was going on at Fisk is going on in other and differing ways in a dozen other institutions.

And this is true notwithstanding the fact that the American Negro is striving for higher training as never before. In the school year 1924-25, 752 Negroes received their first degree in arts, 44 were made Masters in Arts, 4 received their doctorates in philosophy and science and 6 were elected to the Phi Beta Kappa while 395 received their professional degrees. But this represents a minimum, accomplished through great difficulty and discouragement and is not half or perhaps a third of what the American Negro could and would do today if properly encouraged.

You may divide the institutions which educate Negroes into three classes: those Negro institutions which are taught mainly by whites but attended only by Negro students; those Negro institutions which are taught mainly by Negroes and are attended by Negroes; and the general educational institutions of the land. In all these there is today more or less ferment concerning policies and objects so far as Negroes are concerned.

The largest Negro university in the United States is Howard at Washington. The board of trustees of Howard held a special meeting December 10. Representatives of the General Alumni Association appeared before them and demanded the dismissal of J. Stanley Durkee, the white president of the institution. The trustees refused to dismiss him and bore testimony "to our confidence in President Durkee's character and purpose". This is another step in a fight that has been going on for several years.

Dr. Durkee is a white clergyman of the expansive, eloquent type, a man with a smile and a glad handshake. He was brought from a church in Brockton, Massachusetts seven years ago to be president of the largest Negro university. The university has grown tremendously during his incumbency but at the same time the subjects of controversy between the president, the faculty, the alumni and the students have multiplied.

Briefly these matters of controversy may be summarized as follows: first, there is almost no social contact or intimacy between the white president and his family on the one hand and the colored professors and their families and the colored students on the other hand. Secondly, the president has dismissed or tried to dismiss most of the leading colored professors at one time or another. Kelly Miller, perhaps the most distinguished alumnus of the university, was demoted from being dean of the college to being dean of the junior college and last year was recommended for complete dismissal although popular clamour changed this and made him a temporary publicity agent. His right to express himself on current public questions was challenged by the president and he was called a contemptible puppy when he demurred.

George William Cook, once secretary-treasurer of the university

has been connected with Howard for fifty years. He was displaced as secretary and made a dean of the business department and last year was first dismissed summarily without the usual honors and then restored for a year.

Four or five well-trained men including Houston, a Master of Arts of Harvard, Woodson, a Doctor of Philosophy of Harvard and Turner, a doctor of philosophy of Cornell have resigned. Four last year including Locke, a former Rhodes scholar, were summarily dismissed. Dr. Turner charged repeated persecution by the president and interference with work which he was carrying out for the United States government as professor of botany, refusal to furnish him necessary instruments for which appropriation had been made and sequestration of his greenhouse. Dr. Turner is now at Hampton.

Last year the students went on strike because of what they considered unfair enforcement of the compulsory military service rule. Last summer the General Alumni Association met and demanded Durkee's resignation and the president of the board of trustees announced that no attention would be paid to their demand because they were led by hotheads, and for six months the authorities have refused to call a meeting of the board of trustees and even the executive committee has not functioned.

As the Howard Welfare League has written: "The spirit of education has departed from Howard. Visiting the institution today, the investigator discovers a system of espionage. This is operated to defend an administrative corps which, having no fixed policy, is subject to frequent attacks by the instructors disposed to preserve the traditions of education. The system is financed by personal preferment chiefly in the form of university patronage. This is evidenced by the difference made in the salaries of instructors.

The charges against Dr. Durkee as voiced by the General Alumni Association fall under the following heads: first, almost total lack of social contact between the white president on the one hand and colored professors and colored students on the other. Second , the attempted dismissal or forced resignation of the leading colored professors including Kelly Miller, George William Cook who has been with the institution fifty years, C. G. Woodson, a Harvard Doctor of Philosophy, D. W. Turner, a Cornell Doctor of Philosophy and many others. Third:-personal disrespect toward colored professors; calling one a contemptible puppy, kicking another out of his office. Fourth:-As the Howard Welfare League has written: "The spirit of education has departed from Howard. Visiting the institution today, the investigator discovers a system of espionage. This is operated to defend an administrative corps which, having no fixed policy, is subject to frequent attacks by the instructors disposed to preserve the traditions of education. The system is financed by personal preferment chiefly in the form of university patronage. This is evidenced by the difference made in the salaries of instructors. The University pay roll shows that the instructors of the longest experience and ripest scholarship are the poorest paid, whereas these constituting the machine are the best paid."

The board of trustees and the friends of the president declare that the alumni have not proven their allegations and of this the public is not in position to judge. But certain it is that there is violent unrest at Howard and has been for the last five years. It culminated last year in a student strike and in a special meeting of the alumni during the summer at which the president was violently denounced.

32-3-30

# BUILDING A BOURGEOISIE

1925

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

37-3-94

You have perhaps heard recently certain reverberations from No Man's Land beyond the barbed wire of the Color Bar - the smash of a Negro insurance corporation with $28,823,231 of written risks on 28,279 lives; the passing of a Philadelphia black bank to the tune of a million, and something similar in Washington. On the other hand Harlem, High Harlem of the Black Folk, has been indulging in certain self-revelations and turning out its pockets, and has revealed sixty millions of real estate nicely tucked away.

Or again, all over the United States, in Denver, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta and New Orleans there has arisen lately a new and astonishing phase of the color problem and it is this:- How can Negroes of wealth be kept from buying and occupying property in what we call "exclusive neighborhoods"?

All this - if you perchance have hearkened at all - must have reminded you that here before your eyes but behind your understanding is building a new Bourgeoisie and, being segregated and centralized, it furnishes - does it not? - unique opportunities for observation and study.

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The world is composed, among other matters, of satisfying Things and Services, and those who by any method control these rule the world. The methods of control vary - the fact is invariable. In the past, muscular force, artificial weapons, land monopoly, monopoly of goods, monopoly of tools and machines, and monopoly of money and credit have in turn served to put power in the hands of the few to rule the many. The ruling few have often been good and philanthropic persons, but not always; and Democracy has come to furnish them good counsel, to mitigate the rigor of their rule, to bring some devolution of power from their

high places. This has been difficult because of ignorance - because we do not clearly sense the industrial process and we but dimly see the methods of building by which the power of the rich is built up. In crises we are in continual danger of pulling down the whole industrial machine because we dislike and fear the objects for which it is run.

Not the machine, but the machinists call for our attention and we can only decide how to check their misuse of power as we clearly comprehend the methods of its assumption. After all, our problem is not primarily one of machinery - it is a matter of human choice and will.

37-3-45

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If we could study these assumptions of power in some acid test, on some "Orphans' Island", or in the case of a segregated group, we might learn much. The first is impossible, the second improbable, but the third is with us. Of course, no group can be completely segregated politically, economically or socially. And yet with the American Negro there is enough of economic segregation to make their study of interest and possibly of high value.

There must be certain assumptions, the first of which is that the persons studied are average human beings. And right here will come a host of objections. These folk are only "niggers" and our only possible interest in them is lest they marry our sisters, a common but curiously contradictory attitude. But let that pass and from the outset frankly admit that if black folk be not ordinarily human, this study has no validity.

On the other hand, if here is a group subject to all ordinary reactions, their economic history is intriguing. They were born, in an economic sense, singularly free and equal, January 1,1863. To be sure, there was some property among free Negroes in Charleston and Savannah, in Louisiana and Virginia and in the north. It is for our purpose negligible. Of the one million American Negro families in the United

States in 1865, there was as near a minimum of property and as perfect an equality of income as any group would be likely to show in modern days. Sixty years later the group presents all the earmarks of the growth of modern economic inequality; there are colored landlords renting to colored tenants; there are colored employers of colored labor ~~employees~~, colored householders with colored servants; in fine, the beginning of a black rich and a black poor. How did it all come about? Is it simply the reward of merit, the Good and Thrifty growing rich and the Wicked and Lazy growing poor? Not quite. Is it accident, favoritism, chance? Not wholly.

32-3-96

The measurable equality of wealth in 1863 existed side by side with other and important inequalities of which the greatest was that between House Servant and Field Hand. The colored House Servant had some education by contact, some ready money, some saleable skill, some powerful friends who, incidentally, formerly owned him, and very often enough white blood to make him look like something different from the Negro problem even if he wasn't. He quickly began to transform himself.

By becoming a public instead of a private servant - a caterer, a hotel waiter, a dressmaker,-the Negro began to receive regular wages as his freed brother of the North had for some time; as an artisan he hired his own time instead of his master's, and as a city gang laborer he got money instead of rations.

In the country districts the first economic differentiation in the colored group arose from the buying of land. On Emancipation Negroes bought land rapidly because the war had made it cheap and worthless. They rose from 3 million acres in 1875 to 6 millions in 1880, 8 millions in 1890 and 15 millions in 1900. The Great War checked them somewhat but today they probably own at least 18 million acres of land or 27,000 square miles. This, however, while it separated the mass of Negroes, did not throw them into antagonistic economic groups. The land owners for the most part hired no labor ~~xxx~~ while the renters and laborers worked for white folk. There are a few large land holders who hire colored labor

and rent to white and black tenants, but they are a small minority of the whole.

On the other hand, in city and town a much more complete and significant economic differentiation in the black race took place. It started with the matter of homes. White men rented small cottages and shacks to Negroes. As Negroes began to accumulate a little wealth they found that investment in such small homes for renting to poorer Negroes was an attractive form of investment and almost the only one open to them. The wealth of middle class Negroes ~~has been~~ then came to be largely invested in tenements for the poor Negroes - one and two room "shacks", two and four room small homes. I know scores of black doctors, barbers, small business men, artisans and the like who derive a large income from such investments. I was riding once with a physician in Charleston; he pointed to several rows of his tenements - drab, square, one and two room cubicles built of plank, ugly, open to the weather; "That's the kind that pays," he said. I turned to see if he really was colored. He was. His method and his shacks were exact counterparts of those of white investors of his economic class.

Some Negroes have built better class tenements but here they are limited for they cannot go far ~~here~~ before they reach the level of a class of Negroes who want to buy and own rather than pay rent. This margin is low in the Southern South - but it reaches a maximum height in New York and Chicago where high-priced land forces the cost of the apartment house to the skies. For a long time Negroes could buy home property only in cities like Philadelphia where two-story, tiny single homes were the rule; but even here they had to fight artificial prices raised by prejudice. They became in such cities owners in large numbers but not usually landlords.

In New York it was different. Considerable capital was needed to buy the large apartments of Harlem and but little was accomplished before the Great War. Then with high wages and the increased housing demand of

new dark immigrants, the rush came. Corporations were formed, bank credit was obtained and the Negro landlord appeared on wide scale, with economic interests tending to diametrical opposition to those of the black tenants.

32-3-98

So much for land and real property. Next came the matter of employment. There was a natural recoil among ex-slaves from working for slaves. It was abysmally infra dig. It ~~sort of~~ seemed to perpetuated inside one's own race family the hateful but inevitable distinctions outside. Nevertheless the conditions worked around to it by indirect methods.

While Negroes did not at first in many cases work individually for Negroes they did come in various ways to serve the Negro group. There arose Negro barber shops especially for Negroes; ~~all of the~~ other Negro artisans began to build upon Negro patronage. All of the Negro professional men, lawyers, physicians and teachers, naturally served, with few exceptions, a colored clientage. The older class of Negro business men served white folk with luxuries but there began to arise a new class of small grocers, clothes cleaners, restaurant keepers, undertakers and the like who catered solely to colored trade. Then pressure began to be exerted to make this circle more or less complete. The colored grocer began to expect that his physician would trade at his store, the colored druggist expected the physician to send his prescriptions to him, the colored undertaker looked for the patronage and influence of the colored minister, and thus a sort of closed group economy began to arise in the colored world, in some respects quite complete and in all cases growing in completeness so far as local groups are concerned and beginning to link together widely separated groups.

The next step was easy; Negroes began to employ Negroes in the

kind of work where whites refused them entry; as clerks in stores, as agents in industrial insurance, as stenographers in offices, as assistants in millinery and dressmaking establishments. The arrangement was mutually pleasing. The wages were not as high as those of white employees while the service rendered was, after training and sifting, apt to be better. "Pride" of race helped "our" business, "our" enterprizes.

32-3-99

The whole spirit of the mutual relations of employer and employed was improved. Contrast the situation of a colored girl in a white lawyer's office and one in a colored lawyer's office. The latter's wage is less and her desk cheaper, but she is a lady and an equal. In the old lines of house-service colored folk have still far more difficulty in hiring help than white folk of the same social grade, even at similar wages. But ~~xxxxx~~ in the higher lines Negroes usually prefer to work for Negroes and are only deterred by marked difference in wage.

Over these developments, so far as sensed, there has been mutual rejoicing both sides of the "color line". Our colored brother is developing! Race pride! Self help! etc. But in truth here was rising grimly the economic class difference between employer and employee, between landlord and tenant, and householder and servant inside the Negro race; and this was disruptive and not unifying. Community of interests draws the colored rich and well-to-do and the white rich together; real estate owners of any hue need mortgage and trust companies; merchants need bank accommodation ; professional men must regard "professional" ethics; druggists have powerful associations.

On the other hand the mass of black men are allied in interest to the poor and the laboring class; the overwhelming majority of colored workers are in precisely the plight of the white poor; even the colored "white collar" proletariat of clerks and stenographers have their grievances, and colored tenants have no more love for high rents that

go to black landlords than black landlords love low rents from black tenants.

On the other hand this natural economic alignment is curiously changed by forces within and without the group. The race prejudice of the white hits black capitalist and black laborer alike. Indeed, contrary to Booker T. Washington's philosophy, it hits the black capitalist in most cases harder; race hatred arises less from Negro crime than from "invasion" of white residence districts and white business by blacks. The mass of Negroes know this and there arises the urge to push up the black man of wealth as a representative Negro. But is he representative? He may be. He usually does think of himself as a crusader - as getting rich for his race rather than for himself. He tries to accomplish racial uplift by his wealth and business and sometimes for that very fact faces strange catastrophe.

A colored banker in a great Northern city got interested in the rise of the Negro theatre. He invested a million dollars or more in buildings and ventures in three or four great cities. He was hailed by his people. But his ventures did not pay. He sold and realized as fast as possible but at a loss. He recouped by speculating in real estate at the time of great demand by colored tenants. He got quick returns and almost escaped. But not quite. His bank failed and black folk derided and cursed him.

The colored man of wealth is thus between Scylla and Charybdis—— if he yields to the power of the white rich, of the white corporate world, he is never sure of being treated fairly; he may be fleeced and unable to readjust on account of prejudice. If on the other hand he espouses the cause of the white poor, they have little to grant in return; their unions bar the Negro openly or surreptitiously, they do not want to live with or associate with Negroes, they have inherited or learned all sorts of color prejudices and their vote can be herded against black folk at any time.

32-3-180

33-M-101

On the other hand no one, white or black, with big business interests can antagonize the white rich. All this calls for finesse and courage, intricate and careful manipulation. A Southern Negro built the first colored old line life insurance company in the South after infinite travail. It made a good record, writing nearly 30 millions of insurance among the best colored folk in less than 20 years. Then came the problem of investment. He dreamed afar. He saw these insurance funds as the basis of capitalizing Negro industries - laundries, contractors, printers, real estate developments and the like. He established a bank and began to finance these enterprizes. They lacked expert guidance and wide knowledge and technique and they lost money. White Southern business men offered him loans. He had to accept. To refuse was to rebuff powerful men with far-reaching political power. They not only owned banks - they owned State insurance commissioners. To accept and win would bind these interests to him in the future. To accept and lose would be to give them control of his insurance company. He lost. He struggled madly at the end and called in other colored capital and white Northern philanthropy. It was too late. His insurance company is now run by white Southerners.

What to do? What is the goal? What is the end? And there the Negro comes straight to the impasse that faces the white business philanthropist. And why? Just as the white man in business visions common interests of capital and labor and finds all sorts of points of irreconcilable desires, clash of wills and warring impulses, so in similar and differing ways does the Negro. He has in America and in the world every excuse for and urge toward unity. He has a common enemy, he has ideals toward which the whole mass, high and low, strives ~~they want homes, they want pleasant surroundings, they want society, they want amusement, they want beautiful things. They would educate and protect and inspire their children; they fear crime and lawlessness; they want to keep their jobs and earn income~~

~~sufficient for these needs; even beyond these needs they want money for luxury, for agitation toward the Heights. In compensation for their social exclusion and public insult they want their own luxuries - clubs, automobiles, hotels, golf courses.~~

~~And right here comes seed for envies, hatreds and jealousies within the group.~~ For the very reason that they have a bitter common memory and common persecution they watch each other all the more jealously lest one escape without the other into some realm of Immunity and Compensation. They turn tigerishly on any one who even seems "ashamed of his race". Climbing, striving, escaping is right for all but wrong for a few, even for one. The mass of these hurt animals sit watching each other with red eyes and dripping fangs for signs of desertion. They demand equality within the group. The inequality of landlord and tenant is endurable, but the inequality of master and servant can scarcely be contemplated.

There grows up a body of inner, unwritten but real race law and public opinion. For enforcing this inner public opinion, the group has no organs of force; no police power, legislation or ~~protective~~ tariff; it must rely on public opinion and gossip with all their inaccuracy and cruel force, a sort of Spiritual Protective Tariff. On the other hand, a united front against the enemy must be maintained at all costs - "white folk's niggers" must be put down even by encouraging blatant and well-known demagogues.

With now all this urge to unity, why is economic diversity and class clash entering? And it is entering not only in fact as I have indicated, but in theory: rent hogs are furiously assailed from soap boxes of Harlem. The loveliest residential street is nick-named derisively "Strivers'-Row". The conspicuously well-to-do are on the defensive above 125th Street as well as below 125th Street. Why?

I argued some years ago that this was unnecessary and foolish. I visioned an economic path past the wretched mistakes of white folk. Said I: starting with approximate economic equality let's make it perfect.

32-3-102

instead of lurching to the tendencies of class rule. I saw cooperation as a first step. Here were tens of thousands of colored folk buying food. Why could they not buy in bulk at their own cooperatively owned points of distribution? Simple in theory - complicated in fact. The thing was tried out tentatively in Philadelphia and in Cincinnati among Negroes. It failed to spread because, first of all, the colored grocers and provision men most naturally opposed it; and secondly, managers for such centers were lacking—those with experience wanted to go into business for themselves; they could make more and escape a querulous, inexperienced, many-headed boss. Those without experience were willing to try; if they failed, we failed; if they succeeded, they went into business for themselves.

33-3-103

But there are certain lines of endeavor where Negroes were not represented - why not organize them cooperatively? The wholesale field, banking and credit, clothes? Here we faced another difficulty: the white world was organized and distributed coal and credit to us on fair terms as terms go. Our trade with them was our asset—it bound us together by cords of common interest. This colored landlord buys coal of that corporation; that corporation attests his business probity at the First National Bank. The First National discounts his note. Ergo the black landlord laughs at "cooperation". It isn't business.

And the black laborers? Suppose they combine and group their savings? First of all, will their savings be safe? Not nearly as safe elsewhere as in the Dime Savings Bank which refuses to deal in mortgages of colored householders. Moreover each laborer as he saves is a prospective capitalist. And the prospects of the Negro in the Negro group to become a small capitalist are real; the Negro sees about him cooks who have become restaurant keepers, barbers who own apartment houses, waiters who run grocery stores, window-cleaners running movie houses.; but when he invests capital he usually has to submit its control

37-3-104

to white men who use it as often as not against the interests of his group. If he trusts a colored bank, the colored bank is curiously at the mercy of the white banks. There was a colored bank in Richmond. It was perfectly sound. But its manager in a moment of irritation affronted the white banking commissioner. In a few days enough "irregularities" were found to close the bank and make its depositors lose some $300,000. Every white bank in Richmond has enough of such "irregularities" to close it. But the commissioner would not dare. If the colored laborer invests in the market of current investments he delivers himself into the hands of his enemies. If he invests in white labor enterprizes - but no, he never does that for the white laborer is his sworn enemy and keeps him out of the Union or cheats him if he lets him enter.

Suppose we leave investment and consider organization of our power of spending. Poor black folk should save and spend warily. Yes. But for what are poor folk and other folk laboring? Why are they striving and toiling? They want Life. They want it more abundantly than their fathers had it - than they knew it as children. Especially their life must flame just because of the narrowing, harrowing limitations of the color line. ~~An automobile is a wild luxury to a white worker. To a~~

They want homes and pleasant homes; they want society and amusement; they want clothing that is fashionable and well made. They are especially solicitous for their children, their health, their play, their surroundings, their education. An automobile is a wild luxury for a white worker but for a colored worker with the same wage, living in a region of "Jim Crow" cars, with parks placarded "No dogs or Negroes", with ill-paid, truculent white street car conductors armed with summary police authority,—to such folk a Ford can easily look like a necessity. And even beyond these things the colored group craves money for luxuries, for clubs and hotels and golf courses, for agitation toward rights and privileges. Thus the black man is tempted to overspend in many directions and not to husband and concentrate his spending power.

Not simply is there this positive urge to spending but there is

negative fear which directs colored spending in wrong and dangerous channels. The black man cowers at economic insecurity. He fears crime and lawlessness. Other things being equal, he is more liable than a white man to lose his job, to suffer in- his income or to have his expenses suddenly increased. He sees the necessity of establishing some small "estate"—some mortgage on the future toil of others—in order to insure an income in his own old age, in order to keep his widow from the poor house, in order to give his children an economic start.

32-3-405

All this means that the average Negro easily gives up the idea of fighting modern capitalism ~~xxxxxx~~ by economic cooperation either in production or consumption and is stampeded into a sort of "sauve qui peut". His work and savings become exploitation, sharp practice called thrift, eye on the "main chance". Sometimes this can be engineered into a spoiling of the white Egyptian and this, in black eyes, is quite justifiable; but in large and increasing instances it is black folk despoiling each other and especially setting black capitalists to fleecing black laborers and building a bourgeoisie at their expense.

Perhaps a concrete case will illustrate this situation: The Negroes of New York began their sojourn in the city down at Wall Street in the 18th century and followed the slums north. Before they reached the beginnings of Fifth Avenue which Prosperity dominated, the center of poverty divided east and west. The Negroes followed west with poverty and crime until by the middle of the 19th century they were imprisoned in the Tenderloin — the "roaring thirties" — with white commercialized vice, crime, liquor selling, dives and the like. Not that the Negroes were all criminals; they were for the most part honest, hard-working laborers. Being poor they had their share of crime, and bringing up their children in the Tenderloin they began to have more than their share. They tried to escape to better living quarters. Nobody would rent to Negroes outside this district; only those Negroes wealthy enough to buy could escape and they went to Brooklyn. Meantime Harlem was being overbuilt with tenements for whites. Negro real estate agents led by Phil Peyton

37-3-106

united in guileful aggression; they bribed the landlords with higher rents and permanent tenants. The landlords bit and the Negroes poured into Harlem while home owners and white tenants rose in arms and induced banks and real estate interests to retaliate by refusing mortgage loans or renewals to the landlords renting to Negroes. This took time but it began to be effective and by the beginning of the 20th century it looked as though the Negro was going to be squeezed out of the best part of Harlem. A few well-to-do Negroes staved off the attack by buying apartment houses although they had a hard time with the banks. Then churches began to sell their downtown property and move to Harlem and this combination of wage earners' capital was difficult to curb.

Finally Harlem found a way out. The mortgage companies' banks had forced the white owners to the wall but when foreclosure came there were no buyers but Negroes. Banks had to give these Negroes credit either directly or indirectly. But they reaped a terrible toll in revenge: they sold first single homes and then apartments to Negroes on "easy" terms—that is, little cash and many mortgages with high interest; the Negro buyers fell back on agents and loan sharks and in the end paid fabulous prices or failed and other Negroes tried again. The revolution in wages and real-estate brought by the war, ~~showed~~ pushed the Negro a long way ahead and he took more or less precarious title to some 60 millions in real estate.

But the whole game depended on a certain economic unity among Negroes. One Negro "buys" property and others rent it and by continuous and high rents enable the "owner" gradually to pay mortgages and interest and own the property. But this led to high rents in the scarcity of housing and particularly Negro housing after the War. Emergency rent legislating was passed and Negro tenants began to sue for lower rents and in other ways to attack the landlords. And now, too, they attack Negro and white landlords indiscriminately. In vain did the Negro owners protest and call upon race pride, reminding the black tenants that only by high rents could

Negroes secure property or whites be induced to open new tenements to Negroes.

Moreover, the rents while high when we consider the black man's income and high when we consider what white people would pay for the same accomodations, are not high when we take into account what white people are really paying for their homes in newer parts of the city where the Negro has no chance to rent. And if he should wish to get into these or similar regions where he now has no chance, it is only by overbidding in rent that he can do so.

To all this the Negroes were deaf and especially so because these tenants were largely new-comers, Southerners and West Indians who did not know or understand the race fight of the past.

And so today in Harlem, economic war is tearing apart the Negro group into landlord and tenant, capitalist and laborer. Consider an individual case: I know a colored school teacher of 60 who suddenly bethought himself; he was facing age; long years he had worked for a pittance at a calling which he loved, "uplifting his race". Most of his life he received less than $1500 a year and had spent that in giving his family everything he could to make them comfortable. Finding himself now with $2000 saved he "bought" a small apartment house plastered with $20,000 in mortgages. Then began a heart-breaking struggling with mysteries of "financing"; with bonuses on borrowed funds that made the interest 12%, with the discovery that former white landlords had made no repairs for years; and suddenly efficient city inspectors made necessary a merry little bill of $3000 for repairs in one year.

Still the owner hugged his ideals. He wanted the house as good as his own. The halls were kept clean. The bath rooms were renewed and repaired, the woodwork was painted. There was hot water and general warmth from a $650 coal bill each year.

And the tenants? They were just ordinary workers and they complained because they were used to complaining, and because with all the landlord could do there remained much to complain about. Two of the families were bad. They held "rent parties" and sold liquor. Drunken men howled and fought up and down the halls from Saturday midnight to broad day light. Police and courts were appealed to at great expense but did nothing; finally a little bribery to parties unknown got the wastrels out at a loss of $400 in rent. A poor hard-working widow in another apartment was sick. The landlord's wife helped nurse her; she

32-2-107

complained of the agents; the landlord took her part. Then, whirling on them, she organized the house and sued to reduce the rent. Now the poor black landlord had not received yet a cent of return for three years investment, self denial and worry. Of course his original investment was small, the value was there, he could eventually hope for a small, steady income; but to reduce the rent now——it spelled disaster. On the other hand were the rents not too high? Considering the small wage of the workers, their hard, drab lives, was he not a "rent-hog", an exploiter, thief of the wages of the poor? And the black man stared almost helplessly at life.

32-3-108

Already High Harlem bursts its swaddling clothes and needs more space, but its old weapon of high and over-bidding rent lies half broken in its hands. How will it secure wider space for living? Only by the help of the Rich or the Poor. The help of the Rich can be had only by some new form of economic bribery and this can always be devised despite law and gospel.

Why not then appeal to the Poor? There is the great seething of the white laboring masses. They are facing the same problems on a wider scale. They want better wages and lower rents and insurance against unemployment, old age and sickness.

If the 9/10 white labor in the United States joined with the 1/10 black in united phalanx, intelligently and honestly led, industrial democracy would soon be a fact and we would begin to apply reason and ethical ideal to the distribution of goods and services and to the guidance and method of the industrial process. But in addition to the huge handicap of ignorance and dishonesty, the white 9/10 of the laborers is fed both deliberately and unconsciously on the most hurtful prejudices. High among these are prejudices of race and religion and highest of all, the prejudice of visible skin color. It is, then, the white laborer that can be relied on to keep the black one out of a job

and out of the union just as long as economically possible; to insist on low wages for blacks even when the low wages, by competition more or less direct, lower his own; and above all to insist that all real estate developments designed to give lower rents to the poor shall be labelled; No Negroes. I ride around the outskirts of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Indianapolis and a dozen other cities; there are thousands of little cottages springing from the soil, cheap, convenient, new, near the street cars; they were often built "tax-free", - i.e. partly at public expense. Can a Negro worker buy a home there? No sir, never, save by subterfuge or bribery or at the risk of mob violence.

37-3-109

Violently then the black group, rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, bourgeois and laborer, is hurled back on itself. It must unite. It must present a front of solid phalanx to the common enemy. Its vote—that is its limited chance to choose public officials and its wider chance to spend its money and credit—must be cast always against racial caste. Therefore lines of economic caste must not be allowed to break and nullify this power of unity.

Behold then the perfect paradox: economic disunity is the result of economic advance; economic disunity stops economic advance. This is the economic paradox of black America. But not of them only. Is it not the paradox of the white working world? What better explains Bolshevism? The economic forces of the world under their present control insure such disastrous clash of interests among the doers of the world's work that there is no hope, cry the Bolsheviki, of achieving sufficient human unity for reform save by force. And further, if that force is not applied to the whole economic world and quickly, the part where it is attempted will quickly be crushed by the rest. This is the logic back of the world revolution of the Bolsheviki. The logic is impregnable but is the prac-

tice possible? Is the world intelligent enough to carry through such a universal revolution except at a cost which would submerge the very civilization it seeks to succor? Such a task would seem to call not only for the brain and devotion of 100,000 men like Lenin, but also for a level of ordinary human intelligence and moral stamina among what we are pleased to call "educated classes" which simply does not exist in modern civilization. Primitive economic culture, such as survives here and there in Africa might, with leadership and information, do a revolution of that sort, but they have been already spoiled or are in process of spoiling by economic upheaval toward European industry.

The Nation obstructs its own development just as its constituent groups contradict and impede their own progress. Not simply laborers fight capitalists but trade unions fight unions, and unions fight "scabs", and "scabs", particularly if they are black, must fight back or starve. Capitalists fight capitalists and laborers fight laborers. Capital seeks freedom by transforming itself into the labor of machines and power plants; laborers seek to become capitalists by starting banks and buying coal mines; while a disfranchised group of black laborers oppressed by white employers and employed, develops within, all the symptoms of the fight of capital and labor without.

What then is the path of reasonable reform? Again let us turn to darkness for light. Suppose yourself, Pale Reader, a slave, black and 21, with some brains and a will that all men should be happy not excluding yourself. What would you do about it today and in this land and in the year of grace 1925? First of all, it seems to me, you would want to know the truth about your group and its relation to the world. And of all the multitudinous facts going to make up this group you would start with the economic facts - the questions of work, wage, rent, expenses and the allied matters of health and education. These first, because these today are the gates of Life and Power and all else depend on them.

32-3-111

You would want next the ability to use these facts - this body of the truth; the knowledge of similar facts relating to other groups now on earth and other groups now dead. You would want the ability to compare these facts - reason simply and clearly about them. You would want in addition some shadow of background and setting, some shadow of ideal and aim and beauty by which to set these thoughts in some order and meaning. With this you would then face the forces of the world-primarily the economic forces for these determine the present world-and see how by the power of your political vote and your purchase of goods, and consumption and saving of goods and your use of credit, you could force this world of economic power to do what you and your group wanted done and not simply what its present masters want done. And this program for American Negroes is (is it not?) precisely the program for American whites and for Englishmen, Frenchmen and Chinamen. It calls for a free press, free speech, free thinking. It calls for a census that is not a political joke but a scientific study and which includes free open knowledge of individual and corporate income and of individual ownership of property, real and personal, stocks, bonds and debts. It calls for honest economic history; for a history of how men have reasoned and not simply how they should reason, and how the same fallacies of divine right to rule, defensive and patriotic wars, education as propaganda, race superiority and religious infallibility, have recurred a thousand times in the history of man to help enslave him to himself.

It may be that such study and training may lead the world to forcible and quick revolution. If so - Amen. God knows if justice and sanity can come quickly and by blood sacrifice let it come. More probably we shall see that not more force but less, not more murder but less, not more hate but greater respect for every human soul in black, yellow or pink skins,——that these with intelligence and reason are the doors to Eternal Life.

# BUILDING A BOURGEOISIE

You have perhaps heard recently certain reverberations from No Man's Land beyond the barbed wire of the Color Bar - the recent smash of a Negro insurance corporation with $28,823,231 of written risks on 28,279 lives; the passing of a Philadelphia black bank to the tune of a million and something similar in Washington. Then Harlem, High Harlem of the Black Folk, has been indulging in certain self revelations and turning its pockets, and has revealed sixty millions of real estate nicely tucked away. All this - if you perchance have hearkened at all - must have reminded you that here before your eyes but behind your understanding is building a new Bourgeoisie and being, segregated, and centralized, it furnishes - does it not? - unique opportunities for observation and study.

30-8-1

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The world is composed, among other matters, of satisfying Things and Services, and those who control these rule the world. The methods of control vary -- the fact is invariable. In the past, muscular force, artificial weapons, land monopoly, monopoly of goods, monopoly of tools and machines, and monopoly of money and credit have in turn served to put power in the hands of the few to rule the many. The ruling few have often been good and philanthropic persons, but not always, and Democracy has come to furnish them good counsel, to mitigate the rigor of rule, to bring some devolution of power in high places. This has been difficult because of ignorance - because we do not clearly sense the industrial process and the methods of building up the power of the rich. In crises, we are in continual danger of pulling down the machine because we dislike

30-9c-5

BUILDING A BOURGEOISE

Atlantic Monthly

Scribners

American Mercury

The Century

John Milholland

John Milholland was a man of faith. I hesitate to use this characterization because faith is a word so misused and cheapened in our day. Some people pride themselves on a faith which is merely baseless credulity. Some set great store on faith in God, but I have never been able to see why He needed our faith. But John Milholland had faith in man, and this did not arise, as is so often the case, from a limited knowledge of man. On the contrary, he knew men of all sorts and kinds; from the Tammany politicion of the East Side to titled personages of Europe. He had an extraordinary range of acquaintanceship, and perhaps nothing better illustrates the breadth of his character than the fact, that men of all grades of society could find in him sympathy and understanding. It was this broad faith that gave him opportunity to inspire and begin things. For instance, the group which formed The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met in conference in 1909 and passed resolutions and adjourned. In 1910, we met again and passed resolutions and adjourned. In 1911, we met again. I can remember the theater where we met, the teeming audience, and John Milholland with his mass of beautiful hair and his intense voice. He said that if we were going to keep on meeting and passing resolutions we would do nothing. We should begin now with paid officials, with an office in the center of New York, with work that was continuous from day to day. And before we knew it, the audience was swept into this program. There were those who hesitated and critizised.

36-2-114

There were those who said that Milholland had rushed us into the program when we had no money and none in sight. This was true; but the extraordinary thing about it was that these extraordinary prophets and inspirers of man make people do the impossible. And that was exactly what John Milholland made us do.

I have seen him in various settings, in the great Race Congress of 1911, in London, perhaps the most extraordinary meeting of men of different blood and religion and civilization that the world has seen. I have seen him at Cooper Union, at Meadowmount and elsewhere, and always he was a man of faith, the man who believed in his fellowmen, the man who was never discouraged and the one whose extraordinary self-confidence and confidence in the world was always leading people to do more than they dreamed they could do.

36-2-115

Standard Life undated

The failure of Standard Life is one of the greatest calamities ever suffered by the American Negro in his economic advance. The catastrophe has long been feared and every reasonable effort has been made by friends outside and in, white and black, including John E. Nail, R. R. Moton, Julius Rosenwald and others, to ward off the evil day and rescue this great institution. But in vain.

38-12-79

Nevertheless, if we really learn from this terrible example it may yet prove a mile stone in our progress. First, what has been lost? The insurance policies are protected. They will be in the control of a white Southern company and that with impudent agents and just as much cheating as the law allows - and Southern law allows much. Nevertheless if premiums are promptly paid, the insurance will be safe. It will, however, be unsafe and foolish to take out new insurance in Southern white companies. Choose rather the North Carolina Mutual, the Liberty Life, the Southern Aid, the National Benefit Life and other sound colored companies and the best of the large Northern corporations.

Stockholders in the Standard Life will probably lose everything. Why? As an insurance proposition the Standard Life was first class. It had written $ of good risks, its death rate was normal according to insurance experience, and its profits good. But insurance societies have long been subject to peculiar temptations. They receive a stream of cash which accumulates as they grow. Their expenses can be carefully calculated. There is every temptation to invest the surplus in speculative ventures from which those on the inside can reap large returns. Legislation has lately curbed this by requiring a large reserve fund and by other safeguards. Nevertheless

there is the money. It must be invested. How shall this be done?

White companies can invest in current industry of proven stability and avoid undue risk and responsibility. So can colored companies. But race pride and race need unite in suggesting that the funds of colored insurance companies be invested in colored business enterprise. Standard Life was not wildly speculating, it was not vicious and careless in management. It was led astray by excessive race patriotism.

38-12-80

Heman Perry was a business dreamer - one who saw great and beautiful visions of business possibilities in his race. He wanted his race to run laundries, develop real estate subdivisions, enter the contracting business, do job printing and publishing, exploit the field of banking and credit, open drug stores and do a hundred other things perfectly feasible when a sufficient number of Negroes had learned the technic and had experience in these different branches of business. Without waiting however for this hard and difficult experience, without carefully and laboriously collecting the experts of character judgment and sound sense needed for the multifarious kinds of business, Perry and his co-workers assumed that having learned life insurance successfully it was an easy thing to finance and establish a dozen subsidiary concerns to use profitably the sums which insurance gave them for investment.

He established a bank and a series of service companies, all financed directly and indirectly by Standard Life. The tragedy of it was that theoretically and in themselves, every one of his enterprises was inherently sound: the real estate development in the community beyond Atlanta University was excellent value; his bank was needed; there was endless work for a colored laundry; colored contractors had long been successful in the South; etc. etc.

But each of these businesses needed time, honesty and experience. Without men who knew the business thoroughly, Perry leaped in, established the new enterprises and lost money right and left. There was no dishonesty; there was simply mistakes, miscalculations, ignorance.

When the after-war slump came, Perry found himself in difficulties. with his service companies and he borrowed Southern white money. Southern whites were watching him. They were jealous of Negro business success and they saw Perry's mistake. With their political power and influence on state insurance departments, they began to press him on one side and offer him extended credit on the other. He turned and twisted and tried and tried to escape. He appealed to colored capital but colored capital investigated and drew back in alarm. He was too deeply involved and involved with those sinister white forces that were determined on his ruin. Nevertheless Negroes did yoeman service to rescue Standard Life. Once, a year or so ago, a few thousand dollars hastily raised at midnight saved his bank and insurance company from sudden bankruptcy and disaster. Perry appealed to the white North. Jewish business men were sympathetic. The white South sent warning emissaries. Nevertheless the $200,000 then asked could have been raised, when investigation revealed that that was not half enough. A broader and more earnest appeal was made to philanthropy for $500,000. After hesitation this was promised - but expert analysis showed that at least one million dollars was needed. And Standard Life, that splendid monument of Negro thrift and business ability, passed to the sons of slaveholders. Not because it had not done well but because, not satisfied with success, it attempted too much too quickly. Let us judge Heman Perry with all charity. There is no hint of wrong-doing - only of poor judgment.

And let us learn from this sad debacle a few homely facts:

Make haste slowly

One thing at a time

Human Service and not Get-Rich-Quick is the best slogan

Not business but trained and honest business men is
our first need

Our white enemies stand about like wolves to profit by
and encourage our failure

But we are going to win yet.

38-12-82

## THE MISSISSIPPI LIFE REDEEMED.

"TRUTH CRUSHED TO THE EARTH SHALL RISE AGAIN"

Not in the history of the Race has there been any business transaction fraught with more importance, more inspiration, and more restored confidence than that financial deal consummated in Nashville, Tennesse, on September 2, 1926, by which M. S. Stuart and M. E. Anderson re-purchased the Industrial business of the Mississippi Life Insurance Company in the states of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, and then merged it with the Universal Life Insurance Company, a Race concern of Memphis, Tennessee.

34-2-85

About 80% of all the orginal business of the Mississippi Life is involed in this deal, and thus passes back into the hands and control of members of the Race.

It will be recalled that in the fall of 1923 Mr. Heman E. Perry, of Atlanta, Georgia, then the President of the Standard Life Insurance Company and the Service Corporation, secured control of the business of the Mississippi Life with the expressed intention of merging it with the Standard Life, but instead, on February 16, 1924, sold it to the Southern Insurance Company, of Nashville, Tennessee, a corporation of white men.

On April 5, through the activity and business acumen of M. S. Stuart, a ten-year lease of the business of the Mississippi Life in the three states above mentioned was secured from the Southern with reserved options to repurchase the business at a stipulated price at any time during the life of the ten-year contract.

The late lamented M. V. L. Reuben, of Jackson Mississippi, and Mr. M. E. Anderson, of the same place, were included with Mr. Stuart as partners in this contract.

Mr. Reuben died in September 1924, and the business in the three states above mentioned was operated under the supervision of Mr. Stuart, and his remaining partner, as a separate and distinct unit of the Southern Insurance Company, until the consumation of the deal which merged it with the Universal Life on September 2, 1926.

34-2-86

The big purpose of the ten-year contract secured by Mr. Stuart and his associates in April 1924 was to hold the business of the old Mississippi Life in tact as a separate unit until the Race could have the time and find the means of repurchase it. This has now been accomplished.

UNIVERSAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

The Universal Life Insurance Company was organized and incorporated on the 16th day of March 1923 by Dr. J. E. Walker, former President of the Mississippi Life, and has continued to function as an independent and successful coporation.

As president of the Mississippi Life from 1916 to 1923 Dr. J. E. Walker was intimately and actively indentified with the growth and progress of that Company, and he deserves great credit for the profitable and successful operation of that concern.

When this Company was sold to the Southern it was solvent and profitable. Its assets have since been liquidated by receivers, and a dividend of 145% has already been paid to the stockholders with other assets yet to be liquidated. On only one of the many mortgages and securities held by the Mississippi Life was

there any loss at all; and they were all supervised and handled by Dr. J. E. Walker while he was president of the Mississippi Life.

34-2-87

What greater thing can be said for his sound judgment, integrity and honesty than the fact that he handled more than $400,000 of corporate assets with such ability that even after passing through the chancery court and the hands of receivers the stock liquidated at a premium of more than 45%?

The combined business in force of the Universal Life with that of the Mississippi Life will amount to about $16,000,000.00. Its premium income will be more than $800,000.00 per year, and its assets over $300,000.00. It will at once assume a place in the front ranks of the large business concerns of the Race. More than three hundred and fifty men and women will serve it in various capacities in the territory in which it operates, furnishing high class, efficient insurance services for our people, by our people.

It is provided in the deal that the office building of the old Mississippi Life at 234 Hernando Street, Mem phis, Tennessee, becomes the property of the Universal Life, and will be its headquarters and Home Office hence-forth.

Mr. M. S. Stuart as General Manager and Mr. M. E. Anderson as Assistant General Manager have been added to the efficient corps of officers of the Universal Life, whose stockholders and directors include some of the most substantial and progressive Race men in the country.

34-2-88

There is great rejoicing among our group everywhere, particularly in the states of Tennessee, Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas where the Universal Life noe operates. Mr. Stuart and Dr. Walker, who put their heads together, laid their plans, and then moved silently but rapidly until the thing was done, are being acclaimed as two of our greates constructive business thinkers. Through their efforts, confidence in the business ability of our people has been restored, and hope has been renewed.

Since April 1924 words has gone down the line to the employees and policyholders of the old Mississippi Life that it would be redeemed and restored to the control of our group. But there were those who doubted. What? "Get it back from the white people? Never. It cannot be done", said many doubtful ones. But it has been done. Perhaps it did seem impossible; but undismayed these men attacked what seemed to many an unaccomplishable task, and the entire Race rejoice with them.

(Copy)

ADDRESS OF THE 17TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

The pressing problem before us this year is that of residential segregation. There is widespread determination to enforce a ghetto in the United States in spite of the clear letter of the law and the decision of the courts. We have been fighting this tendency for years and despite the temporary setback of the latest decision of the Supreme Court we are going to continue this fight. The court has not yet passed upon the essential point and that is as to whether or not it is good public policy in a great demoncracy to divide and classify people according to race, color, or income. We believe that the fight against segregation is a fundamental fight for democracy among all people in this country.

36-1-46

For a long time the Southern states of the United States have defied democratic government in this land. They formed an oligarchy where the political power is held by a small minority of the qualified voters and by a minority which does not represent the best intelligence opinion of their own section. This condition has been permitted by the silent acquiescence of the North, and by a series of evasive and unconstitutional laws and practices. The most outrageous of these laws were the socalled "Grandfather Clauses". Through the efforts of this Association in co-operation with other organizations, these laws were finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. There still remain, however, the laws and customs which support the White Primary. The White Primary is an attempt to substitute a single political party for the whole state and local government and to allow that party to base its membership upon purely racial lines. Such laws are a plain definance of the constitution

of the government, and this Association pledges itself to keep this matter before the courts until justice is done.

We are astonished to note under President Coolidge and the Republican administration a continuation of that segregation of colored employees in the departments at Washington which was begun under President Wilson. We have repeatedly appealed for redress of this grievance and we appeal again to the sense of decency and honor which should exist at the Capitol of the nation and which should save from insult persons who are serving their country in the organized civil service.

36-1-47

For several years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has tried on the one hand to show the white labor movement in the United States that it must recognize colored labor, welcome it to Union ranks and affirm the unity of all laborers in the great fight for industrial democracy. On the other hand, this organization has sought to impress upon Negro labor its duty to leave no stone unturned in a attempt to co-operate with organized labor and to maintain and advance the standards for which organized labor has so long fought. We are glad to note in the organization of the Pullman porters a great step towards both these objects, but we regret that white Union labor is still laggard and unfair in organizing black labor.

There is, without doubt, a cultural movement stirring among American Negroes and Negroes the world over which is of deep significance. It is a renaissance of that ancient feeling of men of black blood for beauty in music, in sculpture, and in expression which the world forgot during slavery and slave trade. As it begins to blossom again in the new generation of American Negroes it calls for every encouragement.

This Association calls now for the widest co-operation among persons and organizations to forward the movement and encourage arts and literature, and above all to make possible through universal education in adequate common schools, in better high schools and in wider college facilities, the development of the great talent which lies in our race.

36-1-48

We are especially gratified at the beginning of a defense fund which the colored people of America and their friends haveput in our hands. The $76,000 raised to defend the segregation cases at Detroit and Washington and the White Primary case is but the beginning of what should be a fund of at least a million dollars. It should exist so as to make impossible the easy oppression of American Negroes and the ruthless denial of their constitutional rights.

[1925]

To The People of Russia:

The Negroes of the United States wish the people of Russia to know certain difficulties which they are encountering and to help them in this work.

There are in the United States twelve million persons of Negro descent. They are descended from the African slaves who were brought to the United States during the 15th, 17th, and 18th centuries and finally emancipated during the Civil War in 1863. In this war nearly 200,000 Negroes fought for their own freedom and perhaps 300,000 others helped as laborers and servants so that their freedom was not given to them, it was earned. However, the emancipation of the Negroes was not complete. They received no land, no tools, no capital. Most of them were compelled to remain on the same plantations as wage earners and usually their wages were paid in food and clothes sold at exhorbitat prices. Those who ran away and went to the cities got a chance to work as laborers and to receive money wages. Naturally the working conditions of the Negroes were much worse than those of white laborers and they were exploited to the last degree.

Notwithstanding all this in the sixty years since their emancipation they have accumulated property and received education. They own today about twenty million acres of land in farms averaging eighty acres each. Two thirds of them can read and write and they graduate between 750 and 1,000 students from the universities each year. They are represented in all lines of industry and in most of the professions.

Notwithstanding this the mass of them are poor, unskilled and exploited laborers. In spite of the great progress which they have made due to their own hard work they suffer in the land of their birth and in the land of which they are legal citizens a great many

disabilities. Three-fourths of them who live in the former slave states are largely deprived of their right to vote. They do not receive justice in the courts and during the last forty years 3,165 Negroes have been lynched by mobs without any trial to ascertain their guilt and in large numbers of cases they have been publicly burned. During the past year one human being, against whom no crime was proven and who vehemently protested his innocence, was covered with oil and publicly burned at Rockyford, Mississippi. Recently American Negroes have suffered great discrimination in seeking to obtain decent dwelling places. They have come to the cities in large numbers to work in the industries and when the more prosperous ones tried to buy decent homes they have been driven out by mobs and their property destroyed. Recently in the city of Detroit where some 10,000 Negroes help to make Ford cars and where about 80,000 Negroes live, a prosperous physician bought a home in a neighborhood where Negroes had not previously lived. When the mob attacked his home, he and his friends shot at the mob wounding one and killing another. They were immediately arrested and charged with murder in the first degree for defending themselves and their property. The Negroes of the United States, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and The Crisis magazine have united to defend these accused persons. We have already spent $20,000 in their defense and we are seeking to raise a defense fund of $50,000.

37-1-2

The Detroit case has for the American Negroes tremendous importance. Not only is the fate of this particular Negro at stake, but in a sense, of the whole Negro race. If a black man who is unjustly attacked by mobs has not the right to defend his life and property and has not the right to move freely and live where he can afford to, then

the twelve millions of American Negroes are still slaves.

We hereby appeal to our friends in Russia and to the friends of true democracy everywhere to help in the raising of this fund. We should be glad also to have them contribute to the work of The Crisis magazine which is not only publishing a monthly newspaper of merit to study problems of race, but is also making investigations into the facts and wishes to accumulate a fund to finance these investigations.

All contributions and inquiries can be addressed to The Crisis Magazine, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

37-1-3